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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1791.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A CONTINUATION of the HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

LONDON,

Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCXCII.

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PREFACE.

IN preſenting another volume to the Public, we feel no ſmall ſatisfaction in having been able to fulfil our promiſe of "giving a compact and energetic account of the French revolution down to the completion of the national conſtitution." To that important ſubject, indeed, we profeſs to have been particularly attentive, and we muſt add that we have found that part of our work a moſt laborious and difficult taſk. So much has the ſpirit of party intermixed itſelf in the relation of theſe tranſactions, that there is not to be found either in French or Engliſh a fair and honeſt narrative. In this country, in particular, nothing has appeared but the moſt incorrect and inaccurate conjectures, for they ſo ought rather to be called than narratives; wretched compilations, which are as applicable to the affairs of Otaheite as to thoſe of France.

Much of the hiſtory which we preſent to our readers has been collected from, or at leaſt corroborated by, the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes, and the reſt is drawn from the journals of the national aſ-

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ſembly, or from other moſt reſpectable ſources. We have endeavoured to ſtate facts with the utmoſt impartiality; and though we profeſs to be the friends of freedom in general, the reader will find that we have not been ſparing of our ſtrictures on the conduct of both parties, whenever the principles of juſtice were outraged; and whenever the cauſe of liberty was diſgraced, as in too many inſtances it was, by the populace of France and their demagogues. One effect we are led to hope for confidently from the repreſentation we have drawn of theſe affairs, which is, that it will ſerve to abate the violence of both parties on the ſubject—Such is ever the effect of truth.—The favourers of the French revolution will learn from our ſtatement, that though the principle is impregnable, the conduct of the actors in this great event was not always immaculate; and thoſe who are, in the general, hoſtile to it, may perhaps be induced to allow that ſuch an amazing change in a deſpotic government, the abuſes of which ſo many were intereſted in preſerving, could not be conducted without ſome acts of violence and outrage—Where the people are to do every thing, they will do ſome things wrong.

Another principle which a fair view of this ſubject will eſtabliſh, and which may alſo ſerve to diminiſh the animoſity of parties in this country, at leaſt, is, that no grounds of compariſon exiſt between

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the preſent ſtate of this nation and that of France, previous to the revolution; conſequently there is no neceſſity for a revolution here, nor ought any apprehenſion of it to be entertained. The monarchy, the hierarchy, the ariſtocracy, of France were all totally different from ours, indeed formed upon almoſt oppoſite principles. We would not be underſtood to inſinuate that our preſent conſtitution is perfect; but the vices of our government are entirely different from the vices of the old government of France, and muſt be reformed in a different manner. The increaſing information and ſober ſenſe of the people will gradually produce a legal reform in whatever parts of our conſtitution are decayed; but corruption and tyranny were ſo rooted in the old government of France, that it could not be corrected, but muſt be neceſſarily overthrown.

We have alſo, in different parts of the narrative, given our ſentiments very freely on the errors and imperfections which we think we have diſcovered in the new conſtitution of France: and in all diſcuſſions which appeared of general importance or utility we have endeavoured to condenſe the arguments and opinions on each ſide, ſo as to preſent the queſtion to the reader, as nearly as we could, in that preciſe view in which we conceive it muſt have appeared to the national aſſembly.

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In the debates of our own parliament we have proceeded upon nearly a ſimilar plan, and have ſtudied to give a conciſe view of all the arguments which were adduced on both ſides on every great or important queſtion; and this we truſt is done with fairneſs and impartiality.

The other departments of the work have been executed with the uſual attention, and we flatter ourſelves will be received with the uſual candour.

CON-

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CONTENTS.

THE History of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, in Great Britain, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Part the Third. Page 1

BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

France. State of Parties previous to the Meeting of the States-General. Riot at Paris. Assembly of the States. Contest with respect to the Mode of voting by Orders or by Poll. The Tiers Etat constitute themselves a National Assembly. Assembly repulsed from the Hall of the States. Take an oath never to separate till the Constitution be settled. Royal Session. Union of the Orders. Projects of the Court. Paris encircled with Military. Soldiers released from Prison by the Populace. Famine in Paris. Remonstrance of the Assembly. Dismission of M. Neckar. Disturbances at Paris. Firmness of the National Assembly. The Bastille taken. — 3

CHAPTER II.

State of Paris after the Capture of the Bastille. Nomination of Messr. Bailly and La Fayette to the Offices of Mayor of Paris, and Commander in Chief of the National Guard. Te Deum sung at Paris in celebration of the taking of the Bastille. M. Neckar recalled. The King visits Paris. Dispersion of the Ministry. Murder of M. M. Foulon and Berthier. Revolt in the Provinces. Affair of Quincey. Persecution of the Nobility. Private Correspondence held sacred. Triumphant Return of M. Neckar. Unpopular Act of the Electors of Paris. Outrages in the Provinces. Abolition of the Feudal System, &c. Projected Loans. Riot at Paris. Organization of the Municipality and Militia of the Metropolis. Debates on the King's Veto. On the Permanence of the Legislature. On two Chambers. New Scheme of Finance. Dreadful Insurrection of the 5th of October. The Royal Family remove from Versailles to Paris. 25

CHAPTER III.

Emigration of the Aristocratic Members of the Assembly. Title of King of the French. Duke of Orleans retires to England. A Baker hanged by the Mob at Paris. Riot Act. New Division of the Empire. Church Lands ap-

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applied to the Exigencies of the State. Lettres de Cachet abolished. Committee appointed to inspect the Pension List. Distinction of Orders abolished. Opposition of the Provincial States and Parliaments. Riots at Marseilles and Toulon. Melancholy Event at Senlis. Debate on the Eligibility of Ministers to the National Assembly. Corsica declared a constituent Part of the French Empire. Plan of the Caisse de l'Extraordinaire. Refusal of a Donation from Geneva. Of an Alliance with Brabant. Resistance of the Parliament of Brittany. Affair of the Marquis de Favras. Municipalities made responsible for Damages sustained by Riots. Suppression of Monasteries. Emission of Assignats. Gabelle, &c. abolished. Reform of the Jurisprudence. Troubles in St. Domingo, &c. Publication of the Red Book. Religious Insurrections at Toulouse, Montabon, and Nismes. Right of making War and Peace. Organization of the Clergy. Abolition of Titles, &c. Grand Confederation. Return of M. d'Orleans. —— 61

CHAPTER IV.

Courts of Justice. New Taxes. Droit d'Aubaine, &c. abolished. Accusation of the Chatelet, against M. M. d'Orleans and Mirabeau. Provincial Disturbances. Affair of Nancy. Resignation of M. Neckar. Mutiny at Brest. Riot at Paris. Affairs of Avignon. Ejectment of the non-juring Clergy from their Benefices. League formed by Foreign Powers against France. Troubles at Aix, Lyons, and Brittany. Emegration of the King's Aunts. Armed Men found in the Palace. Decrees relative to the Army, the Regency, &c. Discussion of the Law of Inheritances. Death and Character of M. de Mirabeau. Organization of the Ministry. The King stopped as he was going to St. Cloud. Insurrections in the French Colonies. Flight of the King. His Return. Hostile preparations on the Frontiers. Martial Law proclaimed at Paris. The New Constitution presented, and accepted by the King. —— —— 94

CHAPTER V.

State of Germany. Revolt of the Netherlands. Their Reduction. Turkish War. Conference of Reichenbach. Peace between Austria and Russia. Peace between Russia and Sweden. Taking of Ismail. Disgrace and Death of the Vizir. Taking of Maczin, &c. Mediation of Prussia and England. Peace between Russia and the Porte. Polish Revolution. Affairs of Liege. —— —— 118

CHAPTER VI.

Negociation and Convention with Spain concerning Nootka Sound, &c. War in India with Tippoo Sultan. Dissolution of Parliament. Meeting of the New Parliament. His Majesty's Speech. Address moved and carried. Papers presented relative to the Convention with Spain. Further Communications moved for. Debate on that Subject. On the Convention. Debate on that Subject in the Lords. Ways and Means for the Expences of the Armament. Debate on the Question, Whether Impeachments abate by a Dissolution of Parliament? Debate on a Motion relative to abandoning cer-

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certain Articles of the Charge against Mr. Hastings. Motion to petition the King against proroguing the Parliament till the Evidence should be closed on the Impeachment. Debate in the Lords on the Impeachment. Debates on the Indian War. — — — 132

CHAPTER VII.

Bill for the Relief of Protesting Catholics. Libel Bill. Slave Trade. Reflections on that Subject. Establishment of a Colony at Sierra Leona. Bill for the Division of Canada into Upper and Lower, and for the Regulation of those Provinces. Altercation between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox concerning the Affairs of France. — — — 161

CHAPTER VIII.

Message from his Majesty. Dispute with Russia. Armament voted. Debates on the State of the Nation, and on the Probability of a War with Russia. Debates in the Lords on these Subjects. Committee of Finance. Budget. Debate on the Report of the Committee of Finance. Finances of India. Debate on the repeal of the Test Act, as far as regards the Church of Scotland. Scottish Burghs. Prorogation of Parliament. Riots at Birmingham. — — — 189

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES. (3)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 10, 1791, (64)
The Speech of the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, May 5, 1791, — (65)
Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, to the Duke of York, Dec. 19, 1791, — (66)
Answer to the same, — — (ibid.)
Address from the same to the Duchess of York, — (ibid.)
Answer to the same, — — (ibid.)
Address to his Majesty, from the High-Bailiff, Clergy, and other principal Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham, (68)
The Address of the Protestant Dissenters of the same Town, (ibid.)
Proclamation for the Discovery of the Publishers of a certain seditious Paper, circulated on the 11th of July, in the Town of Birmingham, (68)
Letter of Instructions from M. Montmorin, Minister of France for Foreign Affairs, sent by Order of the King, to all his Ministers at Foreign Courts, April 23, — — — (69)
The King's Proclamation on his Departure from Paris, June 20 (71)
Address on the same Subject, from the National Assembly to the French Nation, (75)
The French Constitution, as finally settled by the National Constituent Assembly, and presented to the King, Sept. 3, 1791, — — (78)
Letter from the King to the National Assembly, announcing his Resolution to accept the Constitution, Sept. 13, — (102)

The

CONTENTS.

The King's Speech to the National Assembly on accepting the Constitution, Sept. 14, 1791, (104)
The President's Answer, (105)
The King's Speech to the National Assembly, the last Day of their Meeting, Sept. 30, (ibid.)
The President's Answer, (106)
His Majesty's Proclamation, Sept. 30, (ibid.)
——— Speech to the New National Assembly, Oct. 7, (108)
The President's Answer, (109)
Message from the National Assembly to the King, Nov. 29, (ibid.)
The King's Speech to the National Assembly, Dec. 14, (110)
The President's Answer, (112)
Address from the National Assembly to the King, Dec. 16, (ibid.)
The Speech of George Washington, President of the United States of America, to both Houses of Congress, Oct. 25, 1791, (113)
Letters from Arthur Phillip, Esq. Governor of New South Wales, to Lord Sydney, laid before the House of Commons, March 2, 1791, (17)
Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1791. (126)
Principal Public Acts passed in the first Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain, (129)
Prices of Stock for the Year 1791, (131)

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of Tycho Brahe, [3]
Short Account of Scheele, [10]
Biographical Anecdotes of Ernest John Biron, Duke of Courland, [12]
Life and Character of Philip Earl of Hardwicke, [17]
Portrait of Mr Howard, [22]
View of the Character of John Wesley, [30]

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

Remarks on the Island of Himmaa, [41]
Description of Carnicobar and its Inhabitants, [54]
Account of the Empire of Borneo, [62]
The present State of Sumar, and of its Inhabitants, [66]
Character of the Peasantry of Norway, [73]
———, Manners, and Customs of the People of Morocco, [78]
Account of a Cyprian Hunting Match, [90]

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

Character of the Tragedies of Æschylus, [92]
Enquiry with respect to the Singing and Declamation of the Ancient Tragedy, [96]
On the proper Mode of pronouncing the Greek Vowels, [99]
Observations on the Language of Botany [100]

Sketch

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

Sketch of the Character of Michael Angelo, [105]
Observations on Clumps and Park Scenery, [107]

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

Dr. Herschell's Observations on Nebulous Stars, [114]
Communication from the Committee of Council, appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, relative to the Natural History of Ambergris, [123]
Process of converting the Smoke of Steam-Engines into Tar, [125]
Conjectures respecting the Formation of Nitre, [126]
Natural History of the Grana Kermes, [130]
Account of the Baya, or Indian Gross-Beak, [131]
Oriental Method of Curing the Elephantiasis, [132]

ANTIQUITIES.

Observations on the Progress of the Ancient Inhabitants of India, in the Cultivation of the elegant arts, [135]
Discourse on the Origin of the Chinese, [141]
On the Labyrinth of Crete, and its use, [145]
Curious Letter relating to Mary Queen of Scots, [151]

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

Experiments relating to the Management of Bees, [156]
Curious Method of Managing Hogs in the New Forest, [160]
Observations intended to Excuse the Practice of docking Horses, [161]
Letter from Habakkuk Angle to Geoffry Gambado, [164]

POETRY.

Ode for the New Year, [169]
Lines written in the Island of Staffa, [171]
To William Locke, esq. Junior, on his Picture of the Death of Cardinal Wolsey, [173]
Duncan's Warning, [174]
Horatian Philosophy, [175]
An Amatory Ode, [176]
Free Imitation of a Latin Ode, by Walter de Mapes, [177]
Ode on his Majesty's Birth Day, [179]
Characteristics of Liberty in the Savage State of this Island, [180]
Ode on the distant View of France from Dover Cliff, [181]
On a Tear, [183]
Lines to him who will understand them, [184]
Ode to Health, [186]
Subjects for Painters, from Shakspeare's Tempest, [188]
Extract from Peter Pindar's Ode to his Ass Peter, [189]
Ode to Hymen, [191]

The

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

The Hue and Cry, [194]
Project for the Improvement of Theatrical Entertainments [195]
Deſcription of the Horrors of a Guilty Mind, [196]
Ode to Hope, [198]
The Diſappointment, a Ruſtic Tale, [199]
Stanzas from the Ode for the 14th of July, 1791, [201]
Tranſlation of a Poem of Haller, [ibid]
DOMESTIC LITERATURE, *of the Year 1791,* [204]
FOREIGN LITERATURE, *of the Year 1791,* [276]

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HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

PART THE THIRD.

THE great objects of religion, of government, of naval discovery, and of philosophical and medical knowledge, so far as they relate to the period now before us, we have already considered. These are the objects that come under the head of Science, more distinctly so called; and they undoubtedly sustain the first rank in the departments of literature. It is not, however, to matters of small consequence that our attention is now to be directed. Classical and polite learning, history, poetry, and the fine arts in general, present to us very interesting, as well as very pleasing subjects of contemplation. With the cultivation and improvement of them the honour and advantage both of individuals and of nations are closely connected. They cannot be properly and rationally studied without contributing, in an eminent degree, to enlarge the understanding, to captivate the fancy, to engage the affections,

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and to refine the taſte; and, therefore, we turn to the conſideration of them with peculiar pleaſure.

To the critical parts of Greek and Roman literature there were not ſo many perſons devoted as could have been wiſhed, and, indeed, as might have been expected, when we reflect upon the ardour with which the ſtudy of them was purſued abroad. But this muſt be aſcribed to the circumſtances of the times. In a ſcene of great and unavoidable theological diſputation, the ſcholars of England were obliged to direct their principal attention to objects that were eſteemed of infinite importance; and conſequently they had not much leiſure for reſearches into the niceties of languages and learning. We have no names, in this period, that can be compared with thoſe of ſir John Cheke, ſir Thomas Smith, and Roger Aſcham, whom, in a former article, we have deſcribed as eminent improvers of claſſical taſte. Smith and Aſcham may in part be mentioned as belonging to the preſent reign; for Smith's Treatiſes, on the juſt pronunciation of the Greek tongue, and on the proper mode of writing the Engliſh language, were not publiſhed till the year 1568; and Aſcham's School-maſter was firſt printed in 1573. His Latin Epiſtles did not appear till 1576; but this was eight years after his deceaſe. We may add to thoſe diſtinguiſhed names John Kaye, whom we have before ſpoken of in the medical line, and who united with his ſkill as a phyſician the talents of a philological ſcholar. In 1574, not long after his death, a work was publiſhed, which he had written on the pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages.

One of the moſt important effects of the revival of letters in Europe, was the giving to the world correct editions of ancient authors. In this the firſt ſcholars abroad were employed, and immenſe benefits have reſulted from their labours. To the ſame kind of glory it was long before England could lay any conſiderable claim; nor is it difficult to account for the fact. There were not many original manuſcripts of the old claſſic writers in the libraries of our own country; and the acceſs to foreign libraries, and eſpecially to foreign manuſcripts, muſt have been

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been peculiarly difficult. This department of literature, however, was not wholly neglected. It was attended to, at least, by one eminent individual, sir Henry Savile. The result of his skill and diligence did not, indeed, appear till the next reign; but it was through a great part of the present period that he was preparing his grand edition of St. Chrysostom, which is said to have cost him eight thousand pounds. There were two circumstances that contributed the better to qualify him for the undertaking; which were, his having resided some time abroad, and his ability of making such purchases as were adapted to his design.

The general turn of composition among the learned still continued to be in Latin. Nothing could be more natural than this was, at a period when the ancients were almost the only sources of knowledge, and when their beauties so powerfully struck every mind as to excite a strong desire of imitation. Indeed, the Roman tongue formed a mode of conveyance which was singularly and eminently useful, as it included the scholars of every country: and the same mode of conveyance has not yet entirely lost its advantages, with regard to certain objects, and on some particular occasions. What farther encouraged the custom of usually writing in Latin, was the imperfect and unformed state of most of the vernacular languages of Europe. They had hitherto been little cultivated, the Italian excepted, which, by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace, was carried early to a high degree of purity and elegance. The time, however, now approached for an attention's being paid to the enrichment of our native tongue. Of this, Ascham had set an admirable example, and had recommended it to imitation: nor were his exhortations and his pattern unproductive of valuable effects; as will be seen in the course of the article.

One circumstance which contributed to the increase of knowledge in general, and to the improvement of the English language in particular, was the multiplicity of translations. This multiplicity constitutes a striking feature in the literary character of the age, and therefore we shall

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a distinct consideration. On the benefits which may be derived from translations it is needless to enlarge. Besides the great store of materials, scientific, literary, and entertaining, which they import into a country, they promote a more accurate acquaintance with the language from which they are made, and on which the tongue into which they are rendered. A much superior advantage might have been drawn from them, at the time we are treating of, if our writers had been better judges of the subject, and if they had not, in particular, most of them entertained an opinion, that it was necessary for versions to be strictly literal.

Of the Greek authors, from whom translations were made, the first place is due to Homer. Arthur Hall, a gentleman of fortune, and a member of parliament, published ten books of the Iliad, from a metrical French version of that work. Hall's translation is in the Alexandrine of Sternhold, and he is entitled to no other praise than that of being the first who exhibited a part of the Iliad in an English dress. The merit of giving a complete and regular version of Homer belongs to George Chapman. It was done, too, from the Greek; though Chapman did not a little avail himself of the assistance that was afforded by a Latin translation in prose. What he performed was, however, no small effort in literature for that period. He seems to have had just sentiments concerning the nature of translation, and the manner in which it ought to be conducted, though he was not capable of reducing his sentiments fully to practice. It cannot be said that he hath preserved either the dignity or the simplicity of Homer. He is sometimes redundant, and sometimes defective; and he was unfortunate in the measure of his verse, which was imposed upon him by custom, but which is awkward, inharmonious, and disgustful to modern ears. Nevertheless, he is not always destitute of strength or spirit, and he has enriched our language with many compound epithets, which are much in Homer's manner. Waller, it is reported, could never read Chapman's Homer without a degree of transport. Nor is it a small compliment that

has

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has been paid him by his illustrious successor; for Pope was of opinion, that Chapman covers his defects by a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, and which is something like what one might imagine Homer himself would have written before he arrived to years of discretion. It would have been well if Chapman's fire had not been darkened by bombast. He did not finish his version of the Odyssey till the next reign. The same author translated Hesiod, but the publication of it, if it was ever published, did not take place till the year 1618. If credit is to be given to a poetical passage of Drayton (and we do not see any reason why the fact should be doubted), Chapman was a translator of Musæus.

We find that the translation of Greek poetry extended to another instance of considerable importance. What we refer to is the Jocasta, or the Phœnissæ of Euripides, a version of which was made by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, both of them students of Gray's Inn. This version, in the year 1566, was acted in the refectory of that society. The second, third, and fifth acts were translated by Gascoigne, and the first and fourth by Kinwelmersh. They have not, however, given a just or exact translation of the Phœnissæ, their performance being partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgment of the Greek tragedy. There are, indeed, many omissions, retrenchments, and compositions; but, at the same time, the chorus, the characters, and the substance of the story are retained, and the tenor of the dialogue is generally preserved. The beautiful odes of the Greek chorus are in some instances neglected, and others, written by the translators, are substituted in their stead. In one case, where Gascoigne has deserted the rich imagery of Euripides, he has in a certain degree compensated for the defect, by an ode of his own, which is far from being destitute of pathos or imagination. Another original ode, of which Kinwelmersh was probably the author, has great elegance of expression and versification. The principal fault with which the translators are chargeable, is their having weakened the force and pathetic brevity of Euripides by needless dilata-

tions and circumlocutions. On the whole, however, they are entitled to much applause for an attempt to introduce the Grecian drama to the notice of our ancestors, and their success was greatly superior to what might at that time have been expected. It is to be regretted that so noble an effort was not followed by other exertions of the same kind; that Gascoigne and Kinwolmersh did not proceed in their career; and that their example did not excite a spirit of emulation. We are told, indeed, that certain tragedies of Euripides were translated from the Greek by Thomas Key, a divine of that age, who wrote in defence of the antiquity of the university of Oxford. But the translation was not into English, but into Latin; nor is it certain that it was ever printed, but rather probable that it existed only in manuscript since it had not been seen by Anthony Wood.

Our language, during this period, was enriched, and the knowledge of our countrymen enlarged, by several translations of the Greek prose writers. We must not, however, under the present head reckon the Nicocles of Isocrates, and Aristotle de Mirabilibus Mundi, which works were translated from the originals by the Thomas Key just mentioned; because these versions appear to have been made in Latin, and there are the same doubts concerning their having been published which attend his Euripides. Another piece of Aristotle's, his famous treatise on the ten categories, was rendered into English by Barnaby Googe; but whether it exists in print, or now exists at all, is not in our power to ascertain. Thomas Wilson, an eminent scholar of the time, and whom we shall soon have occasion more particularly to speak of, gave a proof of his attention to the advancement of vernacular composition, by translating seven orations of Demosthenes. This work, the subject of which was so well chosen, was dedicated to sir William Cecil. A translation of Herodian's history came from the hands of a Nicholas Smyth, of whom we have no farther information. It was not from the Greek that the version was made, but from the Latin of Angelus Politianus, as is

pressly acknowledged in the title-page.—Xenophon's institution of Cyrus was given to the public from the original; and the translator was a Mr. William Bercher, or, as he is called in another edition of the book, Wyllian Barkar.—Sir Anthony Poyngz, a gentleman of rank, translated the table of Cebes in a manner which was thought to be deserving of commendation. This work he did not execute from the original Greek, but from a Latin version. It is the first translation of Cebes that appeared in our language.—Abraham Fleming, who was a frequent translator, among other works, produced in English Ælian's various History. Something, likewise, of Isocrates came from the same hand; and, also, Synesius's Panegyric on Baldness, which had been brought into fashion by Erasmus's encomium on folly. This Abraham Fleming was of considerable service to the literature of his country, by rendering into English many celebrated books which had been written in Latin about the fifteenth century, and at the restoration of learning.—The only remaining translation from the Greek, or, at least, the only remaining one of which we are able to give an account, is that of the ten books of Heliodorus's Ethiopic history. Thomas Underdowne, a native of Oxford, and, as may reasonably be supposed, a scholar of the university of that city, was the translator. By the publication of this work a new field of romance was opened, which is thought to have suggested to sir Philip Sidney the scheme of his Arcadia.

The translations from the Latin poets were more numerous than from the Greek. Of these poets, Seneca the the tragedian seems to have been no small favourite: nor will this be thought surprising, when we reflect that sound literature, and especially a just taste, were not yet arrived to a great degree of perfection. At different times, and by different poets, a version was completed of the whole of Seneca's ten tragedies; and they were all of them printed together in 1581. The Hyppolitus, the Medea, the Hercules Oeteus, and the Agamemnon, were translated by John Studley, who had been educated at Westminster school, and afterward became a member of Trinity college, in Cam-

bridge. His Agamemnon, had been separately published fifteen years before, and dedicated to secretary Cecil. This book is now become so exceedingly scarce, that it is not easy to meet with it in the choicest black letter collections. A whole scene is added by the translator to the end of the fifth act, for the purpose of explaining some circumstances which he imagined had not been sufficiently unfolded by the original writer. Though this attempt to improve the plot of the drama, by a new conduct or contrivance, was, in the present instance, needless and improper, it is in one respect deserving of notice, as it shews that authors began to think for themselves, and that they were not always implicitly enslaved to the prescribed letter of their models. Studley, who appears to have been a man of talents, was qualified for better things than some which were undertaken by him; for he condescended to translate Bales Acts of the Popes. The version of the Octavia was done by Thomas Nice, or Newce, who afterwards obtained several preferments in the church. Alexander Nevyle was the translator of the Œdipus, and he executed the task in the sixteenth year of his age. Notwithstanding Nevyle's youth, his translation is the most spirited and elegant version in the collection; and it would have been eminently to the advantage of the undertaking if the whole had been executed by him. Through a false idea of the gravity which was supposed to be attached to the clerical character, he seems to have been persuaded by his friends that poetry was only one of the lighter accomplishments of a young man, and that it ought soon to give way to the more weighty pursuits of literature. Nevyle became one of the learned men whom archbishop Parker patronised, and resided with him as his secretary. He projected an English translation of Livy, but there is no reason to believe that he made any great progress in the design. The Hercules Furens, the Thyestes, and the Troas of Seneca were translated by Jasper Heywood, son of John Heywood the epigrammatist. In these versions some additions are made to the original writer. Jasper Heywood, after passing through several scenes in life, left England, and became a catholic priest

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and Jesuit at Rome. He is said to have been an accurate critic in the Hebrew language, no common quality in those days. The only remaining one of the ten tragedies of Seneca, the Thebais, was translated by Thomas Newton, the publisher of the whole. He seems to have undertaken the business more from a desire of completing the collection than from any strong poetical inclination. His version is more prosaic than that of most of the other tragedies, and it appears to have been his chief aim to preserve perspicuity and fidelity. If as an English poet he obtained no great praise, he otherwise deserved well of the literature of this country: for he became famous for the elegance of his Latin poetry, of which he left a specimen in his "Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia." He is perhaps the first Englishman, after Leland, who wrote Latin elegies with a classical clearness and correctness. Newton was courted by most of the ingenious and learned men of that age, and Robert earl of Essex was his patron. Ovid appears to have been another very favourite Latin poet in this period. Early in queen Elizabeth's reign, the four first books of the Metamorphosis were translated by Arthur Golding; and in a short time afterwards he completed the whole. This work was so acceptable to the public, that, in due course, it passed through several editions. Golding's style is poetical and spirited; and though his manner is ornamental and diffusive, it was not carried to such an excess, as to prevent his retaining a sufficient observance of his original. On the whole, as a translator and a poet, he excelled many of his contemporaries. In various cases he shews himself to have felt the imagery, and to have been inspired with the spirit of his author. The Metamorphosis of Golding continued to be a popular book till it was in a great measure superseded, in 1632, by Sandys' translation of the same work of Ovid. Golding distinguished himself as a translator; for he has left versions of many modern Latin writers, which were then of considerable utility, as being adapted to the condition and opinions of the times. Now, indeed, they are forgotten, in consequence of the introduction of better books, and a

general

general change in the system of knowledge. Among other works, he finished a translation of Mornay's French treatise on the truth of christianity, which had been begun by Sir Philip Sidney. The only original productions of Golding, were an account of an earthquake in 1580, and a small number of verses. Considering that he was a man of real genius, it would be deemed surprising that he should have confined himself so entirely to the business of a translator, if we did not reflect that, at a period in which English literature still continued in a state of imperfection, the increase of knowledge by the importation of foreign materials was an employment as honourable as it was useful. Golding, who was a gentleman by birth, and a native of the city of London, resided with secretary Cecil, and such was the esteem in which he was held, that he was patronised by the principal characters of the age. His having given a version of the whole Metamorphosis of Ovid, did not prevent some distinct fables of that work from being translated by different writers.—The Fasti of Ovid were rendered into English verse by an author whose name does not appear; and Thomas Underdowne not only gave a translation of the Ibis, but illustrated it with annotations.—Christopher Marloe was so void of principle and of decency, as to translate the elegies of the same poet, the elegant language of which can make no atonement for their obscenities. That Marloe was sensible of his acting wrong, or, at least, that he was in danger of giving offence by his conduct, may be conjectured from his procuring the work to be printed at Middleburg, and without a date. The subterfuge, however, did not avail him; for, by command of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, the book was ordered to be burnt at Stationer's-hall.—Ovid's Remedy of Love met with an anonymous translator.—For a version of the Heroical Epistles, with Sabinus's Answers, the public was indebted to Thomas Turberville, a name at that time of considerable celebrity. This version was so popular as speedily to occasion a demand for three editions. Six of the Epistles are in blank verse, and the rest in four-lined stanzas. Turberville was happy in the turn which he gave to various parts

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of his translation.—There exists, it is said, one of Ovid's Epistles translated by the accomplished earl of Essex. But if it could be recovered, it is probable that it would only be valued as a curiosity; since it is apparent, from a few of his Sonnets which are preserved in the Ashmolean museum, that he was not endued with a poetic genius.—To finish our account of what relates to Ovid, the three first books of his Tristia were translated by Thomas Churchyard. As Churchyard was a man of abilities, it is probable that his version is not destitute of merit; and this we rather judge, as from others of his productions it is apparent that he could occasionally rise to harmonious versification.—There were several short pieces dispersed abroad in this reign, concerning which it is doubtful, whether they were regular translations from Ovid, or poems formed from an imitation of the English editions of his works that were now in circulation.

Very early in queen Elizabeth's reign, an attention was paid to the prince of Latin poets, Virgil. Thomas Phayer, who in a former article has been mentioned as sustaining the threefold character of poet, lawyer, and physician, and as concerned in the "Mirror of Magistrates," had translated in the life of Mary, the seven first books of the Æneid. He afterwards finished the eighth and ninth books, but died soon after he had begun the tenth. This imperfect work, after a space of more than twenty years, was completed by Thomas Twyne, a native of Canterbury, and a physician at Lewes, who had been educated at both of our universities, was an admirer of John Dee's mysterious philosophy, and patronised by lord Buckhurst. To the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of Virgil, Twyne added a translation of Maphæus's supplemental book. So well was this work received, that from the year 1584 to 1620, it went through four editions; after which period it became obsolete, and is now totally forgotten. The reason of Phayer's undertaking his version, according to his own account, was to inspire the young nobility, gentry, and ladies of this country with a sense of the riches of their native tongue, and to shew that the English language was

not,

not, as too many thought, incapable of propriety and elegance. In the execution of his undertaking, he has omitted, misrepresented, and paraphrased many passages of his original; notwithstanding which, his performance is in every respect superior to Twyne's continuation. The measure is the fourteen-footed Alexandrine of Sternhold and Hopkins; a measure which, whatever may be judged of it at present, was then, from its familiarity, attuned to the popular ear, and used in most works of length and gravity. It seems to have been particularly consecrated to translation.—After the exertions of Thayer and Twyne, there was no occasion for others to labour in the same vineyard, unless they could have done it with superior success. This praise does not belong to Robert Stanyhurst, a native of Dublin, who translated the four first books of the Eneid into English hexameters. He was more unfortunate in the measure of his versification than his predecessors, and he was not equal to them in other respects. Even his contemporaries were sensible of his defects, and condemned him in strong terms. One of them describes him as having trod a dull, lumbering, boisterous, wallowing measure in his translation of Virgil. Notwithstanding this mistaken application of his talent, Stanyhurst was a real scholar, and the author of many theological, philosophical, and historical works. A high character, in point of erudition, is given of him by Camden; and it is represented that he was caressed by many foreign princes, on account of his literature and politeness.

A translation of the Bucolics of Virgil was made by Abraham Fleming, whose plan was to be as literal as possible, by rendering verse for verse. When we have said this, it will not be imagined that the work was very poetical. Nevertheless, Fleming met with encouragement enough to engage him to proceed in his career; for, after an interval of some years, he added the Georgics to the Bucolics. Both the publications were accompanied with notes. The translation has been supposed to be in the common blank verse; but it is in the regular Alexandrine without rhyme. Abraham Fleming afterwards published separately the Alexis of Virgil, translated into English hexameters, verse for verse.

There

There was some obliquity in the spirit and taste of the age which rendered this eclogue the object of particular selection.—Edmund Spenser condescended to translate, though in a vague and paraphrastical manner, the Culex ascribed to Virgil.

It may be thought extraordinary that Horace's odes should not have been translated during the reign of Elizabeth. Perhaps our countrymen were discouraged by the peculiar nicety and difficulty of the undertaking. With regard, however, to his other works, they assumed a greater degree of courage. Thomas Drant published a translation of the two books of Horace's Satires, which was followed by the Epistles, and the Art of Poetry. The author was at first very paraphrastical, but afterwards endeavoured to be so literal as well nigh to render word for word, and line for line. From a passage in the address to the reader it should seem, that the booksellers of that period had no great opinion of the success of moral writings. Drant appears to have been fully sensible of the difficulty of his undertaking; for he declares that he could sooner translate twelve verses out of the Greek Homer, than six out of Horace. His sentiment was undoubtedly just; nor was it to be expected that the Satires and Epistles of Horace should be happily rendered into English in the infancy of style and taste, when his delicate turns could not be expressed, nor his humour justly relished, nor his good sense and observations on human life thoroughly understood. Every man of literature knows, that in the politest and most cultivated ages, the successful translators and imitators of this delightful Roman poet have been small in number. It is observable, that Drant undertook his version of Horace, in the specific character of a grave divine, and a teacher of morality. He obtained several preferments and dignities in the church, and was a tolerable Latin poet. The "Ecclesiastes" was translated by him into hexameters, in the same language. There are two miscellanies of his Latin poetry extant, the one entitled "Sylva," and the other "Poemata varia et externa." In the Sylva he says, that he had begun to translate the Iliad, but had proceeded no

farther

farther than the fourth book; and he mentions, likewiſe, his having been the author of a verſion of Gregory Nazianzen's Greek Epigrams; but whether into Latin or into Engliſh has not been aſcertained.

What regard might be paid to the epigrammatic effuſions of the ancient father we are not able to ſay; but we may be well aſſured that a tranſlation from Martial would conſtitute a more popular book. This taſk was undertaken by Timothy Kendall, who, after being educated at Eton and at Oxford, became a ſtudent of the law at Staple's-Inn. He did not obtain much glory by the ſpecimens which he exhibited of his application to claſſical literature. His performance cannot ſtrictly be called a tranſlation of Martial, becauſe, it includes epigrams from many other writers, modern as well as ancient. Martial, however, forms the principal baſis of the work.

Marloe, who had tranſlated Coluthus's Rape of Helen, and the Loves of Hero and Leander, which go under the name of Muſæus, gave a verſion, in blank verſe, of the firſt book of Lucan. His death prevented his carrying on the deſign, which, in the next reign, was completed by George Chapman, but in a very inferior manner.—The Thebais of Statius was tranſlated by Thomas Newton.

Beſides the tranſlation of the ancient Latin claſſic poets, verſions were not uncommon from ſome of the modern poetical writers in the ſame language. Among others, Mantuan, who had acquired the rank of a claſſic, was tranſlated by Turberville.—Another favourite author, among the Engliſh ſcholars in this period, was Palingenius, whoſe "Zodiac" was rendered into Engliſh verſe by Barnaby Googe; and the tranſlation had the good fortune of the original, to be very much admired. Other productions of a ſimilar nature might probably be mentioned; but it may be ſufficient to have touched upon the ſubject.

The tranſlations from the ancient Latin proſe writers were not ſo numerous as from the poets, and, indeed, not ſo numerous as might have been expected. Golding, of whom we have lately ſpoken with due reſpect, was a conſiderable benefactor to the public in the way which we are now

now considering. The knowledge of the treasures of antiquity was enlarged to our countrymen, by his versions of Justin's History and Cæsar's Commentaries. By the same hand was translated Seneca's fine moral treatise on Benefits. Works of less consequence, rendered into English by Golding, were Pomponius Mela's geography, and the "Polyhistory" of Solinus; but they contributed something to the stock of literature.—Cicero's Oration for Archias was translated by Drant.—Abraham Fleming published a translation of certain select epistles of Cicero, and afterwards gave a large collection from the same author, to which were added letters of Pliny, and of other persons.—Tully's Offices were translated by Nicholas Grimald, a poet of the age; and so adapted was the book to general instruction, that it was several times reprinted.—One of the most important translations in this period, was that of the four first books of Tacitus, and the life of Agricola, by sir Henry Savile. This translation was accompanied with notes; which were deemed of such consequence, that they were afterwards rendered into Latin by Gruter, and published at Amsterdam. If there were other versions of the ancient Roman prose writers, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, (which may very possibly have been the case), they have escaped our researches.

The history of translation might be copiously pursued, as it was exercised with regard to the Italian and French authors, especially the former; but it would carry us too far to enter into a full discussion of the subject. The books that were chiefly rendered into English were of the fictitious and narrative kind. Among the productions of this nature, those of Boccace were the most distinguished favourites; and the versions that were made of different parts of them were very numerous. Indeed the Italian language now began to be so fashionable, that lexicons and grammars of it, written in English, became common publications. The principal persons who figured as translators, in the line we are treating of, were George Gascoigne, Geoffry Fenton, Thomas Turberville, George Whetstone, and sir James Harrington. To these, were it necessary, many other

names

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names might be added.—One of the works translated by Gascoigne is a comedy of Arioſto's, called "Suppoſes," which was acted at Gray's Inn. This tranſlation is in proſe, and it is obſervable that it was the firſt comedy in proſe which was compoſed in our language, and exhibited upon our ſtage.—The moſt valuable of Fenton's various performances muſt be reckoned his having given to the public a verſion of the twenty books of Guicciardin's Hiſtory of Italy; for herein he preſented to his readers not fiction but truth; and truth, too, of the firſt importance.—Sir James Harrington's tranſlation of Arioſto's Orlando Furioſo was too great an undertaking to let us ſuffer it to paſs unnoticed. It is true that it is neither executed with ſpirit nor with accuracy: nevertheleſs, it contributed to enrich our poetry with new ſtores for the imagination, both of the romantic and comic ſpecies. A wonderful union was preſented to the reader of Gothic machinery and familiar manners.—Although Fairfax is commonly ſuppoſed to be the firſt tranſlator of Taſſo, this was not the caſe. He was preceded, in the preſent reign, by an R. E. eſq. and there is reaſon to believe that a ſimilar work, which exiſts only in manuſcript, was performed by Turberville. One effect of the tranſlations from Italian books was, that a preciſe and ſyſtematical knowledge of the ancient heathen theology ſeems to have been more univerſally circulated among the people of England. In general it may be obſerved, that the beſt ſtories of the early and original novelities of Italy, in one form or other, were given in an Engliſh dreſs. The verſions of French authors were leſs frequent, and for the moſt part of leſs importance. With regard to tranſlations from the ancients, Mr. Warton, to whom we are uncommonly obliged in the courſe of this article, has remarked, that almoſt all the Greek and Roman claſſics appeared before the year 1600. The remark we conſider as too general. Were we to enter into an enumeration of them, it would be ſeen that many of the fineſt claſſic writers, both in proſe and verſe, were left untranſlated.

Imperfect as the multifarious tranſlations of this period were, obſolete as they are now become, and ſucceeded as they

they have been by many works of the same nature, far more accurate, more judicious, and more elegant, they were, nevertheless, of great consequence, in their day, to the general interests of knowledge and literature. They contributed, amongst other causes, to excite a spirit of criticism, and an attention to the laws of composition. However, previously to most of them, this spirit had been displayed, in a very instructive manner, with regard to one of the authors of the age, of whom little notice had been taken, till Mr. Warton drew him out of obscurity. The gentleman we refer to is Thomas Wilson, who, in queen Mary's reign, (though he flourished chiefly in Elizabeth's) published an Art of Rhetoric in English. A technical and elementary manual, in our own tongue, written by Leonard Cox, had, indeed, appeared many years before; but Wilson's treatise is more liberal and discursive. It has the merit of having illustrated the arts of eloquence by example, and of having examined and ascertained the beauties of composition with the speculative skill and sagacity of a critic; so that his work may justly be considered as the first system of criticism that appeared in our language. The four parts belonging to elocution he states to be plainness, aptness, composition, and exornation, and has some excellent observations on simplicity of style. Among other lessons, this, he says, should first be learned, never to affect any strange inkhorn terms, but to speak as is commonly received; and he strongly condemns those writers who seek so far for outlandish English, that they altogether forget their mother tongue. He enforces the application and explanation of the fables of antiquity, especially as they exist in the Iliad and Odyssey, and has some pertinent remarks on the moral purposes to which they should be applied. The force of circumstantial description is recommended by him, which he calls an evident or plain setting forth of a thing as though it were presently done; and he produces an instance of it from Quintilian, which affords a proof, that we were now beginning to make the beauties of the ancients our own. On the necessity of maintaining a due preservation of character, he lays down

ſome precepts which ſeem to be directed to the writers of hiſtorical plays; and he afterwards points out the advantages of perſonification in enlivening compoſition. Prolix narratives, whether jocoſe or ſerious, not having yet ceaſed to be the entertainment of polite companies, Mr. Wilſon has not thought it inconſiſtent with the deſign of a general book of rhetoric to give rules for telling a tale with grace and ſpirit. It appears from the work, that to write elegantly in Engliſh now began to be faſhionable, and to meet with the higheſt applauſe.

This was ſo uncommon a production, in ſo early a period of our literary hiſtory, that it is but a juſt tribute of gratitude to the memory of Thomas Wilſon, to add a few biographical particulars concerning him. He was a native of Lincolnſhire, and, in 1541, was admitted a ſcholar of King's College, in Cambridge. He became a fellow of the college, and, whilſt he reſided at the univerſity, was tutor to two celebrated youths, Henry duke of Suffolk, and lord Charles Brandon, his brother. In due courſe, he took the degree of doctor of laws, and was afterwards one of the ordinary maſters of requeſts, and maſter of St. Katharine's hoſpital near the Tower. Being a man of buſineſs as well as learning, he was at times employed by queen Elizabeth as ambaſſador to Mary queen of Scots, and into the low countries. At length he roſe to be a ſecretary of ſtate, and a privy counſellor. In 1579 he was appointed dean of Durham, and died in 1581. It is ſaid that Dr. Wilſon was endued with an uncommon ſtrength of memory, and that this enabled him to act with remarkable diſpatch in his negociations. He was the author of various other works beſides the two which we have had occaſion to mention, and was one of the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars of his time.

Another compoſition of a ſimilar nature with Wilſon's Art of Rhetoric, though more confined in its object, was Puttenham's Art of Engliſh Poeſy. It is not, however, ſo ſtrictly confined to poetry, as totally to exclude any obſervations that relate to eloquence in general. Puttenham had right notions of the true character of a poet, which

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is to be poſſeſſed of a creative genius. Accordingly, he commonly uſes the word "Maker" for poet; and he was the firſt author that brought this expreſſion into faſhion, the ſignificancy of which has been much commended by ſir Philip Sidney and Ben Jonſon. Imperfect as Puttenham's work is upon the whole, it was the only piece of poetical criticiſm of any conſequence that England produced for a long period. Indeed, nothing conſiderable appeared on the ſubject till Dryden began to write his prefaces.

During queen Elizabeth's reign, the Engliſh language was carried by ſome writers to a high degree of perfection. There have not been wanting perſons who have thought that our native tongue then roſe to the greateſt excellence which it has ever attained; and Dr. Johnſon, we believe, has expreſſed the ſame ſentiment. In this ſentiment, however, we do not agree, though we are ſenſible of the extraordinary merit of a few individuals in the point we are conſidering. Amongſt theſe, particular praiſes are due to Richard Hooker, whom we have already celebrated as a divine. He exhibited a fine model of the reaſoning ſtyle, and ſet a noble example to thoſe who ſhould come after him; an example which was ſucceſsfully followed by a Chillingworth, a Locke, and a Hoadly.—Sir Walter Raleigh afforded ſeveral proofs in this reign of that dignity of compoſition which he afterwards diſplayed in his Hiſtory of the World.—A book has lately fallen into our hands, which informs us that the ſtyle of William Perkins, an eminent divine at Cambridge, of the puritanical caſt, is the beſt of any of that age or the next, and that many paſſages in his writings are equal to thoſe of the beſt authors in modern times. Not having read Perkins's works, we cannot ſay how far this high character of them, in reſpect to language, is juſt. The puritans, in general, paid little attention to polite ſtudies, and the elegancies of compoſition. Though they were not deſtitute of erudition, their learning was ſeldom accompanied with taſte. But Perkins was above the common rank of the divines of that period;

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and he was distinguished by his moderation, as well as by his ingenuity and literature.

Some of the statesmen of queen Elizabeth's reign excelled in the propriety, freedom, and strength of their style. This was the case with Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, one of whose letters, which is preserved in the Biographia Britannica, is admirable with regard to the manner in which it is written, and rises much above the general character of the times. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, her majesty's great favourite, could occasionally distinguish himself in the same way. Several of his letters that have fallen under our observation are good models of epistolary composition. The name of Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, might be added on the present occasion. But of all the illustrious characters of this period, none, with relation to the ability of English composition, came up to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the queen's other favourite. In a variety of instances he gave ample proofs of his being both a vigorous and an elegant writer. Indeed, public men may be more likely to excel in this respect than mere scholars. The latter, being confined to their closets, are in danger of contracting a formality and stiffness of style; and this was particularly the case, when the learned by profession did not so generally mix with the world as is customary at present. But those who are engaged in the grand scenes of business, who have their talents called into exercise by frequent and striking emergencies, and who follow the dictates of their immediate feelings, provided they have had a tolerable education, acquire an ease and a variety of expression, which the others cannot readily attain.

During the short reigns of Edward the Sixth and queen Mary, no historian occurred that was deemed worthy of notice. In Elizabeth's time, historical composition continued still to be very imperfect; notwithstanding which, several writers existed who must not be passed over in silence; for, though they are defective in elegance, they are useful for the information they have given, and the light

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light they have thrown on the circumstances and manners of the times.—Holinshed is often consulted and referred to in this view. His Chronicles which extend to Scotland and Ireland, were not written solely by himself. The part relating to England was in a great measure his own; but in the Irish history he was assisted by Richard Stanyhurst, and in the Scotch by Francis Boteville. The whole work is chiefly to be regarded as a compilation. Holinshed had various other assistants, two of whom were William Harrison, a divine, and John Hooker a principal citizen of Exeter, and uncle to the Richard Hooker whom we have had such particular occasion to celebrate.—

John Stow, is usually described as an antiquary, but he must be mentioned also as an historian. The utility of his works in this character has been experienced by many writers; for various facts are related by him that are curious and interesting, and which strongly mark the age wherein he lived. Stow was indefatigable in his Collections, and honest and faithful in his recitals; and there is a simplicity in him, which sometimes gives greater pleasure than more finished narratives.—Thomas Newton extended his historical views beyond the limits of his own nation; for he wrote a history of the Saracens, drawn out of Augustus Curio, and a summary, or brief chronicle of the Saracens and Turks.—Previously to the present period, a history of Italy, which escaped our notice in its proper place, was published by William Thomas, who had resided a considerable time at Bologna and Padua.—David Chambers, contrary to the spirit of the age, which, when our own tongue was not used, made Latin the vehicle of information, was the author of three historical works, relative to France, England, and Scotland, that were composed in the French language. This was a model not to be followed; nor do we recollect its having ever been followed. In David Chambers it arose from his peculiar situation: for he was intimately connected with France, and resided in that country the last twenty years of his life. He was a zealous partizan of Mary queen of Scots.

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In the reign we are treating of, we meet with the first examples that have occurred to us of memoir writing. A beginning was made by a famous captain of the age, sir Roger Williams, who published the "Actions of the Low Countries," being the scene of his military employments. He wrote, likewise, "a brief Discourse of War." His narrative has been well spoken of by competent judges. Another memoir writer was sir Francis Vere, who was one of the greatest heroes of an heroic age. Like Cæsar, he recorded his own exploits, and gave to his work the title of Commentaries, "being diverse pieces of service wherein he had command." We need not say that he did not attain to the glory of Cæsar as an author.—Sir Walter Raleigh drew up, in queen Elizabeth's time, a report of the truth of the fight about the isles of Azores, and a relation of the action at Cadiz; but the completion of his historical character was yet to come; and Camden's merit, in the same view, belongs to the next reign.

Hitherto (David Chambers excepted) we have confined our attention to those who wrote history in English; but there were several authors who still gave the preference to the Latin language as the vehicle of their narrations. It was in that language that Humphrey Lluyd composed his Breviary of Britain, and his Chronicle of Wales. It was in the same language that Stanyhurst digested his four books concerning the Transactions of Ireland. Twyne acted in a similar manner with regard to his commentaries on the affairs of Albion, Britain, and England, as did Nevyle in his narrative, dedicated to archbishop Parker, of the Norfolk insurrection under Kett.—John Lesly, bishop of Ross, and the great and able advocate of Mary queen of Scots, deserves to be mentioned with particular respect as a Latin historian. His history of his country, from the beginning of the nation to his own times, is a testimony both of his learning and judgment. This prelate has lately been brought into notice, and justice has been done to his character.—But of all the historians who, during this period, wrote in Latin, the first rank is due to George Buchanan.

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We enter not into the particular circumstances of his personal conduct. We do not deny that he has fallen into what was then the common error, of paying too much credit to early traditions. We do not mean to say that he was free from the influence of political prejudices and connections. These things we leave to be discussed by the angry controversialists of the present day. He has doubtless his faults: but as a beautiful writer of history in Latin, none of his contemporaries can be placed in competition with him. He may even be mentioned as a rival of the famed Roman historians. This praise will be granted him, whatever may be detracted from him in other respects, and this praise will be transmitted to the latest posterity.

Among the ecclesiastical historians of the reign, a just tribute of applause is due to John Fox, commonly called the martyrologist. In his acts and monuments of the church, he has left a proof of literary diligence, united with a considerable portion of literary ability. That there should be some errors in so large a work will not be esteemed surprising, and his zeal for protestantism has occasionally carried him too far. But in general, he is a very faithful writer; and his authorities have stood the test of a rigid examination. The simplicity of the style, and the interesting narratives of those who suffered for their integrity, have preserved a popularity to the book, especially among the lower class of religious readers, which still continues.—Another ecclesiastical historian of this period was on the different side of the question, being attached to the Roman hierarchy. We mean Nicholas Harpsfeld, whose works, which are written in Latin, are now nearly forgotten, though the author is understood to have been a man of ability. His chief performance, which is a church history of England, is reported to be learned and laborious.

The biographical productions of the age do not make a distinguished figure. John Pit's collections are not totally useless, though the errors of them are almost innumerable. He is disgraced, likewise, by his extreme partiality in favour of Romish writers. Nevertheless, he has the merit of giving some desirable information concerning several popish

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authors of this country, who lived abroad at the time of the reformation.—A life of St. Patrick of Ireland was published by Stanyhurst, which we may conjecture not to have wanted a sufficient portion of credulity.—A far more valuable performance was the life of the excellent bishop Jewel by Lawrence Humphrey. These works were in Latin. There was no English biography at this time, or at least very little, excepting the materials of that nature which might be collected from Fox's book of Martyrs, and our general historians.

Antiquarian learning was diligently cultivated during the reign of Elizabeth. Several of the persons whom we have ranked as historical writers, deserve to be particularly noticed as antiquaries. Boteville has had great applauses bestowed upon him in this view; and Twyne is entitled to equal praises.—As to Humphrey Lluyd, it is well known that he sustained an eminent rank in the same department of literature. His researches were deep and curious, and his writings are still consulted by those who devote themselves to the study of antiquities.—The chief work of John Stowe was his "Survey of London," which has passed through many editions; and, in the present century, has been re-published, with great advantage, by Strype. On this work have been founded the subsequent histories of London; and, whatever commendations they may claim from their additions and improvements, a large portion of merit will still belong to Stow.—Archbishop Parker must not here be forgotten, who was not only a zealous and liberal encourager of antiquarian pursuits, but an excellent antiquary himself. Of this he exhibited ample proofs in his Treatise concerning the Antiquity of the English Church, and in his edition of four of our best old historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Ayssterius, and Thomas Walsingham.—Sir Henry Savile exerted himself in the same walk, in his publication of several of the principal writers of English affairs after Bede.

In 1590, a society of antiquaries was formed, which subsisted to the year 1614, when it was dissolved by the despotic jealousy of King James the First. Its peculiar ob-

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ject was, to illustrate whatever related to the history, laws, public offices, judicial courts, and customs of our country; and the members of it were most of them eminently qualified for the undertaking. Their discourses are, in general, learned, judicious, and instructive; and, at the same time, they have the quality of being very concise. The writers of them chiefly confined themselves to a simple representation of facts, and they seem to have known nothing of the art of spreading a small quantity of matter into a large space. Some of the persons who were ornaments of this society, and particularly sir Robert Cotton, sir John Doddridge, and Selden, properly belong to the next reign. The most illustrious names, that fall under our present survey, are those of Agard and Camden, who were antiquaries of the first distinction. Arthur Agard's Essays on various curious objects, shew, that in English antiquities, he had few equals, and scarcely any superiors.—It was in the period we are treating of that Camden published the first edition of his Britannia, the merit of which is universally known, and has again and again been testified by successive republications. The popularity of the work is as great as ever, and learned men have esteemed it an honour to have their names united with that of Camden.

We come now to a very important object; the state of Poetry in the age of Elizabeth. The precise nature of the English poetry of this reign, and the improvements to which it was carried, will demand a particular consideration; but, before we proceed to that part of the subject, it will be proper to take a survey of the degree in which Latin poetry was cultivated in Great Britain, during the period before us. We have already had occasion to observe, that Drant was tolerable in this way, and Thomas Newton elegant. Were it a point of sufficient importance, we could, without much labour, bring forward the names of a number of persons, who exercised themselves in Latin versification. Anthony Wood, in his Athenæ, frequently speaks of his learned men, as having been good poets; but it will be found, upon examination, that they had very slender pre-

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tensions to the character. The poems mentioned often appear to be little more than college exertions, or occasional tributes of respect to the memory of deceased scholars. Many of them were never published; and those that were published received only the applauses of a limited circle, and were quickly forgotten. In general, it may be remarked, that Latin poetry was more successfully pursued in foreign countries, especially in Italy, than in our own; and with regard to Great Britain, it flourished less in England than in Scotland. This may partly be accounted for from the peculiar circumstances of the literary men of the latter kingdom; numbers of whom had their education, and resided much abroad; the consequence of which was, that they contracted a higher relish for a species of composition that was peculiarly fashionable in the places they visited, and an excellence in which recommended them to protection and patronage. Not having the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum" at hand, perhaps we may be obliged to omit a few names that might deserve to be noticed: but we cannot be guilty of any material injustice, in confining our attention only to the four following persons; Patrick Adamson, George Buchanan, James Crichton, and Mark Alexander Boyd.

Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, was a man of distinguished abilities, and left, it is said, several considerable manuscripts behind him. His published works, consist almost wholly of Latin poetry. Among these, the principal are a version of the book of Job, and Herod, a tragedy. As we have never read them, it is not in our power to say what is their specific poetical merit.

Of Buchanan, we can speak with some degree of knowledge. His character as a poet has usually been placed as high as his character as an historian. That in this view, he has uncommon excellence cannot be doubted; but perhaps the praises bestowed upon him have sometimes been expressed in the language of exaggeration. It has been the opinion of the best judges, that he occasionally fails in the strictness of classical purity, and that he is often Ovidian rather than Virgilian. His poems were very

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very numerous, including tragedies, elegies, and compositions of a miscellaneous nature; but his prime work in the poetical line, is his translation of the psalms. As this work is very excellent in general, so the author particularly distinguished himself in his version of the hundred and fourth psalm. With regard to this psalm, nine Scottish poets displayed their emulation by shooting in the same bow; but they fell far short of him in the contest.—As we now take our leave of Buchanan, it may not be amiss to observe, that he was the chief literary glory of Scotland during the present period. His genius was of the first rate, and it was eminently enriched with the stores of learning. The subjects he wrote upon were various, and in all of them he shewed how much he could excel in the powers of composition. Those who are the most dissatisfied with his personal character, and the most abhorrent of his political conduct, will concur with us in our sentiments of his abilities as a writer and a scholar.

In the "Admirable Crichton," as he has commonly been styled, we arrive to the prodigy of the Scotch Biographical History. His life, if credit may be given to a number of authors, was nothing but a scene of wonders. The powers, both of body and mind, which he possessed, and his exertions of them, are represented as having been transcendant. But it unfortunately happens, that several of the narratives which we have of him, cannot sufficiently be depended upon. They are of doubtful authority, and particularly, will not stand the rigid test of chronological discussion. Neither are the few monuments which are left of his genius of such a nature, as will support the extraordinary ideas that have been entertained concerning him. Four Latin poems constitute all his writings that have been transmitted to posterity; and it cannot be said of them, that they place his poetical invention and abilities in a very high point of view. The character which has been given of Crichton, by one who has examined the matter, is as follows: "He was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have

have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar felicity in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound, may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted, whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment."

Mark Alexander Boyd was of a character similar to that of Crichton. He resembled him in the liveliness of his talents, the eccentricity of his disposition, and the variety of his adventures. In amiableness of temper and manners, Crichton appears to have been superior to Boyd. But however defective Boyd might be in this respect, he was undoubtedly a man of abilities, which he exerted on various occasions. He left behind him several manuscripts on philological, political, and historical subjects, written in Latin and in French, both which languages were as familiar to him as his native tongue. The only works of his that have ever been committed to the press are his Poems, which consist of two books of epigrams, fourteen Epistles of the Heroines, and fourteen Hymns. As a Latin poet, Boyd rises above many of his contemporaries. His Epistles of the Heroines are happy imitations of Ovid; and his Hymns, which are in the heroic measure, are endued with a poetic spirit. They are not, as might be expected from the appellation given them, of a devotional, but a miscellaneous nature. Three instances excepted, they derive their separate titles from some herb, flower, or plant. We have no difficulty in asserting, that Boyd was a better poet than Crichton.

English poetry assumed a peculiar importance and character in the reign of Elizabeth. This was owing to a variety

chiefly to causes and circumstances, in the delineation of which the best task we can perform, and the most acceptable service we can offer to our readers, is to give an abridged account of what Mr. Warton has advanced upon the subject. The age we are treating of has often been called the golden age of our poetry; and, if this may not be true in the strictest sense, it was certainly a very poetical era, and few periods can be mentioned in our history which shine in that view with superior lustre. The principal features that strike us in the poetry of the times, are the predominancy of fables, fiction, and fancy, and a fondness for interesting adventures and pathetic events. This characteristic distinction may be chiefly referred to the following principles, which were sometimes blended, and sometimes had a single operation. The principles we speak of were the revival and vernacular versions of the classics; the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy; a degree of superstition, sufficient for the purposes of poetry; the adoption of the machineries of romance; and the frequency and improvement of allegoric exhibitions in the popular spectacles.

After the corruptions and impostures of popery had been detected and exposed, and the treasures of antiquity had been opened, a new turn was given to the human mind. The fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became general; and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. Formerly the ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the ancient languages to themselves, and for ages they had succeeded in being almost the sole depositaries of knowledge; but now men were eager to obtain an acquaintance with what had so long been injuriously concealed. The laity had been taught to assert their natural privileges, and would not permit the clergy to retain the monopoly of literature. Such was the curiosity for new discoveries, that all persons of leisure and fortune were excited to the study of the classics. What at present would be deemed pedantry, was then considered as politeness. An indispensable and almost the principal object in the cle-

cle of a gentleman's education, was the acquiſition of an accurate apprehenſion of the phraſeology and peculiarities of the poets, hiſtorians, and orators of antiquity. This, however, often went little farther than to a kind of technical erudition. Even the young ladies of faſhion were carefully inſtituted in claſſical letters; and the daughter of a ducheſs was taught not only to diſtil ſtrong waters, but to conſtrue Greek. Queen Elizabeth's paſſion for literary attainments was then natural, and reſulted from the genius and habitudes of the age.

As the works of antiquity were thus familiariſed to the great, every thing was tinctured with ancient hiſtory and mythology. Though the Heathen Gods were diſcountenanced by the rigid puritans, on a ſuppoſition that they tended to cheriſh and revive a ſpirit of idolatry, they came, nevertheleſs, into general vogue. Almoſt every pageant that was preſented to the queen, when ſhe paraded through a country town, might be regarded as a pantheon. If ſhe paid a viſit at the ſeat of any of her nobility, on entering the hall, ſhe was ſaluted by the penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Nay, the paſtry-cooks were expert mythologiſts; for at dinner, ſelect transformations of Ovid's Metamorphoſes were exhibited in confectionary; and the ſplendid iceing of an immenſe hiſtoric plumb-cake was embroſſed with a delicious baſſo-relievo of the deſtruction of Troy. When, in the afternoon, her majeſty condeſcended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with tritons and nereids; the pages of the family were converted into wood-nymphs, who peeped from every bower; and the footmen gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. This inundation of claſſical pedantry ſpeedily infected our poetry. Theſe novel imaginations dazzled our writers, who were already trained in the ſchool of Fancy, and induced them to decorate every compoſition with the divinities and heroes of Pagan antiquity. The conſequence of this was, that alluſions to ancient fable, were often introduced without any regard to propriety. The familiarity, however, with the ancient ſtory, which by degrees had ſpread among the common

people,

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people, was not so much owing to the prevailing study of the original authors, as the numerous English versions of them, which were continually appearing, and employed many a pen. These translations had the effect of giving a general notoriety to the tables of antiquity. Ovid's Metamorphoses in particular, translated by Golding, disclosed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate; and as all the Pagan stories existed in the English language, and in books generally read, learned allusions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were understood by common readers and common spectators. It is observable, that our countrymen were first principally struck with the *fabulous inventions* of the classics. To their regularity of design, and justness of sentiment, little attention was paid. It was beyond the comprehension of a comparatively rude age, to imitate the natural beauties of the ancient poets, in preference to their mythological fictions. These fictions captivated so strongly the fancy of our writers, that they were pursued to a blameable excess.

Another prime source of the poetry peculiar to this period, may be traced in the numerous translations of Italian tales into our own tongue. As these narratives were not confined altogether to romantic inventions, but described real life and manners, and excelled in the artful arrangement of fictitious yet probable events, they afforded a new gratification to the public, and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. A multitude of plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed, took their rise from them; and they turned the thoughts of our writers to inventions of their own, of a similar nature. Previously to the circulation of these books, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were little known; and the distress in particular, that arises from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been painted in its most interesting forms. From a perusal of the works in question, our poets in general, and especially our dramatic poets, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute either a comic or a tragic story. As knowledge increased, genius had

had wanted ſubjects and materials; but the tranſlations from the Italian authors, ſupplied the place which had formerly been occupied by legends and chronicles. The old hiſtorical ſongs of the minſtrels contained, indeed, much bold adventure, heroic enterpriſe, and ſtrong touches of rude delineation; but they were defective in that multiplication and diſpoſition of circumſtances, and in that deſcription of characters and events, approaching nearer to truth and reality, which a more curious and diſcerning age began to demand. By this ſort of reading, the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were ſoftened; and the Italian paſtoral, with ſome mixture of the kind of incidents deſcribed in Heliodorus's Ethiopic Hiſtory, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sidney's Arcadia.

One thing which deſerves to be remembered is, that the reformation had not yet diſpelled every deluſion, nor diſinchanted all the ſtrong holds of ſuperſtition. In the mouldering creed of tradition a few dim characters were yet apparent; nor was it indeed to be expected that the firſt glimmerings of the morning of ſcience ſhould cauſe every goblin of ignorance to vaniſh. Reaſon permitted a few demons ſtill to linger, which ſhe choſe to retain in her ſervice under the direction of poetry. It was ſtill the belief of men, or at leaſt they were willing to believe, that ſpirits were hovering around, who brought with them "Airs from heaven or blaſts from hell;" that the ghoſt was duly releaſed from his priſon of torment at the ſound of the corfue; and that fairies imprinted myſterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Even the pretenders to ſcience and profound ſpeculation continued to be infected with much of this credulity. Moſt of theſe fabulous notions had undoubtedly been credited and entertained, in a far higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the poets of thoſe times were too little ſkilled in the arts of compoſition, to manage the fictions of the age with proper addreſs and judgment. In Elizabeth's reign we were arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chaſtened by reaſon, had produced a kind of civiliſed ſuperſtition, and left a ſet of traditions, which were ſufficient for poetic decoration,

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tion, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common ſenſe. Even the ſcientific Hobbes gave his ſanction to an extravagance of fancy in the productions of poetry.

Although the Gothic romance had been ſomewhat ſhaken by the claſſical fictions, and the tales of Boccace and Bandello, it ſtill maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted caſtles, borrowed from the magic ſtore-houſe of Boiardo, Arioſto, and Taſſo, began to be employed by the epic muſe. Serviſe critics have cenſured theſe ornaments, as abounding in whimſical abſurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. Homer and Virgil, however, are not free from abſurdities, if ſuch they are to be ſtyled. On the principles of the critics in queſtion, genuine poetry, eſpecially in the higheſt ſpecies of it, would be deſtroyed.

From the religious dramas, allegory had been adopted into our civil ſpectacles. Not only were the maſques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth furniſhed with heathen divinities, but the virtues and vices were imperſonated, ſignificantly decorated, accurately diſtinguiſhed by their proper types, and repreſented by living actors. The ancient ſymbolical ſhews of this ſort began to aſſume a degree of poetical elegance and preciſion; and it was not merely in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was ſhewn, but in the contexture of ſome of the fables or devices preſented by groupes of ideal perſonages. Creative invention was quickened by theſe exhibitions, which reflected back upon poetry, what poetry had given. In conſequence of their familiarity and public nature, a national taſte for allegory was formed; ſo that the allegorical poets now wrote to the underſtanding and feelings of the people. Even romance was turned to this channel; and in the Fairy Queen, allegory is built upon chivalry.

It added to the freedom, we may ſay to the boldneſs, of the poetry of this period, that our writers were not hampered by the ſtrictneſs of rules. Very few critical treatiſes had been produced, and only one art of poetry. Canons of compoſition had not abſolutely determined concerning ſentiments and images; nor was genius awed by the ap-

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prehenſion of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of Taſte. Every man indulged a capriciouſneſs of invention, without too cloſely conſulting the laws of correctneſs. It was chiefly to his voluntary feelings, to his own immediate and peculiar modes of conception, that the poet made his appeal. With this freedom of thought there was often joined an undiſguiſed frankneſs of expreſſion; and both together contributed to produce the flowing modulation which now marked the meaſures of our poets, and which, by an almoſt unaccountable perverſion of taſte, degenerated in the next age into the oppoſite extreme of diſſonance and aſperity. Selection and diſcrimination had not yet marked the character of our authors, who wandered in the purſuit of univerſal nature, without heſitating at breaking the boundaries of imaginary method.

It was not till the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, that ſatires, properly ſo called, were produced, and theſe were very few in number. Readers who loved to range in the regions of artificial manners and narratives were not attached to pictures at large of the vices of the times. The poetry of this period was too ſolemn and reſerved to ſtoop to common life. Satire is never carried to perfection, or univerſally admired, excepting in an age that is highly poliſhed.

As the importance of the female character was not commonly acknowledged, nor woman admitted into the general commerce of ſociety, the intercourſe of ſexes had not imparted a comic air to poetry, or ſoftened the ſeverer tone of our verſification, with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment. The abſence of ſo material a circumſtance muſt have influenced the contemporary poetical compoſitions. Many traces remain of what was in this reſpect the ſtate of manners among our anceſtors. Women, we ſee, uſually make but a ſmall figure in the tragedies and comedies of Shakeſpeare. However neceſſary the heroines may, on the whole, be to the piece, they are commonly degraded to the back-ground. As to the ladies in comedy, they are nothing more than "merry wives," plain and cheerful matrons. If, in the ſmaller poems, a lover

praiſes

praises his mistress, she is complimented, without elegance and without affection, in strains that are neither polite nor pathetic. She is described not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments of nature, but as an eccentric being, that inspired sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

All, or most of the circumstances we have mentioned, contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and figurative cast to the poetical language of our country; and even the prose compositions of Elizabeth's reign took a tincture from the same causes. In the mean while, general knowledge was widely and rapidly increasing. Books began to be multiplied, and many useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own tongue. Science, at the same time, had not made such great advances as to damp the spirit of invention. On the whole, we were now arrived at a period that was eminently propitious to original and rude poetry. It was a period in which genius was rather directed than governed by judgment; and in which taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or controul, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

At a time when the objects pointed out by us were calculated to have such a powerful operation upon the nature and character of our poetry, a genius arose of the first order, who was animated with a full portion of the spirit of the age, and capable of painting it in all its energy. We need not say that this genius was Spenser, and that we refer to the Fairy Queen. Perhaps it might have been expected, from the revival and study of the ancient poets and critics, that instead of the romantic manner of composition which had formerly prevailed, a new, and what is commonly esteemed, a more legitimate taste of writing would have succeeded. But it was very slowly that such a change was effected; nor was any considerable improvement made in the state of criticism till a long time after the restoration of ancient learning. It was not to Homer, or Virgil, or even to Tasso, that Spenser looked up for a model, but to Ariosto; and it was consequently his intention to produce

a poem which should consist of allegories, enchantments, and romantic expeditions, conducted by knights, giants, magicians, and fictitious beings. If he was blamable in this respect, the fault is not so much to be imputed to himself as to the times in which he lived. It was natural for him to follow the mode of composition which then was most admired, and to adopt those laws of taste, which Italian critics had approved: for Italy, not France, was in queen Elizabeth's reign the arbiter of elegance; and in Italy Ariosto was greatly preferred to Tasso. Whether this opinion was just or not, we are not here called upon to determine. It is sufficient to our purpose to observe, that it was embraced by Spenser; and that upon this principle, the plan of his poem, which is as follows, was framed.

It is supposed by the poet, that the FAERY QUEENE, according to an annual custom, held a magnificent feast, that continued twelve days, in the course of which twelve several complaints are presented before her. In order, therefore, to redress the injuries which occasioned these complaints, she dispatches, with proper commissions, twelve knights, each of whom, in the adventure allotted to him, proves an example of some particular virtue; and has one complete book assigned to him, of which he is the hero. Besides these twelve knights, severally exemplifying twelve moral virtues, Spenser has constituted one principal knight or general hero, viz. PRINCE ARTHUR, who represents Magnificence; a virtue which is supposed to be the perfection of all the rest. ARTHUR assists in every book; and the end of his actions is to discover, and win GLORIANA, or Glory. The character, in short, which the poet professes to pourtray, is "the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues."

In establishing one hero, who should exemplify the grand character which the author had in view, he evidently copied the cast and construction of the ancient epic. But while he was sensible of the importance of maintaining the unity of the hero and of his design, he was not sufficiently convinced of the necessity of preserving that unity of action, without which the former could not be properly accomplished.

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pliſhed. His method, at leaſt, is very different from that which was practiſed by Homer and Virgil, in conducting their heroes to their propoſed end. If it ſhould be enquired how it is that ARTHUR executes the grand, ſimple, and ultimate deſign intended by Spenſer, it may be alleged that the hero, by lending his reſpective aſſiſtance to each of the twelve knights, approaches, in his allotted defence of them, ſtill nearer and nearer to glory, till at laſt he gains a complete poſſeſſion. But the reward in this caſe is ſuperior to the merit. ARTHUR, inſtead of merely giving his aid to the other knights, ſhould have been the leading adventurer. If in his own perſon he had exerted himſelf in the protection of the twelve virtues, he might deſervedly have been ſtyled the perfect pattern of all, and have ſucceeded in the taſk aſſigned, the attainment of glory. As matters now ſtand, the difficulties which we expect Arthur to ſurmount, in order to accompliſh his final atchievement, are removed by others; and therefore he only ſuſtains a ſubordinate or acceſſory character. On the whole it may be remarked, that the adventures in the "Fairy Queen," when ſeparately taken as the ſubject of each ſingle book, have not always a mutual dependence upon each other, and conſequently do not contribute, in the manner which they ought to have done, to form one legitimate poem. Spenſer was probably aware, that by conſtituting twelve ſeveral adventures for twelve ſeveral heroes, the want of a general connection would often be diſcerned. Perhaps it was on this account that he was ſometimes induced to reſume and finiſh, in a diſtant book, a tale formerly begun and left imperfect. This conduct, however, is highly inartificial; as it deſtroys that repoſe of mind which is felt after having accompanied a hero, through a variety of ſtruggles and diſtreſſes, to ſucceſs and victory. To introduce him afterwards in a lower ſcene of action, is to derogate from his dignity, and to ſully the tranſcendent luſtre of his former exploits.

It is probable that Spenſer would have involved both himſelf and his readers in leſs embaraſſment, if he had made every book one entire detached poem of twelve cantos, without any reference to the reſt. In that caſe he would

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would have written twelve different books, in each of which he might have completed the pattern of a particular virtue in twelve knights respectively; whereas by the method he has adopted, his endeavour to represent all the virtues exemplified in one, has failed of success.

Whatever truth there may be in these observations, it is not meant to apply them, in the way of condemnation, to the "Fairy Queen." It would not be reasonable to judge Spenser by precepts which he did not attend to, and the authority of which was not acknowledged at the period wherein he lived. It would have been totally foreign to his design, and to the nature of his subject, to have conducted it according to the strict laws of classical taste, and the rules of Aristotle. Our great poet proceeded upon a plan which was derived from the established modes and ideas of chivalry; and in doing this he wrote with the exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. His business was to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images; which were conceived with rapidity, and arranged without art. As the chief sources of delight were the various and the marvellous, Spenser was naturally led to ransack alike the regions of reality and romance, of truth and fiction, in order to find the proper decorations and furniture for his noble undertaking. Destitute, therefore, as the "Fairy Queen" may be thought to be of that economy which epic severity requires, we scarcely regret the loss, while it is so amply supplied by something more powerfully attracting; something which engages the feelings of the heart, in preference to the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem, the graces of which please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and in which the force and faculties of creative imagination give the highest delight, Spenser's is that poem. Though the critic may not be satisfied, the reader is transported; which is perhaps the best of all praises.

Did the nature and limits of our article admit of it, we might, with the assistance of the able writer who has paid the best and completest attention to the subject, enter into a long discussion of the "Fairy Queen." We might en-

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large on Spenser's imitations from old romances, and from Chaucer and Arioſto; on his uſe and abuſe of ancient hiſtory and mythology; on his allegorical character; and on various other particulars: but it muſt ſuffice to take ſome notice of his ſtanza, verification, and language. The ſtanza, with the addition of one line, was adopted by him from the practice of Arioſto and Taſſo, the faſhionable poets of the age. But in chuſing this ſtanza, Spenſer did not pay a proper regard to the genius of the Engliſh language, which does not fall ſo eaſily as the Italian does, into a frequent repetition of the ſame termination. Nor did Arioſto and Taſſo embarraſs themſelves with the neceſſity of finding out ſo many ſimilar terminations as Spenſer. In their "Ottava Rima" there were only three ſimilar endings, alternatively rhyming; and the two laſt lines formed a diſtinct rhyme: whereas, in Spenſer, the ſecond rhyme is repeated four times, and the third three. By this conſtraint, our poet was almoſt unavoidably led into ſeveral faults of conſiderable magnitude. It hence happened, that however unimportant the thing might be which he intended to expreſs, he was ſometimes obliged to dilate it with trifling and tedious circumſtances. At other times, when matter failed towards the cloſe of a ſtanza, he was laid under the neceſſity of running into a ridiculous redundancy and repetition of words; and he was occaſionally forced to make out his complement of rhymes, by introducing a puerile or impertinent idea. To the difficulty of a ſtanza, ſo injudiciouſly choſen, may be properly imputed the great number of his ellipſes; for it is eaſy to conceive, that the conſtraint which is productive of ſuperfluity, ſhould be likewiſe the cauſe of omiſſion.

Though theſe inconveniences flowed from Spenſer's meaſure, it muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that ſome advantages aroſe from it; and it may in particular be affirmed, that the fulneſs and ſignificancy of his deſcriptions are frequently owing to the prolixity of his ſtanza. Laden as he was with ſo many ſhackles, it is indeed ſurpriſing that he ſhould, upon the whole, execute a poem of ſuch uncommon length with ſo much eaſe and ſpirit. He has not been ſo careleſs as to permit the ſame word to be repeated as a rhyme to itſelf, in more than four or five inſtances; which

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which is an extraordinary circumſtance, when we conſider the time wherein he wrote, and the nature of his ſtanza. Amidſt his affected and too frequent uſe of obſolete words and phraſes, his ſtyle, in general, is diſtinguiſhed by its perſpicuity and facility. His lines are ſeldom broken by tranſpoſitions, antitheſes, or parentheſes; and his ſenſe and ſound are equally flowing and uninterrupted. In ſhort, when every fault is pointed out which can be aſcribed, either to the author himſelf, or to the age in which he flouriſhed, it will ſtill be found, that he eminently excelled in the richneſs of his harmony, and the beauty of his verſification.

In the character of a poet, Spenſer ſuſtains a very high and eminent rank. We ſhould run no hazard of rational contradiction, were we to aſſert, that in powers of invention and richneſs of fancy, he has ſcarcely ever been exceeded. To the diſplay of theſe talents, the ſubjects he was led to by the faſhionable reading of the times were peculiarly accommodated. There could not be more admirable inſtruments in the hands of a genuine poet, than the adventures and manners of chivalry, and the ſuperſtitions and enchantments of the dark ages. They gave ſcope for all the wildneſs and beauty of imagery, and for all the ſplendour and majeſty of deſcription; circumſtances of which Spenſer hath availed himſelf in the higheſt degree. As, therefore, the "Fairy Queen" comes recommended to us by ſo many excellencies, it may be thought ſurpriſing that, at preſent, it ſhould, comparatively, have only a ſmall number of readers. But this may be accounted for from ſeveral cauſes. The cuſtoms and manners deſcribed by Spenſer are vaniſhed away, and conſequently are little underſtood by the bulk of mankind. His alluſions, likewiſe, are often too abſtruſe and learned for common apprehenſion; and ſome degree of obſoleteneſs hangs upon his language. Nor is allegorical poetry adapted to the general underſtanding. Hence it is that Spenſer, with all his merit, can only be the laſting favourite of the few, who, by reading and true taſte, are fully qualified to appreciate, and to feel, his tranſcendent beauties. By ſuch perſons, he will be admired and applauded, ſo long as poetry ſhall continue to be the object of admiration and applauſe.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY;

For the Year 1791.

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CHAPTER I.

France. State of Parties previous to the Meeting of the States-General. Riot at Paris. Aſſembly of the States. Conteſt with reſpect to the Mode of voting by Orders or by Poll. The Tiers Etat conſtitute themſelves a National Aſſembly. Aſſembly repulſed from the Hall of the States. Take an oath never to ſeparate till the Conſtitution be ſettled. Royal Seſſion. Union of the Orders. Projects of the Court. Paris encircled with Military. Soldiers releaſed from Priſon by the Populace. Famine in Paris. Remonſtrance of the Aſſembly. Diſmiſſion of M. Neckar. Diſturbances at Paris. Firmneſs of the National Aſſembly. The Baſtille taken.

WHATEVER may be the ultimate conſequences of the French Revolution, its origin and progreſs conſtitute perhaps the moſt intereſting ſubject of modern hiſtory. It has exhibited the ſingular ſpectacle of twenty-ſix millions of citizens, with a unanimity which is unparalleled, with a perſeverance which was irreſiſtible, and in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt of human prejudices, demanding and recovering their long-loſt rights. It has exhibited ſomething ſtill more extraordinary; and has evinced, that a ſtanding army is no longer that paſſive engine in the hand of deſpotiſm, that it was formerly imagined; and that to retain mankind in a ſtate of ſlavery, they muſt be kept in a ſtate of ignorance. In the detail of ſuch a revolution, the eye of humanity will neceſſarily be arreſted by ſome ſcenes on which it is impoſſible to dwell with ſatisfaction, and the judgement of the politician will as neceſſarily meet with ſome tranſactions which it cannot approve. There is nothing ſo difficult to moderate and reſtrain as popular ſentiment; and the vacillations of opinion are ſeldom regulated, but commonly vibrate from one extreme to the other.

The attention of all Europe was fixed on the meeting of the ſtates-general, while the minds of the French themſelves continued to be agitated by a variety of different and contending paſſions and opinions. Thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of power, were deſirous of retaining it; and thoſe who had no dependence but upon their abilities, hoped that

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a new conſtitution of things would elevate them to that rank, to which, from their merits, they conceived themſelves entitled. The two great parties, which were afterwards to divide the nation, were already formed. The pertinacity with which the privileged orders were determined to adhere to their peculiar advantages, is evident from what we have ſtated in our preceding volume; and on the other hand, a multitude of writers of the greateſt eminence were employed in exciting the tiers état to the aſſertion of its rights. The claims of the nobility and clergy were examined with acuteneſs, with preciſion, with research. The balance of ability was greatly on the ſide of the people, and the uſages of antiquity faded before the light of genius and of truth. Previous to this period, that extraordinary ſociety or club was formed, which has ſince had ſo conſiderable, and perhaps ſo dangerous an influence over the public affairs. Its members inſtituted an active correſpondence throughout the kingdom, and, by cultivating a uniformity of opinion on political ſubjects, produced, in time, that uniformity of will which afterwards appeared to govern the popular counſels.

The political ſchiſm which had already taken place, was not likely to be compoſed during the neceſſary turbulence of an election. Yet the ſyſtem on which the French elections are conducted, is leſs liable to tumult and diſorder than where there is an open and immediate poll; and though the leaders of parties were ſufficiently animated in the ſupport of their particular ſentiments, the great body of the people were either dubious of the conſequences, or were not yet warmed in the conteſt. The meetings for the nomination of electors were not ſo numerouſly attended as might have been ſuppoſed; and even in ſome places where a thouſand voters were expected, not above fifty appeared.

The ſpirit of the two parties appeared in the *cahiers* (or inſtructions to their repreſentatives) which were drawn up upon this occaſion. The nobility and the clergy in their ſeparate chambers digeſted their inſtructions, the firſt object of which was to preſerve what they were pleaſed to conſider as their own rights, the ſecond to demand the rights of the people. The monarch, according to this ſyſtem, was the only devoted party; and with his rights the ſtates-general might make as free as they pleaſed. All parties, however, agreed in renouncing a part of their pecuniary privileges. The inſtructions of the tiers état were haſtily compoſed; but that uniformity of ſentiment, which the ſufferings of the people, and the activity of their leaders had produced, was evident in them all. They demanded the ſuppreſſion of more abuſes than the national aſſembly has been able in three years to deſtroy, more than perhaps ever can be eradicated; and a conſiderable number of their requiſitions are ſtill remitted to the conſideration of poſterity:—all, however, were unanimous in demanding a conſtitution, liberty, the aſſumption of natural rights, and the protection of the public treaſure from the depredations of the court. The deputies of each order departed thus inſtructed to maintain the claims of their particular party. "Thoſe of the tiers état," ſays a diſtinguiſhed member of the aſſembly, "carried with them the benedictions and the prayers of the multitude."

Such were the objects which occupied the reflecting part of the nation;

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tion; but whatever might be the expectations of others, the favourites of the court could not fail to perceive that the violence of the ſtorm would break upon their heads. The inſtructions which were dictated by the tiers état for the government of its repreſentatives, the vaſt extent of its demands, and the number and ability of the publications in ſupport of theſe demands, made them feel the neceſſity of oppoſing againſt that order the full force of every exiſting authority. Mr. Neckar was deſirous that the ſtates might be aſſembled at Paris; but the king preferred Verſailles, where the communication between the deputies and the court would be more immediate. It is evident that the deputies of the tiers état, who were collected from every remote quarter of the kingdom, and many of them entirely unacquainted with the great world, aſſembled under conſiderable diſadvantages, in a place where every thing bore the ſtamp of deſpotiſm, and where intrigue and venality had induſtriouſly ſpread their choiceſt allurements. The agents of the court had already eſtabliſhed conferences at the houſe of Madame Polignac—and it is ſaid by the democratic party, that the chief object of their deliberation was to unite the two principal orders, the clergy and nobles, and to retain the commons in a ſtate of dependence and ſubjection. On the other hand, the deputies of the people were not without their jealouſies; and thoſe of each province held their ſeparate meetings, till at length they became united in that of Brittany.

It is evident that the voting by orders, and not by poll, that is, the aſſembling of the different orders in their ſeparate chambers, and inveſting each with the prerogative of putting a negative on the proceedings of the other two, was the only ſtratagem which the court party could employ to diſconcert the meaſures of the patriots; and it muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch an arrangement would probably have rendered the whole proceedings of the ſtates-general a ſolemn farce, and could never have eſtabliſhed any ſubſtantial reform. This was the great queſtion which was preſently to involve the national repreſentatives in faction and conteſt.

Whilſt theſe important affairs were in agitation, a circumſtance occurred which is ſuppoſed on all ſides to have originated in ſome malevolent motive, whether of a public or a private nature is not ſo eaſy to decide. In the populous ſuburb of St. Antoine, a very conſiderable paper-manufactory was carried on, and a number of workmen conſequently maintained by a reſpectable citizen of the name of Reveillon. This gentleman had accuſed a certain Abbé Roy, a dependant of the Count d'Artois, of forgery, and the matter was before the courts. Whether, therefore, it aroſe from a private revenge in the abbé, or whether the court party might imagine that a riot at Paris would afford a fair apology for the approach of ſuch a number of troops as might effectually awe the repreſentatives of the nation, is uncertain. A groundleſs report was maliciouſly ſpread, that Mr. Reveillon intended conſiderably to lower the wages of his workmen, that he had aſſerted the bread was too good for them, and that they might ſubſiſt as well upon potatoe flour, with many inſinuations to the ſame purpoſe. On the 27th of April, both the ſuburbs of St. Marc and St. Antoine were in motion, and Mr. Reveillon was burnt in effigy. The

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moſt extraordinary circumſtance was, that it had been announced to the police, that the preceding days a number of ſtrangers had entered the city, and theſe men were now the leaders of the inſurrection, and by profuſely ſcattering money amongſt the mob, increaſed both its numbers and its ferocity. A ſmall detachment of the French guards was ſent to effect their diſperſion, but it was too weak to reſiſt the rabble. At the dawn of the following day, the outrages were renewed, and Mr. Reveillon's houſe was pillaged and deſtroyed. At length a formidable party of the military was ordered out, and, after a conſiderable carnage, the tumult was quelled.

Paris was ſcarcely recovered from the great terror and apprehenſion which this inſurrection occaſioned, when the day appointed for the meeting of the ſtates-general arrived. The 5th of May 1789 will be long memorable in the annals of France, and it was indeed a day of feſtivity to the whole nation. It commenced, agreeably to ancient cuſtom, with a religious act. The repreſentatives of the people, preceded by the clergy, and followed by the king, repaired to the temple of God, accompanied with an immenſe crowd, offering vows and prayers for ſucceſs to their labours.

The whole ceremony indicated the diſtinction of orders, and evinced that it was the ſecret determination of the court ſtrictly to maintain it. Faithful to the cuſtoms of 1614, the nobility were arrayed in a ſumptuous robe, and the deputies of the commons in the habit of the law. Thus while the nobility and the higher clergy glittered in gold and jewels, the repreſentatives of the people appeared in mourning; but the ſpectators were not dazzled by ſplendid appearances, that body which repreſented the nation engroſſed all its applauſe, and *Vive le tiers état!* was echoed from every quarter.

The aſſembly was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the monarch declared his ſatisfaction at ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, after ſo long an interval, by the repreſentatives of his people—he mentioned the heavy debt of the public, a part of which had accumulated during his own reign, but in an honourable cauſe—he hinted at the general diſquiet and the love of innovation which had taken poſſeſſion of the minds of the people; but depended on their wiſdom and moderation in the adoption of alterations; and concluded by warm profeſſions of his own attachment to the public welfare.

The ſpeech of M. Barretin, the keeper of the ſeals, was but little attended to:—it, as well as that of the king, recommended temper in adopting alterations in the government; intimated, that the king had acceded to the wiſhes of his people in granting to the tiers état a double repreſentation, but left the great queſtion of voting by orders or by poll entirely undecided.

The attention which was refuſed to the keeper of the ſeals, was moſt liberally accorded to Mr. Neckar, though his addreſs continued for three hours. It did not, however, paſs exempt from criticiſm—ſome alledged that it was an ill-arranged and ill-digeſted maſs; the republicans complained that he did not enlarge ſufficiently on their favourite topic; they expected it to be filled with projects and with ſyſtems—the privileged orders wiſhed him to be more explicit in tracing out a plan of proceedings for the ſtates-general—but all agreed that nothing could be more luminous and ſatisfactory

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factory than the details which he recited concerning the finances of the nation; nothing more ſimple and correct than the plans which he propoſed.

The ſituation of Mr. Neckar, indeed, at this critical period, was peculiarly delicate. He was placed between the court and the people, at a time when it was impoſſible for an honeſt man to attend equally to the claims of each party. From him every thing was expected by the people, while it was impoſſible to comply with the plenitude of their demands. On the contrary, the love and admiration of the people was ſufficient to render him ſuſpected by the courtiers. He was deſpiſed by the high nobility, for his inferiority of birth and family; and he was odious to the bigoted clergy, becauſe he was a proteſtant. Fortunately for Mr. Neckar, his integrity was above all ſuſpicion; every perſon in the kingdom, from the monarch to the peaſant, was ſatisfied of the rectitude of his heart. His temper and moderation were of the utmoſt importance in turbulent times. His influence frequently interpoſed againſt the exceſſes of popular infatuation; and the dignity and virtue of his character, gave him conſequence even with the enemies of liberty.

The firſt object of the ſtates was the *verification of their powers*, that is, the production of their writs of return, and the identification of the deputies, which is equivalent to our members of parliament taking their ſeats. On this occaſion the fatal conteſt between the three orders commenced. The deputies of the commons ſaw evidently that the people had in vain achieved their wiſh with reſpect to the number of repreſentatives—in vain the deputies of the tiers état in number conſtituted a half of the ſtates-general, if by the mode of voting they were to be reduced to a third. They ſaw further, that ſhould the verification of their powers be effected in ſeparate chambers, each order would then be conſtituted a legal aſſembly, and the union be rendered for ever impoſſible.

Thus the diſpute which was of ſo much importance, concerning the voting by orders or by poll, commenced even upon the verification of the returns. At the appointed hour the deputies of the tiers état aſſembled in the common hall. After half an hour ſpent in that confuſion to which ſo numerous an aſſembly was naturally liable, a voice more articulate than the reſt proclaimed the neceſſity of order, and adviſed the appointment of a temporary preſident, a ſecretary and clerks. When the chair was to be taken, the public voice demanded the oldeſt citizen—he preſented himſelf, and aſked of the aſſembly the aſſiſtance of ſome younger man to act as his herald. Some debates and motions ſucceeded this appointment, the general object of which was, that the orders ſhould proceed to verify their powers in common, and not in ſeparate chambers.

The deliberations of the clergy and nobility were not leſs tumultuous. In the firſt order, the members deliberated under the temporary preſidency of the cardinal de la Rochfaucault, whether the powers ſhould be verified and legitimated in the chamber appropriated to the order?—133 members were for the affirmative; 114 were of opinion that this ceremony could only take place in the general aſſembly, and before commiſſioners choſen from all the three orders.

In the ſecond, M. de Montboiſier,

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ſier, as the oldeſt nobleman preſent, was called to the chair—Two motions were made, one for the verification of the powers, by commiſſioners excluſively choſen from the order of nobility; and the other, for the ſame verification, before commiſſioners ſelected from the three orders—The principal argument in favour of the firſt of theſe opinions, was, that the order themſelves were the only judges competent to decide the legality of pretenſions to nobility; and in anſwer it was urged, that the elections had been ſanctioned by the three orders of each bailiwick, and the oaths adminiſtered in their preſence. It was, however, determined in favour of the verification in their own chamber, by 188 voices againſt 47.

The commons ſatisfied that a ſtate of inaction would in a ſhort time effect their wiſhes, determined to perſevere. They carried their reſpect to this principle ſo far as not to open the addreſſes which were directed to the deputies of the tiers état, and which lay upon their table. The clergy alſo ſuſpended the verification of their powers; but the nobility, who conceived that every thing was to give way to their rank and privileges, declared themſelves a legal aſſembly, and on the 13th of May ſent a deputation to the commons to acquaint them with theſe proceedings.

In the mean time, the clergy, who were divided in their opinions, and among whom the curés* (or parochial clergy) were in general attached to the cauſe of the people, propoſed to the other orders the nomination of commiſſioners to conciliate the preſent diſputes. To this propoſal the nobility aſſented; and in the aſſembly of the commons, it was moved by M. Rabaud de St. Etienne, a proteſtant clergyman, "that commiſſioners ſhould be named to treat with the clergy and nobility concerning the union of the orders in one common aſſembly."—M. Chapellier, an advocate of Rennes in Brittany followed it by a motion, declaring "that no mode of conciliation could be admitted which had not for its baſis, the deliberation of all the orders in common; and cenſuring in ſtrong terms the conduct of the nobility." The count de Mirabeau obſerved, "that the nobility commanded, while the clergy negociated." He was therefore of opinion, that the commiſſioners ſhould not treat with the nobles, but with the clergy only; but at length the ſimple propoſition of M. Rabaud was adopted, with a trifling amendment.

It is almoſt unneceſſary to add, that the negociation proved fruitleſs. The nobility, having heard the report of the commiſſioners, voted, "that in the preſent aſſembly of the ſtates-general, the powers ſhould for this time be verified ſeparately; and that the examination of the advantages or inconveniences reſulting from this method, ſhould be referred to a future period, when the orders ſhould take into conſideration the future organization of the ſtates-general." Thus every hope being defeated of a union with the nobles, the commons determined, on the 27th of May, to ſend a ſolemn deputation to the clergy, to invite them, "in the name of the God of peace, and of the true intereſt of the nation, to unite themſelves with them in one general aſſembly, to

* Mr. Burke and other Engliſhmen have ſtrangely tranſlated this word literally *curate*, whereas it ſtrictly anſwers to the legal meaning of our word *parſon*, and means an eccleſiaſtical perſon poſſeſſed of a benefice with cure (or care) of ſouls.

conſult

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conſult together on the means of reſtoring unity and concord."

While this matter was in agitation, a letter was received from the king, deſiring "that the conciliatory commiſſioners would meet in the preſence of the keeper of the ſeals, and ſome other commiſſioners to be appointed by the monarch, in order to renew their conferences, &c."—In the mean time the chamber of the nobles (this ſovereign legiſlative chamber, as it was called by one of its members) paſſed a decree, aſſerting, "that they regarded as a part of the conſtitution, the diviſion of orders, and their reſpective veto, and that in theſe principles they were determined to perſevere." The ſecond conferences therefore were equally unſucceſsful with the firſt.

In the courſe of theſe conferences, however, the miniſters propoſed on the part of the king, a plan of conciliation, or rather of arbitration, the principal articles of which were,

1ſt. That the three orders ſhould verify their powers ſeparately, and ſhould reciprocally communicate the ſame to each other.

2d. That, in caſe any conteſts ſhould ariſe, commiſſioners ſhould be appointed from the three orders to take the ſame into conſideration, and report their opinions to their different orders.

3d. That ſhould the three orders not agree upon any topic in diſpute, the final determination ſhould be referred to the king.

The two ſuperior orders applauded this plan of conciliation; but while the nobles pretended to accept it, they qualified their acquieſcence with a decided reſolution to adhere to their former decree, and to the plan of voting only by orders. At the ſame time they proceeded to the verification of the powers, to determine the controverted returns, &c.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting among the nobles, the clergy ſent a deputation to the tiers état, lamenting the high price of bread, and propoſing a committee of the three orders to concert on the means of alleviating this evil.—This proceeding of the clergy was repreſented by ſome members as deeply inſidious, as a means of ingratiating themſelves with the people, and of rendering the deputies of the commons unpopular ſhould they refuſe to co-operate. It was therefore immediately reſolved to return for anſwer, the following addreſs:—

"Penetrated with the ſame zeal as yourſelves, and viewing with tears of compaſſion the public diſtreſs, we beſeech and conjure you to unite with us immediately in the common hall, to conſult on the means of remedying theſe calamities."

It was now near five weeks ſince the ſtates-general had aſſembled, and the three orders found themſelves in the ſame inactive ſtate as at firſt. The commons now conceived it was full time to emerge from this criminal inactivity, and to afford an opportunity to thoſe of the nobility and clergy who profeſſed a ſincere love for their country, to become active in its favour. They divided themſelves into twenty committees, to facilitate the public buſineſs; and on the 10th of June, the Abbé Sieyes propoſed that they ſhould make a laſt effort for a union of the orders; and ſhould this fail, that they ſhould then form themſelves into an *active aſſembly*, for the diſpatch of buſineſs.

In conſequence of this propoſal, notice was ſent on the 12th, that they would immediately order a general call of the deputies of all the bailiwicks, including thoſe of the privileged claſſes; and in default of their appearance, that they would proceed to the verification of the powers, and to

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to every other public object, as well in the abſence, as in the preſence of the nobility and clergy.

On the 13th, they proceeded to the call of the deputies, and to the verification of the returns—Not one of the nobility appeared; but on the call of the bailiwick of Poitou, three curés, Meſſrs. Ceſve, Ballard, and Jalot, preſented themſelves with the writs of their return, which they laid reſpectfully upon the table. Theſe venerable paſtors were received with the warmeſt tranſports of joy and acclamation. They had declared their patriotic intentions the preceding evening in the chamber of the clergy; and they were followed the next day by five more of their brethren, among whom were Meſſrs. Dillon, Gregoire, and Bodineau.

In the mean time the unpopularity of the nobility increaſed almoſt to deteſtation, and to their obſtinacy the inactivity of the ſtates was wholly attributed--At length the deputies of the people felt themſelves ſupported by the public opinion, and on the 17th of June proceeded to the daring ſtep of aſſuming to themſelves the legiſlative government. On that memorable day, in the midſt of an immenſe concourſe of ſpectators, the deputies of the people, with ſuch of the clergy as had already joined them, announced themſelves to the public by the ſince celebrated denomination of the *national aſſembly*. The hall re-echoed with the exclamations of joy—"Long live the king and the national aſſembly!" But when the repreſentatives of the people roſe in ſolemn ſilence to take the oath to fulfil with fidelity their duty, every eye was melted into tears, and the enthuſiaſm of liberty took poſſeſſion of every heart. This ſolemn ceremony was ſucceeded by the nomination of M. Bailly to the office of preſident for four days only, and that of Meſſrs. Camus and Piſon de Galand, as ſecretaries for the ſame ſpace of time.

The firſt reſolutions of the aſſembly, while they were declaratory of the conſtitutional power veſted in the repreſentatives of the people, had alſo a regard to the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate—They pronounced "all levies, impoſts or taxes, unconſtitutional, which were not enacted by the formal conſent of the repreſentatives of the nation—that conſequently the exiſting taxes were illegal and null;—that notwithſtanding this, they, in the name of the nation, gave a temporary ſanction to the preſent taxes and levies, which were to continue to be levied in the manner they had hitherto been, only until the ſeparation of the aſſembly, from whatever cauſe that might happen." The aſſembly proceeded to declare, "that as ſoon as, in concert with his majeſty, it ſhould be able to fix and determine the principles of national regeneration, it would take into formal conſideration the *national debt*, plating from the preſent moment the creditors of the ſtate under the ſafeguard of the honour and faith of the French nation." Theſe decrees conclude with a reſolution "to inquire into the cauſes of the ſcarcity which at that period afflicted the kingdom, and into the means of remedying and averting that calamity."

The firm and temperate conduct of the national aſſembly awed at firſt, but did not entirely diſconcert the ariſtocratic party, which aſſiduouſly employed every artifice to elude the blow with which they were threatened. The chamber of the clergy had been engaged for ſome days in diſcuſſing the manner in which they ſhould verify their powers; and a number of curés had, during the diſcuſſion, preſented their writs or titles

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to the aſſembly, and returned to their own chamber to defend the popular cauſe. At length, on the 19th of June, a majority of that body voted for the verification of their powers in common with the national aſſembly; which ſo much alarmed the court party, that it is confidently reported that M. d'Eſpremenil propoſed, in the chamber of the nobles, an addreſs to the king, beſeeching him to diſſolve the ſtates-general.

The court was then at Marly, and M. Neckar, engaged with a dying ſiſter, left the king expoſed to every ſtratagem that was ſpread for his unſuſpecting goodneſs. Repeated councils were held, the reſult of which could not be very favourable to the views of the people: at laſt the king was impreſſed with the neceſſity of commanding the advance of an immenſe military force to the capital; but both the object and the conſequences evince that the deſigns of the party did not end there.

On Saturday the 20th of June, the day on which the clergy were to unite themſelves to the national aſſembly, the heralds proclaimed a royal ſeſſion; and a detachment of the guards ſurrounded the hall of the ſtates, in order, as it was alleged, that it might be properly prepared for the reception of the king. The preſident and members were repulſed from the door, and acquainted by the commanding officer, that his orders were—"to admit no perſon into the hall of the ſtates-general." —"And I proteſt againſt theſe orders," replied the preſident, "and the aſſembly ſhall take cognizance of them."

Supported as they perceived themſelves to be by the voice of the people, the aſſembly were not to be diſcouraged by this puerile expedient. On the motion of M. Bailly, they immediately adjourned to a tennis-court ſituated in the ſtreet of old Verſailles, where, in the preſence of applauding thouſands, they took a ſolemn oath, "never to ſeparate till the conſtitution ſhould be completed."

On the 22d another proclamation was iſſued, intimating, that the royal ſeſſion was deferred till the ſucceeding day; and the hall of the ſtates-general ſtill remained cloſed, on account of the preparations. The aſſembly wandered from place to place, before they could find a roof capacious enough to ſhelter ſo conſiderable a number. They at length aſſembled in the church of St. Louis; and the majority of the clergy, amounting to 149, aſſembled in the choir. After a deputation to arrange the ceremonials, the doors of the choir were thrown open; the clergy advanced with their preſident the archbiſhop of Vienne at their head, and the deputies cordially embraced each other. The ſanctity of the place contributed to render the meeting more ſolemn and affecting, and the plaudits of the ſpectators teſtified at once their triumph and their joy. Two nobles of Dauphiné, the marquis de Blacon, and the count d'Agoult, attended at the ſame time to preſent their powers; the reſt of the minority of the firſt order waited the reſult of the royal ſeſſion.

The events which had taken place at Verſailles, and the change which they announced in the diſpoſitions of the government, with reſpect to the national aſſembly, excited at Paris the utmoſt conſternation. Nor could a letter from Mr. Neckar to the magiſtrates, aſſuring them that no ſuch meaſure was intended as the diſſolution of the ſtates-general, entirely allay the ferment. The royal ſeſſion took place on the 23d. It was at once attended with all that is awful, and all that is magnificent in arbitrary

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arbitrary authority. The hall was ſurrounded with ſoldiers. The two privileged orders were ſeated; while the repreſentatives of the people were left without, expoſed for more than an hour to the rain. M. de Mirabeau urged the preſident to conduct the nation immediately to the preſence of the king, or to demand at leaſt that the gates ſhould be opened —They were opened at length to the deputies, but not to the people. The throne was raiſed upon a kind of ſtage or platform at the bottom of the hall; on the right the clergy were ſeated, and on the left the nobility. The four heralds, with their king at arms, were ſtationed in the middle; and at the bottom of the platform was a table, round which the miniſters were ſeated: one chair however was vacant, which ſhould have been occupied by Mr. Neckar; nor did any part of this ill-conducted buſineſs excite more general diſguſt than the abſence of that favourite miniſter.

The ſpeech and declarations of the king were a ſingular mixture of patriotiſm and deſpotic authority. He ſpoke of the *favours which he conferred* upon his people; and cauſed to be read a declaration of his ſovereign will, as if the legiſlature were only called to conſent to ſuch laws as ſhould be propoſed by the executive power, without being competent to propoſe any themſelves. He ſuggeſted a plan of government, in which the diſtinction of orders was to be preſerved, allowing them however occaſionally to debate in common with the king's approbation. Not a word was advanced on the ſubject of the reſponſibility of miniſters, nor on the participation of the ſtates-general in the legiſlative power. The odious tyranny of *lettres de cachet* was formally announced to be continued, with only a few modifications. A guarded ſilence was obſerved concerning the liberty of the preſs, and the pernicious tax of lotteries. In fine, the king declared *null* the deliberations and reſolves of the 17th, and *ordered* the deputies immediately to ſeparate, and to appear before him on the following day.

When the king retired, he was followed by all the nobility, and by a part of the clergy. The deputies of the commons remained motionleſs on the benches, and preſerved a gloomy ſilence. The marquis de Breze, grand-maſter of the ceremonies, entered the hall, and addreſſing himſelf to the preſident—"You know, Sir, (ſaid he) the intentions of the king."—The preſident anſwered reſpectfully, that the aſſembly was not conſtituted to receive orders from any perſon; but the fervid Mirabeau, riſing from his ſeat, and addreſſing himſelf to M. de Breze, replied—"The commons of France have determined to debate. We have heard the intentions which have been ſuggeſted by the king; and you who cannot be his agent at the ſtates-general, you who have here neither ſeat, nor voice, nor a right to ſpeak, are not the perſon to remind us of his ſpeech. Go tell your maſter, that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing ſhall expel us but the bayonet." The enthuſiaſm of the aſſembly ſeconded that of the orator, and with one unanimous voice they declared that ſuch was their determination.

The grand-maſter retired, and a profound ſilence pervaded the hall. It was at length broken by M. Camus, who declaimed againſt the royal ſeſſion, which he ſtigmatized by the contemptuous appellation of a *bed of juſtice*, and propoſed a reſolution declaratory of the aſſembly's adherence to their former decrees, which

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which he aſſerted no power could annul. He was warmly ſupported by Meſſrs. Barnave, Glaizen, Pethion, the abbé Gregoire, and many others. The abbé Sieyes only obſerved—"Gentlemen, you are the ſame to-day, that you were before." The motion of M. Camus was unanimouſly decreed: and was followed by another, which pronounced "the perſons of the deputies inviolable."

Mr. Neckar had ſeveral times ſolicited his diſmiſſion, but was conſtantly refuſed by the king. When his majeſty returned from the royal ſeſſion, he was followed by a crowd of more than 6000 citizens, and the public diſcontent was manifeſted by murmurs and exclamations. The majority of the members of the aſſembly waited on Mr. Neckar, and conjured him to continue faithful to the nation and the king, and to remain in the miniſtry. The conſternation however became general, when, at ſix in the evening, the queen ſent for the director-general of the finances, and through her apartments introduced him to the royal cloſet. At about half paſt ſix the miniſter came out of the palace on foot by a private door; but as ſoon as he appeared, there was a general ſhout of *Vive M. Neckar!* Some of the populace proſtrated themſelves on their knees, intreating him to remain with them as their father and their guide. He ſatisfied their importunities, by aſſuring them, that he would not abandon them; that he had pledged himſelf to the king, and was reſolved to live or die with them.

The aſſembly met the next day, and were joined by the majority of the clergy; and on the 25th, forty-nine members of the nobility, with the duke d'Orleans at their head, made their appearance in the aſſembly. The rector of the univerſity of Paris, and the prior of Marmontiers, came the ſame day to augment the number of the patriotic clergy. In the mean time, the diſſidents among the privileged orders continued in a violent ſtate of agitation; and M. d'Eſpremenil even accuſed the deputies of the tiers état of high treaſon. The archbiſhop of Paris, preſſed by his connections into the ſervice of a party which in his heart he condemned, paſſed at this period for one of the chiefs of the ariſtocratic cabal; and his houſe had been attacked by a furious mob, who, however, were diſperſed without miſchief by a detachment of the guards. On the 26th he was introduced to the aſſembly by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux. Some others of the ſuperior clergy, and the count de Crecy, took their ſeats on the ſame day; and even in the chamber of the nobles, the union was again deliberated upon, and with leſs animoſity than before.

In the midſt of contending factions, which occaſionally ſported with his credulity or his fears, the king ſtill preſerved a genuine love of his people, and an unviolated regard to the claims of humanity. He felt himſelf unhappy at the diviſions which exiſted, and determined to end them if poſſible at any expence. In a private converſation with the duke de Luxembourg, preſident of the chamber of nobles, he is ſaid to have urged his wiſhes for a union of the orders. He was anſwered by that nobleman, "That the order to which he belonged, were not contending for themſelves, but for the crown—he repreſented that the nobility was the only body on which his majeſty could depend to defeat the exorbitant claims of the people—that while the ſtates-general continued

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tinued divided, the royal authority was ſafe; but whenever the day ſhould arrive that the ſtates ſhould vote by numbers only, from that moment the monarch was at their mercy."—"I conjure your majeſty," continued the duke, "to condeſcend to reflect upon what I have the honour to ſtate."—"M. de Luxembourg," replied the king with firmneſs, "I have reflected, I am determined upon any ſacrifice; nor will I that a ſingle man loſe his life in my cauſe." In conſequence of this determination, the king on the 27th ſent a preſſing letter to the preſident of the nobility, and to the minority of the clergy, intreating the union of the orders—The clergy obeyed without heſitation; but it was not till after a very warm debate, that the nobility ſubmitted to the mandate of the ſovereign. At the firſt news of this joyful event, Verſailles was tranſported with joy; the people ran in crowds to the palace, and demanded the king and queen. Their majeſties appeared at a balcony, and the atmoſphere re-ecchoed with the ſhouts of *Vive le roi! Vive la reine!* A general illumination concluded the triumph of the day.

The union of the orders, however, inſtead of terminating their machinations, ſerved but to increaſe the ſecret oppoſition of thoſe who were likely to be the only ſufferers by the proſperity of France; the courtiers and favourites who battened on its ruin. The diſſolution of the aſſembly was now the only means which could reſtore to power theſe harpies of the ſtate; and there is no cauſe to doubt that this was at leaſt their firſt object. Whether the king was acquainted or not with the project is uncertain, but probably he was not. His fears and his paſſions were doubtleſs excited by the artful circle that ſurrounded him; every intemperate expreſſion that eſcaped in the aſſembly, was aſſiduouſly conveyed to his ears, and its object even magnified. The turbulence of the metropolis was made an excuſe for beſieging it with mercenary armies. Thirty-five thouſand men had been gradually collected from the extremities of the kingdom, and ſtationed in the neighbourhood of Paris and Verſailles. Camps were traced out for a ſtill greater force; the lines of fortification were already drawn upon every eminence, and almoſt every poſt was occupied which commanded the city, or the roads which communicated with it. Theſe arrangements were made under the inſpection and authority of Marſhall Broglio, an approved commander, a man habituated from his youth to the ſubordination of a military life, and generally ſuppoſed to be completely devoted to the party of the court.

It muſt be remarked, however, that if the enemies of the popular cauſe were thus active, its friends (whatever might be their motives, whether ſelfiſh or patriotic) were not deficient in vigilance and foreſight. A juſt apprehenſion of what might happen, had certainly induced them to inſert in the *cahiers*, or inſtructions of the tiers état, a clauſe inſiſting that the pay of the ſoldiers ſhould be increaſed; and on the ſame ground there is reaſon to credit the reports of the ariſtocratic writers, that the democrats had taken every means to ingratiate themſelves with the ſoldiery, and to perſuade them that in that capacity they did not ceaſe to be citizens, but that on the contrary it was degrading and diſhonourable to them to be conſidered as mere automatons, as mere paſſive inſtruments in the hands of power. Among the active *apoſtles* of *liberty*, as they are termed, who preached with ſuch ſucceſs

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ceſs to the military, the marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in the French guards, is particularly noted. It was indeed abſurd to ſuppoſe, that amidſt the general ſpread of information, the ſoldiery ſhould either want means of acquiring it, or be callous to its influence. So early, therefore, as the 23d of June, two companies of the grenadier guards had refuſed to fire upon the populace in ſome trifling riot. For this and other ſymptoms of diſobedience the troops were confined to their barracks; but on the 25th and 26th they were ſeen by hundreds entering into the Palais Royal, the theatre of popular politics, and joining with the crowd in ſhouting *Vive le tiers état!* In the ſame manner all the military that entered Paris were conducted to the Palais Royal; they were loaded with favours and careſſes by the populace, and heard with an attentive ear the declamations againſt the baſeneſs of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow citizens, and againſt the ſlavery of their preſent condition. The ſoldiers melted into tenderneſs, exclaimed with ardour, *Vive la nation!* and returned to their camp to extend the conqueſts of democracy. An incident happened on the 30th of June, which, while it evinced the diſpoſitions of the nation and the ſoldiery, was probably not without its effects in attaching ſtill more ſtrongly the army to the people. About ſeven o'clock in the evening, a letter was brought to a coffee-houſe adjacent to the Palais Royal, intimating that eleven of the French guards were at that moment confined in the priſons of the abbey St. Germain, for having refuſed to fire on their fellow-citizens; and that the ſame night they were to be transferred to the dungeons of the Bicetre, a place deſtined for the vileſt miſcreants. Their cauſe was preſently conſidered as the cauſe of the public; a mob was almoſt inſtantly collected, the priſon was forced, and the dragoons and huſſars which were called out to quell the riot grounded their arms. A ſoldier who had been committed for ſome other crime, was reconducted to priſon by the populace, who declared that they would only take under their protection thoſe who were the victims of patriotiſm.

The eleven priſoners, who had been thus taken from the abbey, were conducted by the people to the hotel de Geneve, where they were kept, as they expreſſed it, under the guard of the nation, while a deputation of twenty young citizens of Paris was diſpatched to the national aſſembly to ſolicit their pardon. After ſome deliberation, in which it was doubted whether the aſſembly ought to receive a deputation from perſons not appearing in a public character, a decree was paſſed, recommending in ſtrong terms to the citizens, a ſtrict attention to peace and order, and promiſing to apply to the king, to whoſe province the matter in queſtion entirely belonged, in favour of the ſoldiers. A deputation from the aſſembly accordingly waited on his majeſty, who declared himſelf much ſatisfied with the decree of the aſſembly, and granted a free pardon to the priſoners.

In the mean time, Paris was not only threatened with the ſword, but was actually viſited with one of the ſevereſt calamities that can affect a country. A moſt alarming ſcarcity pervaded the whole kingdom; but it may well be conceived that its effects were moſt ſeverely felt in the capital, which has no reſources of its own, and in which the accumulation of human beings muſt neceſſarily increaſe the miſery. The gates of

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of the assembly were surrounded by famishing multitudes, beseeching their compassion and assistance. A committee of subsistence was formed, and various reports were received—prohibitions were issued against the exportation of corn, and a subscription was opened in Paris for the relief of the poor.

Under the pressure of such a calamity, it may well be supposed that the people were not in the most tranquil state. The general exclamation was for bread; and unfortunately the unsettled state of the metropolis afforded a daily excuse for the augmentation of the military in its neighbourhood, at a time when their presence served but to increase the general distress. The jealousy of the assembly was awakened farther, by observing, that for this service foreigners were preferred to the native troops; and that more soldiers were assembled round the hall of the states-general itself, than would have sufficed to repel a foreign invasion. On the 10th of July a spirited remonstrance to the king was proposed by the count de Mirabeau, and enforced by that commanding eloquence of which he was master.

The address itself was a model of fine composition—It stated, "that in consequence of the royal invitation to the assembly to give his majesty some proofs of its confidence, they now came to inform him of the alarms at present existing, though not among themselves—that they came not to solicit his protection, for they entertained no fears—that in a recent instance, his majesty had seen the power which he possessed over the minds of his people—that the prisoners to whom the populace had given liberty, had of themselves resumed their fetters, and a single word from the mouth of the king had restored the public tranquillity—that such a sway was the only one which could now be exercised in France—that the danger from the assembling of the troops did not threaten the assembly, but the provinces, the capital, which might be jealous for their representatives—that the danger was for the troops themselves, who might be alienated from authority by their communication with the metropolis—for the labours of the assembly, which might be interrupted by popular commotions—and for the king himself: It concluded with expressing their own firmness, and beseeching his majesty to remove the troops, since a monarch adored by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen could not possibly stand in need of foreign support."

The king's answer was cool and unsatisfactory. It alleged that "the tumultuous conduct of the metropolis was the reason for having surrounded it with troops—disclaimed every idea of interrupting the freedom of the assembly's deliberations—but added, that if the presence of the troops gave umbrage, he was ready, at the request of the assembly, to transfer the states-general to Noyon or Soissons, and to repair himself to Compiégne in order to maintain the necessary communication with the assembly." This answer was applauded by some of the members; but its design could not escape the penetration of Mirabeau, who in a short speech detected its fallacy. "The answer of the king," said he, "is a direct refusal to our requisition—we will remove neither to Noyon nor to Soissons—we will not place ourselves between two hostile armies, that which is besieging Paris, and that which may fall upon us from Flanders or Alsace—we have not asked permission to run away from the troops; we have desired

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fired that the troops ſhould be removed from the capital."

The plot which had been meditated by the court party for the diſſolution of the aſſembly, and the full reſumption of deſpotic authority, was now nearly matured. The democratic writers aſſert, that the night of the 14th or 15th of July was fixed upon for the attack of the metropolis, which was already beſieged by fifty thouſand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon. They deſcribe the arrangement which was planned for the aſſault, and aſſert that not only the diſſolution of the aſſembly, but a dreadful and ſanguinary execution of its moſt diſtinguiſhed members, was to ſucceed. However little we may be diſpoſed to credit this ſtatement, the leaſt we can believe is, that, agreeably to the declaration in the royal ſeſſion of the 23d of June, the authority, if not the very phantom, of the ſtates-general was to be annihilated; and that ſomething evil was intended was moſt evident from the diſmiſſion of M. Neckar, which prematurely took place on the 11th of July. He was at dinner when the letter of the king, ordering him to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours, was brought him by the count de la Luzerne. Without appearing in the leaſt concerned, he had the preſence of mind to tell the count, as he went out of the room, "We ſhall meet this evening at the council;" and continued to converſe with the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux and the reſt of the company that were dining with him, as if nothing had happened. About five o'clock in the afternoon he complained of his head, and aſked madame Neckar, if ſhe would accompany him in an airing. He was not more than a league from Verſailles, when he deſired the coachman to drive on more quickly to St. Ouen, his country houſe. He paſſed the night there, and prepared for the journey; and this was the firſt opportunity he had of acquainting his daughter the baroneſs de Stael with the event, though ſhe was preſent when he received the order of the king to quit the country like a criminal. He took the road to Bruſſels, as the neareſt frontier; and carried with him, ſays M. Rabaud, the confidence of the nation.

The new arrangements in the miniſtry were the marſhal Broglio, miniſter of war; the baron de Breteuil, preſident of finance; M. de la Galeziere, comptroller-general; M. de la Porte, intendant of the war department; and M. Foulon, intendant of the navy.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the conſternation which pervaded the whole city of Paris on the receipt of this afflicting intelligence. The perſon who firſt reported it at the Hôtel de Ville was conſidered as a madman, and with difficulty eſcaped ſome harſh treatment. It was no ſooner confirmed than the ſhops and places of public amuſement were all ſhut up. A body of citizens ran to the warehouſe of a ſtatuary, and having procured the buſts of M. Neckar and the duke d'Orleans, dreſſed them in mourning, and carried them about the ſtreets. In their progreſs they were ſtopped by a German regiment, the royal Allemand, when the buſts were broken by the ſoldiers; one man loſt his life, and others of the populace were wounded. The army now came forward in force, with the prince de Lambeſq, grand ecuyer of France, at their head, who was ordered to take poſt at the Thuilleries. Irritated, perhaps, at the ſpirit of reſiſtance which he obſerved in the citizens, he imprudently wounded with his

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ſabre a poor old man who was walking peaceably in the gardens. The French have a remarkable reſpect for age, and this wanton outrage proved the ſignal of revolt; an inſtantaneous alarm was ſpread through the city, and the cry of *To arms* reſounded in every quarter. The Germans were vigorouſly attacked by the populace, who were joined by the French guards, and, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat. From that moment the guards took leave of their officers, they ſet fire to their ſeveral barracks, and formed themſelves into companies with the citizens, to patrol the ſtreets, and preſerve, if poſſible, the public tranquillity.

The citizens of Paris at this moment beheld themſelves in the moſt diſagreeable and critical ſituation. Whether true or not, the reports of the intended attack upon the city were univerſally credited; and the myſterious and impolitic proceedings of the court gave countenance, it muſt be confeſſed, to every ſuſpicion. On the other hand, troops of banditti, the peſts of a populous city, ſuch as are ever ready to take advantage of public commotion, were beginning to collect; and, either from theſe on the one hand, or the foreign ſoldiery on the other, a general pillage was the only event that could be expected. Covered by the darkneſs of the night, ſeveral bands of theſe ruffians paraded the ſtreets, and even ſet fire to the city in different places: the horrid ſilence was interrupted only by confuſed ſhouts, and occaſional diſcharges of muſketry. In this diſaſtrous night ſleep only ſealed the eyes of infants; they alone repoſed in peace, while their anxious parents watched over their cradles.

Verſailles was not more tranquil; but the court party, abandoning themſelves to an indecent joy, concluded the evening of the 12th with a tumultuous banquet. The women of the court mingled with the foreign ſoldiers in laſcivious dances to the ſound of the German muſic—their triumph, however, was not of long duration; a falſe report of 100,000 armed citizens being on the road to Verſailles, joined to their miſtruſt of the national troops, gave at leaſt a momentary check to their extravagant exultation.

The morning of the 13th diſplayed at Paris a moſt affecting ſpectacle of confuſion and diſmay—a band of villains had already pillaged the charitable houſe of St. Lazare—at ſix o'clock the alarm bells ſounded throughout the city, and the terror became univerſal. The citizens aſſembled at the Hôtel de Ville, and no alternative appeared for the protection of their lives and property, but that of embodying themſelves, and forming a regular militia for the defence of the capital. Sixty thouſand citizens were ſoon enrolled, and marſhalled under different commanders: the French guards ſpontaneouſly offered their ſervices, and were diſtributed among the different companies. The ſtandards of the city were diſplayed; trenches were thrown up, and barricadoes formed in different parts of the ſuburbs. Regulations were next eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of order, and a permanent council or committee, to ſit night and day, was appointed. At about half paſt five in the afternoon this committee diſpatched a deputation to acquaint the national aſſembly with the occurrences which had taken place at Paris.

The aſſembly had been engaged, from the day when they preſented their addreſs to the king, in framing a declaration of rights, and the plan

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of a conſtitution; and even in the midſt of theſe alarms they continued without intermiſſion their patriotic labours. In the diſgrace of M. Neckar they ſaw their own ruin determined; yet proceeded with a firmneſs tempered with moderation, a courage ennobled by dignity, which reflects on their conduct immortal honour. In their debates they carefully drew the line, and diſtinguiſhed between the prerogatives and functions of the legiſlative and thoſe of the executive powers; and on receiving the intelligence that Paris was in a ſtate of uproar and confuſion, a deputation was diſpatched to the king, informing him once more of the danger which threatened the ſtate from the preſence of the troops that inveſted the metropolis; intreating in the moſt preſſing terms their removal; and offering to oppoſe their own perſons to the impending ſtorm, and to proceed immediately to Paris to aſſiſt, by their perſuaſion and authority, in the reeſtabliſhment of order and peace. The king remained immoveable in his determination—he replied, "that he was the only judge of the neceſſity of removing the troops; that the preſence of the deputies could be of no ſervice in Paris; on the contrary, they were neceſſary at Verſailles, to proſecute there thoſe important labours which he ſhould continue to recommend."

It is evident that the anſwer of the king could not by any means be agreeable to the aſſembly. It was therefore no ſooner communicated than the marquis de la Fayette demanded an immediate declaration of the reſponſibility of miniſters, and the aſſembly unanimouſly reſolved:

"That M. Neckar and the reſt of the late miniſtry carried with them the confidence and the regret of the aſſembly—that they would not ceaſe to inſiſt on the removal of the troops—that no intermediate power can exiſt between the king and the repreſentatives of the nation—that the miniſters and agents of authority civil and military are reſponſible to the people for their conduct—that the preſent miniſters and counſellors of his majeſty were perſonally reſponſible for the preſent calamities, and thoſe which might be the conſequences of their advice—that the aſſembly having placed the public debts under the ſafeguard of the honour and loyalty of the French nation, no power has a right even to pronounce the infamous word *bankruptcy*—that they perſiſted in all their former decrees—and that theſe minutes ſhould be preſented to the king and the late miniſtry, and committed to the preſs."

The courage of the Pariſians was anſwerable to the firmneſs of the national aſſembly. By the acceſſion of the French guards, they had obtained a ſupply of arms and ammunition, and a conſiderable train of artillery; the ſhops of the armourers were ranſacked for weapons, and the ſoldier-citizens were even trained to ſome appearance of diſcipline. The night of the 13th paſſed without any event of conſequence: the morning diſcovered that, taking advantage of the darkneſs, the troops encamped in the Champs Elyſées had moved off. The people, however, were ignorant of the cauſes of this removal, and an immediate attack was expected. The national guard, for that was the name which the mixed band of ſoldiers and citizens now aſſumed, amounted to the number of 150,000 men; but the majority were ſtill without arms. The marquis de la Salle was named commander in chief; the green cockade which they had at firſt adopted, was changed for the ſince famous national colours,

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red, blue and white; the new army was now more regularly officered; and various deputations were diſpatched in queſt of arms and implements of war. M. de Fleſſelles, the prévôt de marchands (or mayor), made many promiſes on this ſubject; but they all proved, like every part of his conduct, deluſive.

In the courſe of their inquiries after arms, a party of more than 30,000, conducted by M. Ethis de Corny, repaired to the Hôtel des Invalides. M. Sombreuil, the governor, had received orders ſo early as on Sunday the 12th to hold himſelf in readineſs for an attack, and his men had remained during the whole of Monday under arms, and on the morning of Tueſday he permitted them to take a few hours reſt. At this moment M. de Corny arrived; and, on making known to the governor the object of his miſſion, he was anſwered, that the invalids had not any arms. M. Corny was re-conducted by M. Sombreuil to the gate; but it was no ſooner opened than the multitude ruſhed in, in an irreſiſtible torrent, and in a few minutes ranſacked every part of the hôtel.—More than 30,000 muſkets, and twenty pieces of cannon, were the fruit of this expedition. On the oppoſite ſide of the Seine a ſimilar event occurred; there another party attacked the *garde-meuble* de la couronne, and from that ancient ſtore an immenſe number of weapons of different kinds were procured.

It has been generally believed that the taking of the Baſtille was the preconcerted effort of reviving liberty; but this was really not the caſe. Some of the moſt important actions which have been achieved by courage or activity, have in their origin been directed by that imperceptible chain of events which human blindneſs terms accident or chance. Like the *Hôtel des Invalides*, the Baſtille had from the firſt moment of the alarms in Paris been put in a ſtate of defence. Fifteen pieces of cannon were mounted on the towers; and three field-pieces, loaded with grape and caſe ſhot, guarded the firſt gate. An immenſe quantity of powder and military ſtores had been brought from the arſenal, and diſtributed to the different corps; the mortars had been exerciſed, the draw-bridge and gates ſtrengthened and repaired; the houſe of the governor himſelf was fortified, and guarded by light pieces of artillery. The ſhortneſs of the time had not permitted him to be equally provident in laying in a ſufficient ſtore of proviſions. The forces which the fortreſs included were chiefly foreigners. On the morning of the 14th, ſeveral deputations had waited on the marquis de Launay, the governor, to demand arms and peace: they were courteouſly received by him, and he gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his good intentions. Indeed, it is ſaid, that he was himſelf averſe to hoſtile meaſures, had he not been ſeduced by the perfidious counſels of the ſieur Louis de Flue, commander of the Swiſs guards, by the orders of the baron de Bezenval, and by the promiſes of M. de Fleſſelles. The Swiſs ſoldiers had even been engaged by an oath to fire on the invalids who were in the fortreſs, if they refuſed to obey the governor; and the invalids themſelves, it is ſaid, were intoxicated with a profuſion of liquor which had been diſtributed among them.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning, M. de la Roſiere, a deputy of the diſtrict of St. Louis de la Culture, waited on the governor, and was accompanied by a mixed multitude of all deſcriptions. He entered

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entered alone into the houſe of the governor, and the people remained in the outer court. "I come, ſir," ſaid the deputy, "in the name of the nation, to repreſent to you, that the cannons which are levelled againſt the city from the towers of the Baſtille have excited the moſt alarming apprehenſions, and I muſt intreat that you will remove them." The governor replied, "that it was not in his power to remove the guns, as they had always been there, without an order from the king; that he would, however, diſmount them, and turn them out of the embraſures." The deputy having with difficulty obtained leave from M. de Loſme, major of the fortreſs, to enter into the interior court, ſummoned the officers and ſoldiers in the name of honour and their country to alter the direction of the guns, &c.—and the whole of them, at the deſire even of the governor, engaged themſelves by oath to make no uſe of their arms, unleſs attacked. M. de la Roſiere, after having aſcended one of the towers with M. de Launay, went out of the caſtle, promiſing to engage the citizens to ſend a part of the national guard to do the duty of the Baſtille in conjunction with the troops.

The deputy had ſcarcely retired before a number of citizens approached the gate, and demanded arms and ammunition. As the majority of them were unarmed, and announced no hoſtile intention, M. de Launay made no difficulty of receiving them, and lowered the firſt draw-bridge to admit them. The more determined of the party advanced to acquaint him with the object of their miſſion: but they had ſcarcely entered the firſt court, than the bridge was drawn up, and a general diſcharge of muſketry deſtroyed the greater part of theſe unfortunate people.

The motives of the governor for this apparent act of perfidy have never been explained, and it cannot be ſufficiently regretted that the raſh juſtice of the populace did not allow him to enter on his defence before ſome impartial court. All, therefore, that can be ſaid at preſent is, that its immediate effect was to raiſe the reſentment of the people almoſt to phrenſy. The inſtantaneous determination was to ſtorm the fortreſs, and the execution was as vigorous as the reſolution was daring. An immenſe multitude, armed with muſkets, ſabres, &c. ruſhed at once into the outer courts. A ſoldier of the name of Tournay climbed over the corps-de-garde, and leaped alone into the interior court. After ſearching in vain for the keys of the draw-bridges in the corps-de-garde, he called out for a hatchet—he ſoon broke the locks and the bolts; and being ſeconded by the efforts of the people on the other ſide, the two draw-bridges were immediately lowered. The people loſt no time in making good their ſtation, where for more than an hour they ſuſtained a moſt ſevere fire from the garriſon, and anſwered it with equal vigour.

During the conteſt ſeveral deputations from the Hôtel de Ville appeared before the walls with flags of truce, intending to perſuade the beſieged to a peaceful ſurrender: but either they were not diſcovered amidſt the general confuſion, or, what is more probable, M. de Launay deſpaired of finding mercy at the hands of the populace, and ſtill flattered himſelf with ſome deluſive hope of deliverance. The guards, who now acted openly with the people, proved of eſſential ſervice; and, by the advice of ſome of the vete-

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rans of this corps, three waggons loaded with ſtraw were ſet on fire under the walls, the ſmoke of which interrupted the view, and conſequently intercepted the aim of the beſieged; while the aſſailants, being at a greater diſtance, were able to direct their fire to the battlements with an unerring aim. In the mean time the arſenal was ſtormed, and a moſt dreadful havock was prevented there by the prudence and courage of M. Humbert, who firſt mounted the towers of the Baſtille: a hair-dreſſer was in the very act of ſetting fire to the magazine of powder, when M. H. whoſe notice was attracted by the cries of a woman, knocked the deſperado down with the but-end of his muſket—next, inſtantly ſeizing a barrel of ſalt-petre which had already caught fire, and turning it upſide down, he was happy enough to extinguiſh it.

Nothing could equal the ardour and ſpirit of the beſiegers: an immenſe crowd, as if unconſcious of danger, filled the courts of the fortreſs in ſpite of the unremitted fire of the garriſon, and even approached ſo near the towers, that M. de Launay himſelf frequently rolled large maſſes of ſtone from the platform upon their heads. Within, all was confuſion and terror; the officers themſelves ſerved at the guns, and diſcharged their firelocks in the ranks. But when the governor ſaw the aſſailants take poſſeſſion of the firſt bridge, and draw up their cannon againſt the ſecond, his courage then was changed into deſpair, and even his underſtanding appeared to be deranged. He raſhly ſought to bury himſelf under the enormous maſs, which he had in vain attempted to defend. While a turnkey was engaged in diſtributing wine to the ſoldiers, he caught the match from one of the pieces of cannon, and ran to the magazine with an intention to ſet it on fire: but a ſubaltern of the name of Ferrand repulſed him with his bayonet. He then went down to the tour de la liberté, where he had depoſited a quantity of powder: but here alſo he was oppoſed by the ſieur Beguard, another ſubaltern officer, who thus prevented an act of inſanity which muſt have deſtroyed thouſands of citizens, and with the Baſtille would have infallibly blown up all the adjacent buildings, and a conſiderable part of the ſuburb of St. Antoine. De Launay at length propoſed ſeriouſly to the garriſon to blow up the fortreſs, as it was impoſſible that they could hope for mercy from the mob. But he was anſwered by the ſoldiers, that they would rather periſh than deſtroy in this inſidious manner ſuch a number of their fellow-citizens. He then hung out a white flag, intimating his deſire to capitulate; and a Swiſs officer would have addreſſed the aſſailants through one of the loop-holes of the draw-bridge—but the hour was paſt, and the exaſperated populace would attend to no offer of capitulation. Through the ſame opening he next diſplayed a paper, which the diſtance prevented the beſiegers from reading. A perſon brought a plank, which was reſted on the parapet, and poiſed by a number of others. The brave unknown advanced upon the plank; but juſt as he was ready to ſeize the paper, he received a muſket ſhot, and fell into the ditch. He was followed by a young man of the name of Maillard, ſon to an officer of the chatelet, who was fortunate enough to reach the paper, the contents of which were—"We have twenty thouſand pounds weight of gun-powder, and will blow up the garriſon and all its environs, if you do not accept the capitulation."—M. Elie, an

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an officer of the queen's regiment, who was inveſted with a kind of ſpontaneous authority, was for agreeing to terms; but the people indignantly rejected the very word capitulation, and immediately drew up to the ſpot three pieces of artillery.

The enemy now perceiving that the great bridge was going to be attacked, let down the ſmall draw-bridge, which was to the left of the entrance into the fortreſs. Meſſrs. Elie, Hulin, Maillard, Reole, Humbert, Tournay, and ſome others, leaped inſtantly on the bridge, and, ſecuring the bolts, proceeded to the door. In the mean time the French guards, preſerving their habitual coolneſs and diſcipline, formed a column on the other ſide of the bridge, to prevent the citizens from ruſhing upon it in too great numbers. An invalid came to open the gate behind the draw-bridge, and aſked the invaders what they wanted? "The ſurrender of the Baſtille," they cried, and he permitted them to enter. The conquerors immediately lowered the great bridge, and the multitude entered without reſiſtance—the invalids were ranged to the right, and the Swiſs on the left hand, and their arms piled againſt the wall. They took off their hats, clapped their hands, and cried out *bravo* as the beſiegers entered. The firſt moments of this meeting paſſed in peace and reconciliation: but ſome ſoldiers on the platforms, ignorant of the ſurrender, unhappily fired upon the people; who ſuſpecting a ſecond act of perfidy, fell upon the invalids, two of whom, the unfortunate Beguard, who had prevented the governor from blowing up the Baſtille, and another equally innocent, were dragged to the *Place de Grève*, and hanged.

The ſieurs Maillard, Cholat, Arné, and ſome others, diſpute the honour of having firſt ſeized M. de Launay. He was not in a uniform, but in a plain grey frock: he had a cane in his hand, and would have killed himſelf with the ſword that it contained, but the grenadier Arné wreſted it out of his hand. He was eſcorted by Meſſrs. Hulin, Arné, Legris, Elie, and ſome others, and every effort was exerted by theſe patriots to ſave his life, but in vain: —they had ſcarcely arrived at the Hôtel de Ville before his defenders were overpowered, and even wounded by the enraged populace, and he fell under a thouſand wounds. M. de Loſme Salbrai, his major, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his virtues and his humanity, was alſo the victim of the popular fury. The marquis de Pelleport, who had been five years in the Baſtille, and during that time had been treated by him with particular kindneſs, interpoſed to ſave him at the riſk of his life, but was ſtruck down by a hatchet, and M. de Loſme was inſtantly put to death. The heads of the governor and the major were ſtruck off, and carried on pikes through the ſtreets of the city. The rage of the populace would not have ended here—the invalids who defended the fortreſs would all have been ſacrificed, had not the humanity of the French guards interpoſed, and inſiſted on their pardon.

The keys of the Baſtille were carried to M. Briſſot de Warville, who had been a few years before an inhabitant of theſe caverns of deſpotiſm; and a guard of 3000 men was appointed over the fortreſs till the council at the Hôtel de Ville ſhould decree its demolition. In the intoxication of ſucceſs the priſoners were forgotten; and as the keys had been carried to Paris, the

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dungeons were forced open—ſeven priſoners only were found, three of whom had loſt their reaſon, having been detained there as ſtate priſoners from the reign of Louis XV.

Thus, by the irreſiſtible enthuſiaſm of liberty, in a few hours was reduced that fortreſs which mercenary armies had conſidered as impregnable, and which had been in vain beſieged by the force of the great Condé for upwards of three weeks.

The fate of M. de Launay involved that of M. de Fleſſelles, the prévôt de marchands. He had been long ſuſpected of a deſign to betray the people; and all his manœuvres evidently tended to that point. In the pocket of M. de Launay a letter from him was diſcovered, which contained theſe remarkable words—"I will amuſe the Pariſians with cockades and promiſes. Keep your ſtation till the evening—you ſhall then have a reinforcement." At the ſight of this letter the unfortunate de Fleſſelles was ſtruck dumb—a voice was heard in the hall—"Begone, M. de F. you are a traitor."—"I ſee," ſaid he, "gentlemen, that I am not agreeable to you—I ſhall retire."—He haſtened down the ſtairs; but as he croſſed the Grève, accompanied by a number of perſons to defend him, a young man, who had waited an opportunity, ſhot him with a piſtol. His head was cut off, placed on a pike, and carried through the ſtreets along with that of M. de Launay.

A tumultuous night ſucceeded this wonderful day; and the ſongs of joy and triumph which had celebrated the victory of the people, were converted into confuſed murmurs expreſſive only of anxiety and alarm. A report was ſpread that the troops were about to enter the city at the Barriere d'Enfer: thither the citizens crowded under the conduct of the French guards, and preceded by a train of artillery—the body of troops, however, that appeared in that quarter were diſperſed by a ſingle volley. The alarm-bells were then ſounded; barricadoes were formed at the barriers; deep holes were dug in different parts, to prevent the approach of the cavalry; the tops of the houſes were manned; a general illumination was ordered; and the ſilence of the night was interrupted by diſcharges of artillery, and by the warning voice of the patroles—"Citizens, do not go to bed; take care of your lights; we muſt ſee clearly this night."

The firſt news of the taking of the Baſtille was regarded by the court as an impoſture of the popular party: it was, however, at length irreſiſtibly confirmed. The firſt reſolves of the cabal are ſaid to have been deſperate, and orders were iſſued to the commanders to puſh the projected plot with all poſſible vigour. In the dead of the night, marſhal Broglio is ſaid to have arrived to inform them that it was impoſſible to obey the mandate he had received of inveſting the hall of the national aſſembly with a train of artillery, as the ſoldiers would not comply with his orders. "Preſs then the ſiege of Paris," was the anſwer. The general replied, he could not depend on the army for the execution of that project.

The king was the only perſon in the palace who was kept totally ignorant of theſe tranſactions. The duke de Liancourt, a diſtinguiſhed patriot, who was then maſter of the wardrobe, ſaved the ſtate: he forced his way in the middle of the night into the king's apartment, informed him of every circumſtance, and announced to the count d'Artois that a price was ſet upon his head. The intelligence of the duke was

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ſupported by the authority of Monſieur, who accompanied him, and the king was immediately convinced that he had been deceived by evil counſels. Early the next morning the monarch appeared in the aſſembly, but without the pomp and parade of deſpotiſm. His addreſs was affectionate and conſolatory. He "lamented the diſturbances at Paris; diſavowed all conſciouſneſs of any meditated attack on the perſons of the deputies; and added, that he had iſſued orders for the immediate removal of the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis." It is impoſſible to expreſs the feelings of the aſſembly on this affecting occaſion. —The tear of ſympathy ſtarted into almoſt every eye.—An expreſſive ſilence firſt pervaded the aſſembly, which preſently was ſucceeded by a burſt of applauſe and acclamation. The king roſe to return to the palace; and the deputies, by a ſudden impulſe, formed a train of loyalty, in which all diſtinction of orders was forgotten, and accompanied him to the royal apartments. The joy became general throughout Verſailles; the people flocked to the palace, where the queen, with the dauphin in her arms, ſhewed herſelf from a balcony. The muſic in the mean time played the pathetic air, *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au ſein de ſa famille*, which was only interrupted by ſhouts of loyalty, and exclamations of joy. On their return to the hall, the aſſembly appointed a deputation to convey this happy intelligence to the metropolis.

CHAP. II.

State of Paris after the Capture of the Baſtille. Nomination of Meſſ. Bailly and La Fayette to the Offices of Mayor of Paris, and Commander in Chief of the National Guard. Te Deum ſung at Paris in celebration of the taking of the Baſtille. M. Neckar recalled. The King viſits Paris. Diſperſion of the Miniſtry. Murder of MM. Foulon and Berthier. Revolt in the Provinces. Affair of Quincey. Perſecution of the Nobility. Private Correſpondence held ſacred. Triumphant Return of M. Neckar. Unpopular Act of the Electors of Paris. Outrages in the Provinces. Abolition of the Feudal Syſtem, &c. Projected Loans. Riot at Paris. Organization of the Municipality and Militia of the Metropolis. Debates on the King's Veto. On the Permanence of the Legiſlature. On two Chambers. New Scheme of Finance. Dreadful Inſurrection of the 5th of October. The Royal Family remove from Verſailles to Paris.

PARIS, which had been an unhappy ſcene of commotion, of terror, and of bloodſhed, from the 12th of July, began on the 15th to aſſume ſome appearance of order and tranquillity. The livid and bloody heads were ſtill carried about the ſtreets as trophies of popular reſentment: but on the morning of that day a ſenſible citizen perſuaded the multitude to liſten to the voice of humanity, and they were thrown into the Seine. The electors at the Hôtel de Ville laboured inceſſantly in the organization of the civil eſtabliſhment, and in the regulation of the city militia. The odious name of Prévôt was aboliſhed; the more ancient and honourable appellation of Mayor was ſubſtituted in its

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its place; and to this office M. Bailly, who had been president of the tiers état, was called by the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens.

In our detail of the late proceedings of the national assembly, we omitted to notice, that the duc d'Orleans, having been elected president of that body, had declined the honour, and that the venerable archbishop of Vienne had been chosen in his room. During the laborious sessions which succeeded the disgrace of M. Neckar, however, it was thought that his age and infirmities would scarcely allow him to exercise so difficult an office without the assistance of a younger person, and the marquis de la Fayette was unanimously nominated vice-president. A further distinction now awaited the disciple of Washington; and his services to the state, his disinterested patriotism, and his abilities, pointed him out to the citizens as the only man fit to be entrusted with the important commission of general and commander in chief of the national guard.

The troops, which had assembled on the Champ de Mars, had decamped during the night, leaving their tents and the greater part of their baggage behind them: but a spectacle still more interesting to the citizens soon presented itself:—this was a deputation of eighty-four of the most distinguished members of the national assembly, accompanied by an immense crowd, who covered the road from Versailles to the capital, and loaded them with blessings, and the most unequivocal proofs of prodigal affection. The surprise and exultation of these patriots must have been extreme, when they beheld more than 100,000 citizens transformed into soldiers, all of them armed and already trained to military discipline. On their arrival at the Hôtel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette, count Lally-Tolendal, the marquis Clermont Tonnerre, the duke de Liancourt, and the archbishop of Paris, addressed the people.—From this place they adjourned to the church of Notre Dame, where *Te Deum* was sung in celebration of the happy and cheerful return of peace accompanied with liberty. As they returned from the church, the acclamations of the populace were occasionally interrupted by the expression of two further demands, the wish of seeing their beloved sovereign in Paris, and the recall of the patriotic ministry. The deputies returned in the evening to Versailles.

Public tranquillity, however, when interrupted by circumstances of such importance as those we have just related, is not so easily restored. It was natural that the people should be jealous for their newly acquired liberties, and should view with suspicion transactions which in their intention were probably innocent. The ministry, which had shewn themselves so inimical to the cause of the people, were not yet dismissed, nor had the troops yet evacuated the environs of Paris: two fresh regiments had arrived at St. Denis; a strange and unsuccessful attack had even been made on the Bastille, by a serjeant and two companies of guards; and a convoy of flour had been intercepted by the orders of a person well known. The night of the 15th, therefore, was spent with the same anxiety, and with the same warlike preparations, as the preceding; and in the morning a fresh deputation was sent to the assembly, entreating them to interest themselves in procuring the dismission of the ministry, and the recall of M. Neckar.

After a short debate, which chiefly

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by reſpected the decorum of interfering with the appointments of the executive power, the aſſembly were on the point of voting a ſpirited addreſs to the king, which had been propoſed by Mirabeau, when they were informed that the miniſters themſelves had anticipated the wiſh of the aſſembly by giving in their reſignations. The ſame evening, a letter from his majeſty to M. Neckar, inviting him to return, was read by the preſident. It was received with the loudeſt acclamations, and was ſeconded by an addreſs from the aſſembly themſelves to that upright miniſter, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms of affection and reſpect. The king having at the ſame time intimated his intention of viſiting Paris the following day, the aſſembly immediately decreed a deputation to convey this exhilarating intelligence, and to calm the diſquietude that prevailed in the metropolis.

It was not without conſternation that the king's determination to viſit Paris was received at the palace of Verſailles. Thoſe who really loved him were apprehenſive for his ſafety; thoſe who had been guilty of malverſation were apprehenſive for themſelves. Rumours of projected aſſaſſinations were ſpread, and the leaſt conſequence that could enſue was ſuppoſed to be the detention of the ſovereign in Paris. The king however, with a degree of courage and patriotiſm which does honour to his character, remained immoveable in his determination. On the morning of the 17th he left Verſailles, in a plain dreſs, and with no other equipage than two carriages with eight horſes each; in the firſt of which he rode himſelf—a part of the national aſſembly, in their robes, accompanied him on foot; and the militia of Verſailles compoſed his only guard till the proceſſion arrived at the Seve, where they were relieved by the Paris militia, with the marquis de la Fayette at their head; and from this place the ſuite of the monarch amounted to about 20,000 men. The horſe-guards led the proceſſion; and theſe were followed by the city cavalry; ſome battalions of the French guards and other ſoldiers, who had fought in defence of the nation, ſucceeded; then the different companies and corporations; and M. de la Fayette, with a large body of militia, brought up the rear. A quarter of an hour before the arrival of the king, whether from accident, or from ſome plot concerted by the enemies of liberty, a woman was ſhot by a muſket-ball, from the oppoſite ſide of the river. The king looked pale and melancholy, and an expreſſion of anxiety was even apparent in the faces of the national aſſembly. The progreſs was remarkably ſlow; and no ſhout was to be heard but *Vive la nation!* At the Barriere des Conferences, the king was met by M. Bailly, who acted as mayor, with the other magiſtrates.—M. Bailly, on preſenting the keys of the city, addreſſed his majeſty in a ſhort but elegant ſpeech, the exordium of which was:—"Theſe, ſir, are the keys which were preſented to Henry IV. He came to reconquer his people; it is our happineſs to have reconquered our king." At the Pont Neuf the paſſage was lined by a numerous train of artillery; but, in the true ſpirit of French gallantry, the mouths and touch-holes of the cannon were adorned with bouquets of flowers. On their arrival at the Hôtel de Ville, the king ſolemnly confirmed the election of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette; and on receiving the complimentary addreſs

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dreſſes of the mayor, the preſident of electors, comte Lally Tolendal, &c. he exclaimed with an air of pathetic emotion, which ſcarcely allowed him utterance—"My people may always rely upon my affection." He received from the hands of the mayor the national cockade; and when he ſhewed himſelf at the window with this badge of patriotiſm, the joy of the people could no longer be reſtrained; the ſhout of *Vive le roi!* which had ſcarcely been heard in the former part of the day, filled the whole atmoſphere, and reſounded from one extremity of the city to the other. The return of the king to Verſailles was a real triumph. The citizens, almoſt intoxicated with joy, ſurrounded his carriage; his countenance, which in the morning bore the aſpect of melancholy, was now cheerful and ſmiling; and he appeared ſincerely to partake in the general ſatisfaction.

The royal viſit to Paris was the ſignal for the diſperſion of the miniſtry. Marſhal Broglio retired to Luxemburgh; madame Polignac, in the habit of a waiting-woman, took the route of Bruſſels; even the count d'Artois, with his family, withdrew during the ſtillneſs of the night, and was followed by the princes of Condé and Conti, the duke de Luxemburgh, and others of the nobility. But of all who were connected with the court, none was more odious than M. Foulon, who had long been obnoxious to the people, for his unfeeling tyranny and his inſatiable avarice. This unfortunate perſon had riſen from a very low ſituation in life to the poſſeſſion of immenſe riches. He had been commiſſary to the army in the war of 1755, and by his rapacity and extortions is ſaid to have irretrievably diſhonoured the French name in the provinces of Germany. He is ſaid to have made a common boaſt of his depraved principles.—His favourite maxim was, that "that country would be beſt governed, where the common people ſhould be compelled to feed upon graſs;" and he had boaſted, "that if ever it ſhould be his good fortune to be miniſter, he would make the people of France live upon hay." On the firſt news of the riots in Paris he had withdrawn himſelf from the public eye, and had cauſed a report of his death to be induſtriouſly circulated, and his funeral had even been performed in a manner ſuitable to his immenſe riches. In the mean time he had ſecretly retired to Very, an eſtate belonging to M. de Sartines, where he was in hopes of remaining concealed: but his character commanded no man's affection, and the general unfeelingneſs of his heart left him without a friend. His own vaſſals were the firſt to purſue and detect him; and on the 22d of July he was brought to Paris with a bundle of hay at his back, in alluſion to the language which he is ſaid to have employed in expreſſing his contempt for the people. The committee at the Hôtel de Ville determined to ſend him to the priſon of the abbey St. Germain, where he might be detained till the return of tranquillity ſhould afford him an impartial trial: but the immenſe crowd which was aſſembled in the Place de Grève, reſiſted this determination. It was with difficulty M. Bailly could make himſelf heard, when he urged with all the eloquence of humanity the flagrant injuſtice of condemning a citizen to death without hearing him in his own defence.—The marquis de la Fayette took ſtill more popular ground by urging the detention of the criminal, in the hope of obtaining

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ing from him a diſcovery of his accomplices. To this demand the populace appeared to aſſent by their tokens of applauſe: but the unhappy Foulon, whether in teſtimony of his innocence, or by a mechanical movement, clapped his hands at the ſame time in approbation. A general exclamation was immediately raiſed:—"They are conniving at his guilt; they intend to ſave him." He was immediately ſeized, and dragged under the fatal lamp-iron, which during the revolution the populace had employed as the inſtrument of their vengeance. Every circumſtance of horror attended his execution: the rope, by which he was ſuſpended, broke twice; and he was detained for a quarter of an hour in a half expiring ſtate, before a new one could be procured. His head was cut off and placed upon a pike, with the mouth ſtuffed with hay, and was carried through the ſtreets of Paris. This victim of popular fury was 74 years of age.

M. Berthier, who had married the daugher of M. Foulon, was implicated in the fate of his father-in-law, and was perhaps odious to the people from the exerciſe of an arbitrary and oppreſſive employment, the intendant of police. He had been ſeized at Compiegne, and one of the electors, with 400 horſe, had been diſpatched to conduct him to Paris. He alſo was accuſed of peculation and extortion, of being the principal agent in regulating the movements of the camp at St. Denis, and of the ſtill more unpopular crime of ſpeculating in grain, and contributing to the general ſcarcity. Unhappily for him, he arrived in Paris the very evening in which the populace had imbrued their hands in the blood of his relation; his death was therefore inevitable. If however he did not ſuffer innocently, he ſuſtained his unhappy fate with courage and dignity. During the greater part of the way he converſed tranquilly with M. Riviere, the elector who accompanied him. When he entered the city, however, the bloody head of his father-in-law was preſented to him, and at this dreadful ſight he is ſaid to have turned pale, and to have loſt his fortitude. When interrogated at the Hôtel de Ville as to his conduct, he anſwered calmly: "That he had obeyed the orders of his ſuperiors, and that the inſpection of his papers would inſtruct them as to the extent of his guilt." It was determined to ſend him immediately to the abbey; but it was impoſſible to penetrate the concourſe of people that ſurrounded the hôtel. It was in vain that M. Bailly oppoſed his utmoſt eloquence to the fury of the multitude; in vain the commander in chief proſtrated himſelf on his knees to entreat that the popular cauſe ſhould no more be defiled with blood. Numerous as his eſcort was, they were ſoon diſperſed, and he was dragged to the fatal lamp-iron, where a new cord was already prepared for him. His deſpair inſpired him with new courage; and ſnatching a bayonet out of the hands of one of the guards, he attempted to defend himſelf, if not from death, at leaſt from ignominy.—He fell pierced with innumerable wounds.—A monſter of inhumanity, a dragoon, plunged his hand into his reeking entrails, and tearing out his heart, and fixing it on the point of his cutlaſs, carried it as a trophy through the ſtreets. The head was alſo cut off, and carried about along with that of M. Foulon.

It is ſaid that the dragoon, who in this brutal manner tore out the heart of M. Berthier, did it in re-

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venge for the death of a father: be this as it may, his comrades were ſo completely diſguſted with the barbarity of the action, that they determined to fight him ſucceſſively till by his death they had removed the diſhonour which it fixed upon their corps. He fought, and was killed the ſame evening.

To apologize for ſuch actions would be in ſome degree to partake of their criminality. Wretched is the fate of that nation which is obliged to employ the agency of a mob to counteract the uſurpations of tyranny. If, however, we candidly conſider the grievances and oppreſſions under which the people of France had for centuries languiſhed; if we conſider the licentiouſneſs inherent in the canaille of a populous city, and how prone human nature is to the abuſe of power; if we recollect the individual provocations and injuries which men ſuffer from perſons high in office under an arbitrary government, perhaps we ſhall rather wonder that the victims of popular reſentment were ſo few. In juſtice alſo to the inſurgents of Paris, it muſt be recorded, that while, under the miſtaken ſentiment of revenging the oppreſſions of their government, they involved themſelves in the guilt of murder, they were ſtill ſuperior to ſuch a crime as theft. The bodies of the marquis de Launay and of the major of the Baſtille lay expoſed in the Place de Grève for a number of hours, and neither their watches or any one of their valuables were even touched by the mob; and when M. Foulon was maſſacred, his pockets were full of money and bank-notes, which were taken carefully out by ſome of the mob, and depoſited before the committee on the table of the Hôtel de Ville. On what foundation we cannot pretend to ſay, but it has been advanced by the popular party, that with reſpect to Meſſ. Foulon and Berthier, the people were made the blind inſtruments of private enmity, or of their accomplices themſelves; who probably ſaw no other means of concealing the atrociouſneſs of their own conduct from public enquiry. From the windows of the Hôtel de Ville a number of perſons of ſuperior appearance were obſerved exciting the populace to outrage, and who appeared to be the main ſprings of all their motions. Theſe could ſcarcely be friends to the popular cauſe, ſince nothing could involve it in ſuch diſgrace as the perpetration of theſe barbarities.

This day of horror and of blood filled indeed every good citizen with diſguſt and apprehenſion—they trembled leſt they ſhould have only exchanged one tyranny for another, and condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms theſe guſts of inhumanity, theſe bloody proſcriptions, theſe outrages againſt public juſtice. The marquis de la Fayette in particular was ſo much exaſperated by this contempt of all authority, that he determined at once to reſign his office of commander in chief: happily for France, the eloquence of M. Bailly had ſufficient influence to prevail with him to reſume it.

The example of the capital gave the ſignal for revolt in all the provinces; and it was no ſooner underſtood that a conſpiracy had been formed againſt the liberties of the nation, than all the citizens became ſoldiers, and all the ſoldiers citizens.

At Rennes, the capital of Brittany, the young men took up arms about the 20th of July, ſeized the arſenal, and the principal poſts, and raiſed at once the ſtandard of liberty. The count de Langeron, who commanded there, marched out againſt them,

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them, at the head of the regiments d'Artois and Lorraine, and the dragoons d'Orleans: but the ſoldiers were no ſooner drawn up in order of battle than they unanimouſly ſhouted *Vive la nation!* Eight hundred immediately joined the patriotic ſtandard, and the reſt returned to their barracks, after having taken a ſolemn oath, not to ſtain their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens. In the mean time the principal people being aſſembled at the Hôtel de Ville, they decreed the ſuſpenſion of all levies and contributions on the part of the king or the feudal lords; deputations were ſent to every town in Brittany; the whole province was preſently in arms to ſupport the public cauſe; and all declared themſelves ready to march, if neceſſary, to the relief of the national aſſembly. The commanding officer, finding all his efforts in vain, retired from the province.

At St. Malo, the younger citizens determined to form two diviſions, one of horſe, and the other of foot, and to proceed immediately to the national aſſembly, to participate with them the danger or the glory of ſaving their country. As they were without artillery, their firſt ſtep was to take poſſeſſion of the city fort, and that of the Chateau Neuf, in order to obtain a ſupply of arms and ammunition. The commandant reinforced each of the fortreſſes, but in vain; the ſoldiers declared they would not act, and the citizens by ſome ſtratagem got poſſeſſion of the keys. It is pleaſing to add, that they made the happieſt uſe of their ſucceſs; they reſiſted the revengeful impulſe which would lead them to puniſh the obſtinacy of the king's lieutenant, and reſpected human life even in an enemy.

The city of Bourdeaux has been always diſtinguiſhed by its attachment to liberty. On the fatal night of St. Bartholomew, the chief magiſtrate of this city was among the few who contended for the rights of humanity in oppoſition to the blind dictates of fanaticiſm. On the preſent occaſion, the members of the parliament enrolled themſelves voluntarily in the city militia, and mounted guard along with the other inhabitants; and the governor of the caſtle, animated by a ſimilar ſpirit, preſented the keys to a deputation of citizens. A ſtatue of M. Neckar was elevated on a pedeſtal haſtily erected for the purpoſe, and was crowned with a garland of laurel.

The duke de Liancourt ſucceeded the archbiſhop of Vienne as preſident of the national aſſembly. One of the firſt circumſtances which ſignalized his preſidency, was the permiſſion which was granted by the king to the French guards to enrol themſelves among the national militia: in the mean time, addreſſes expreſſive of the higheſt degree of patriotiſm and confidence, poured in upon the aſſembly from all parts of the kingdom; and there appeared no viſible obſtruction to the conſummation of its patriotic labours.

The taſk, however, was not quite ſo eaſy as at firſt ſight we might be diſpoſed to conclude:—beſides the enmity of thoſe who ſubſiſted by the corruptions of the former government, the aſſembly had to contend with other difficulties, and the approach of famine was not the leaſt calamity with which the nation was threatened.

The haſty exile of M. Neckar had fruſtrated the plans which he had laid for the acquiſition of ſubſiſtence. An actual ſcarcity took place; the granaries and magazines were pillaged; and bands of ruffians were diſperſed over the country, and increaſed the

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the ſcarcity by their deſperate ravages. The enemies of the revolution took advantage of this ſtate of things, to diſturb and agitate the popular mind by alarming reports. It was even believed that they monopolized the grain themſelves, in order to caſt an odium on their oppoſers. Among the riots excited upon theſe occaſions none were more diſgraceful than thoſe at St. Germain and Poiſſy—to the latter of which a deputation was ſent from the national aſſembly, with the humane biſhop of Chartres at their head. They arrived juſt time enough to ſave an innocent perſon of the name of Thomaſſin, though the fatal cord was already round his neck.

Theſe proceedings, joined with the affair of M. Foulon, determined the aſſembly on the 23d of July to publiſh a proclamation, inviting all good citizens to the maintenance of order and government; and declaring that to try and puniſh for all crimes of *leze-nation*, was the ſole prerogative of the aſſembly, till, by the conſtitution which it was about to eſtabliſh, a regular tribunal ſhould be inſtituted for the puniſhment of ſuch offences.

On the 25th the aſſembly was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by the report of M. Punelle, one of the deputies of Franche-Comté, who related that M. de Meſmay, a counſellor to the parliament of Beſançon and lord of Quincey, had invited the people of his neighbourhood, and the officers of the garriſon of Veſoul, to celebrate, at his caſtle of Quincey, the happy union of the three orders of the ſtate. The entertainment was ſumptuous, and the beſt wines were diſtributed with a liberal hand; but amidſt this ſcene of feſtivity, the company were at once diſperſed by a dreadful exploſion of gunpowder, and ſome perſons were even killed upon the ſpot.

It is eaſy to conceive the horror and indignation which ſuch a repreſentation muſt inſpire. The preſident of the aſſembly was inſtantly directed to wait upon the king, to requeſt that the tranſaction might be immediately inquired into; and he was further requeſted to give orders to his miniſter for foreign affairs, to claim any of the parties who might have taken refuge in foreign countries.

It was ſome time before the matter could be inveſtigated, nor has it ever been cleared up to general ſatisfaction. The beſt account that has been given of it is, that three drunken ſoldiers having gone to ſleep in the pavilion, and having procured a light, a barrel of gunpowder which was kept there accidentally diſploded, and the ſoldiers, and they only, fell the victims of their indiſcretion.

Unfounded, however, as theſe reports concerning M. Meſmay appear to have been, their effects were more or leſs felt by all the nobility of France. The populace of the neighbourhood would have immediately pulled down the caſtle of Quincey, but were prevented by the militia and citizens of Beſançon. In other places, as ſoon as the report was received, riots were excited, ſome caſtles were ranſacked, and two or three gentlemen of irreproachable characters loſt their lives.

In this period of general diſtruſt, we cannot wonder that even circumſtances trifling in themſelves ſhould produce new troubles. The baron de Caſtelnau, reſident in France from Geneva, was arreſted on the Pont Royal; and the moment he was arreſted he tore in pieces a letter; but the fragments were carefully collected, and tranſmitted, with three other open letters found upon him,

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by M. Bailly to the duke de Liancourt. When the packet arrived there were but few members in the hall, and the delicacy of the president would not permit him to keep open letters in his poſſeſſion. Conſidering alſo that the aſſembly was inveſted with no executive power, he thought it his duty to ſend back the packet to M. Bailly, not doubting but it would be produced when called for. A long and important diſcuſſion of this buſineſs enſued. On the one ſide, it was propoſed by the count de Chatenai, M. Reubel, and others, "that all intercepted letters ſhould be depoſited in a proper place for the inſpection of a committee of the aſſembly; and that the papers found in the Baſtille ſhould be collected, in order to form a hiſtory of the crimes of the old government, which would ſerve as a kind of preface to the conſtitution." On the other hand, it was urged by M. Camus—"That all the inſtructions of their conſtituents had conſecrated the inviolability of private correſpondence; that the national aſſembly ought not to ſet the example of a public breach of faith; and that the only exception ought to regard the correſpondence of thoſe perſons who are actually in the hands of juſtice."—The biſhop of Langres obſerved, "that all ages had applauded the generoſity of Pompey, who committed to the flames the letters which the ſenators had addreſſed to Sertorius." M. Duport remarked, "that the advantage was dubious, and the danger manifeſt: that the moſt virtuous citizen, and the greateſt of men, M. Turgot, had been ruined by a fictitious correſpondence." The aſſembly, much to its honour, decreed, that in ſuch a caſe there was no room for debate. Thus the ſanctity of private correſpondence was held inviolate; and in the midſt of treaſons and conſpiracies, while the national aſſembly was engaged in the great work of eſtabliſhing liberty, it declared itſelf above employing or imitating any of the diſgraceful reſources of tyranny.

Among the alarms and reports to which the unſettled ſtate of France at this time gave riſe, a very formidable rumour was circulated, That the court of London was diſpoſed to take advantage of the troubles of the nation—That the Engliſh fleets in both Indies had already commenced the attack—and that St. Domingo and Pondicherry were already among the number of their conqueſts. So injurious a calumny could not be overlooked by the ambaſſador of Great Britain. He wrote immediately to the miniſter, the count de Montmorin, diſclaiming on the part of his court every hoſtile intention, and, in corroboration of his aſſertion, appealing to his recollection, that in the beginning of June a plot had been concerted for ſeizing the port of Breſt, by certain perſons who claimed the countenance and protection of Great Britain; but that the propoſal had been rejected with indignation by the Engliſh cabinet, and that he (the duke of Dorſet) had immediately appriſed the French miniſtry of the danger.

The letter of the ambaſſador being read in the aſſembly, and communicated to the people of Paris, ſufficiently quieted every apprehenſion concerning the interference of Great Britain; and to prevent in future the interruption of the national buſineſs, a committee of twelve members was immediately appointed to take cognizance of every report or information which reſpected the public ſafety.

The conſequences of the duke of Dorſet's letter were more ſerious in the province of Brittany. The plot

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which he had mentioned againſt Breſt was immediately laid to the charge of the nobility; and the enemies of ſome of that body, who had ſhewn themſelves averſe to the revolution, induſtriouſly repreſented them to the people as the criminals. Several were arreſted, and confined in the caſtles of Nantes and St. Malo. The nobility of the province appealed to the juſtice of the national aſſembly, and entreated that the duke of Dorſet might be requeſted to give more preciſe documents, that the criminality might no longer be extended to all the ancient families of a reſpectable quarter of the kingdom, but might attach to thoſe only who were really concerned. The aſſembly referred the inveſtigation to the executive power; but declared at the ſame time their opinion, that the evidence appeared ſo vague and indirect, that the gentlemen ought to be liberated.

A letter from M. Neckar, in anſwer to the requiſition of the aſſembly, was received on the 27th of July. It was dated Baſil, and was expreſſive of his gratitude and devotion to their commands. Poſterity will regard it as an incident more reſembling the viſions of romance than the occurrences of real life, that the firſt intimation he received of the revolution was from the mouth of the ducheſs de Polignac, his bittereſt enemy. M. Neckar had quitted Bruſſels in the determination of retiring from public life, and forgetting his diſgrace and his unſucceſsful labours in the peaceful retirement of his eſtate in the vicinity of Geneva. In his way thither, he arrived at Baſil accidentally at the very moment when madame Polignac, in her precipitate flight, ſtopped at that city. We may eaſily conceive his ſurpriſe when an interview was requeſted by that lady; but it muſt have been ſtill greater, when ſhe acquainted him with the ſurpriſing revolution of which his exile had been the proximate occaſion. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his friends, he determined, without heſitation, to reſume his office.—"I would rather," ſaid he, "expoſe myſelf to danger than to remorſe." He waited at Baſil till he received the orders of the king, and then followed immediately the courier who announced his approach.

As he paſſed through Villenaux, on the road from Nogent to Verſailles, he was informed that the baron de Bezenval, commandant of the Swiſs guards, who had acted under marſhal Broglio, was arreſted by the militia of that place, and that his life was in danger. The humanity of M. Neckar was immediately intereſted, and he wrote in the carriage the following ſhort note to the municipal officers of Villenaux:

"I know to a certainty, gentlemen, that the baron de Bezenval, who has been arreſted by the militia of Villenaux, had the king's permiſſion to return to Switzerland, his own country. I entreat, gentlemen, that you will reſpect this permiſſion, of which I am your guarantee, and I ſhall conſider myſelf as under a particular obligation. Every motive that can affect a feeling mind impels me to make this requeſt, &c."

Preſſing as was this requiſition, it was not complied with, as the municipal officers determined, that before the baron ſhould be releaſed, it was proper to conſult the permanent committee at the Hôtel de Ville.

The paſſage of M. Neckar through France, was more gratifying to the human feelings than the

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moſt diſtinguiſhed triumph of the moſt celebrated conqueror. He was followed by the acclamations, not of ſervile multitudes, but of a free people; who ſaluted him not as their governor, but as their deliverer, their father, their tutelary genius. In Paris the news of his arrival was celebrated like that of a ſplendid victory; and the exultation viſible in every countenance evinced, that every Frenchman conſidered the republic as in ſafety when committed to his care. On the 29th of July, the day after his return, he repaired to the national aſſembly, to render his reſpects to that auguſt body. He was introduced by four gentlemen uſhers, and every mark of attention and reſpect was paid to this martyr in the public cauſe; this miniſter, who taught the ſovereign to reſpect the rights of the people, and who inſtructed the multitude in their duty to the throne. The preſident complimented him on his arrival in a very elegant addreſs, which, in honour both of the ſpeaker and the miniſter, was directed to be printed.

Even theſe teſtimonies of eſteem, however, appear little when compared with the ſplendour of his reception in Paris: that city, which ſo much exceeded the reſt of the kingdom in wealth, population, and magnificence, exceeded every other part in its zeal for liberty, and its joy on the reſtoration of its favourite miniſter. On the morning of the 30th, the day he had appointed for viſiting the metropolis, numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry were ſtationed on the road to Verſailles to meet him. He arrived in a coach and four, with M. St. Prieſt, his colleague, who had participated in his principles, and in his diſgrace. At half paſt twelve they reached the Hôtel de Ville, amidſt the acclamations of thouſands.—M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette, with the 120 repreſentatives of the commune, received him in the great hall; where he was complimented by M. Bailly in a ſtrain of eloquence in which dignity was happily blended with ſimplicity. The ſpeech of M. Neckar, in reply, was diſtinguiſhed by that pathetic ſweetneſs of expreſſion which marks all his compoſitions. "He expreſſed his gratitude in modeſt terms, and informed them that the king had received him in the kindeſt manner, and aſſured him of his entire confidence. He obſerved, however, that the whole welfare of the ſtate was now placed in their hands, and in thoſe of the national aſſembly: from this circumſtance he took occaſion moſt earneſtly to recommend the re-eſtabliſhment of order and government. He entreated them, in the name of Heaven, that the world ſhould hear no more of proſcriptions; no more of ſuch bloody ſcenes as had ſo lately been acted. From this topic he paſſed to the baron de Bezenval, to whoſe merits, in his ſtation, he bore honourable teſtimony; and entreated, in the moſt perſuaſive terms, that he might be ſet at liberty. He even went further, and inſiſted on a general amneſty, as the only meaſure conſiſtent with their honour, and with the reſtoration of liberty." The enthuſiaſm of humanity communicated itſelf from the orator to all his auditors, and an amneſty was unanimouſly decreed by the general aſſembly of the electors of Paris.

That the aſſembly of electors in this inſtance tranſgreſſed the powers conſtitutionally veſted in them, cannot be doubted; and unfortunately too many were intereſted both in the repeal of the amneſty, and in lower-

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ing the conſequence of the elective body, to permit ſuch an act to paſs without animadverſion. It was ſcarcely made known before the ſixty diſtricts of Paris were in the moſt violent agitation.—They exclaimed, that the electors, delegated for the ſole purpoſe of chooſing deputies to the ſtates-general, had aſſumed new powers, and could only have in view the perpetuating of their own authority. They had indeed, during the moments of popular confuſion, ſubmitted to the orders of this body, becauſe ſome active and directing principle was then wanting; but the preſent ſtep they conſidered as trenching on the authority of the national aſſembly, without precedent, without excuſe. The enemies of the miniſter eagerly graſped the opportunity to leſſen him in the public eſteem. They inſinuated, that he would ſacrifice the public welfare to his own ambition; and that he wiſhed to ſave the baron de Bezenval, only from a conviction that it would render him particularly agreeable to the court: that the whole of the conſpirators would ſpeedily return in triumph, inſolently to brave the reſentment of the nation, and to vent their cruelty on the defenders of liberty. Theſe injurious inſinuations were unhappily too favourably received; the alarm-bells were ſounded, the Place de Grève re-echoed with frightful menaces, even at the preciſe time when at the Palais Royal the return of M. Neckar was celebrated with concerts and illuminations. The electors, alarmed, immediately iſſued a proclamation explanatory of their former reſolution, "which, they aſſerted, implied no aſſumption of judicial authority to condemn or acquit the enemies of the nation; but was to be underſtood ſimply as a declaration that the citizens from that day would puniſh no man but according to law."—They diſpatched meſſengers at the ſame time to prevent the liberation of Bezenval; and cloſed all by a formal renunciation of the powers which, they ſaid, only the neceſſities of the times had compelled them to aſſume.

Theſe facts were no ſooner communicated to the national aſſembly, than they produced an intereſting and important debate among the friends of liberty. Some, in particular Meſſ. Lally Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont Tonnerre, and Garat the younger, ſupported the ſacred principle of civil liberty, that no perſon ought to be arreſted without a poſitive accuſation. "Let us not be told," ſaid they, "of the popular clamours: if a mere ſuſpicion be called a popular clamour, what citizen can be aſſured for a moment of that liberty which we are ſeated here to protect?"

Meſſ. Gleizen, Robertſpierre, Mirabeau, and Barnave, replied:—"That the preſent queſtion was not relative to the general principles of civil liberty:—that the people had a right to arreſt a man who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies, and who fled the kingdom at the inſtant when the aſſembly announced its intention of proſecuting the enemies of the nation. M. Bezenval, they urged, is accuſed by the voice of the public:—if he is innocent, let him be acquitted; if he is guilty, let him be puniſhed. The object at preſent is to preſerve him from the fury of the multitude, to declare him under the ſafeguard of the law. A legal proſecution only can prevent popular outrage."

The debate concluded in a reſolution "approving of the explanation which the electors had given of their decree; adding, that if a generous nation prohibited proſcription, it was ſtill the duty of the repreſentatives

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preſentatives to take care that juſtice ſhould be duly executed;—and that, as to the perſon of the baron de Bezenval, it was to remain in ſecure cuſtody near the place where he was arreſted, he being from that time under the ſafeguard of the law."

M. de Bezenval had been in the mean time conducted to Brie-Comte-Robert, where he was committed to the caſtle, which was put in a poſture of defence. It was fortunate for him, that the courier diſpatched by the aſſembly to prevent his being brought to Paris uſed extraordinary diligence. Thirty thouſand deſperadoes waited for him at the Grève, where a gallows and a rope were made ready; and every thing announced the renewal of the horrid ſcenes which had ſo lately been acted.

Had he indeed entered the city, no human power could have ſaved him.

The affair of M. de Bezenval was not the only circumſtance which at this tumultuous period outraged the ſenſibility and interrupted the proceedings of the national aſſembly. At St. Denis, near Paris, a moſt horrid murder was committed. The ſieur Chatel, lieutenant to the mayor, was charged with the diſtribution of corn there; and the bread which the bakers offered for ſale not proving agreeable to the mob, a riot was excited. The perſonal enemies of M. Chatel, and thoſe who were diſaffected to the new order of things, aſſiduouſly mingled in the mob. After a vigorous defence, this unfortunate gentleman eſcaped to the belfry of the collegiate church; but was diſcovered by a child, and purſued immediately by the multitude. There the ſavages faſtening the bell-ropes round his neck, and pulling them different ways, inhumanly ſtrangled him; and what adds to the atrociouſneſs of the crime is, that he was a gentleman of known worth, and of great humanity; a friend of liberty, and the patron of the poor.

It is ſome time before a people can learn how to be free. At Caen in Normandy, diſturbances ſimilar to thoſe in Paris took place in a few days after the revolution. The circumſtance which gave riſe to theſe fatal broils, is ſaid to be as follows: Some ſoldiers of the regiment of Artois came either by accident or on buſineſs to Caen, and were decorated with medals, as the honourable marks of their devotion to the cauſe of liberty and their country. Theſe patriotic ſoldiers, who were unarmed, were inſulted by ſome dragoons of the regiment of Bourbon, who, after an unequal though bloody combat, robbed them of their medals. The wounded men complained to the citizens; and the marquis de Belzunce, who was major of the dragoons, was accuſed of having excited his ſoldiers to this atrocious conduct. The people immediately took to their arms; the municipal officers, as well as thoſe of the regiment, exerted themſelves to prevent the effuſion of blood. M. de Belzunce proteſted his innocence, and offered to appear at the Hôtel de Ville, where he would render them the moſt convincing proofs. The regiment, however, would not permit him to proceed, unleſs they had hoſtages for his ſafe return; which were immediately given. The unfortunate major bravely delivered himſelf into the hands of the multitude; and the national guard ſurrounded him, with a view of conducting him to the citadel, where he might be in ſafety. In the mean time the marquis de Harcourt, commander in chief of the province,

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ordered the regiment out of the town; and tranquillity appeared so completely re-eſtabliſhed, that the hoſtages were ſet at liberty. The regiment was however ſcarcely out of the boundaries, than the inſurrection rekindled; the mob broke in upon the national guard, and murdered the unfortunate marquis de Belzune, with every circumſtance of barbarity.

The city of Straſbourg was alſo the theatre of ſome bloody ſcenes. This city, when it became united to France, had preſerved its ancient form of government, which was originally democratic, but had degenerated inſenſibly (as all inſtitutions purely democratic generally will) into an ariſtocracy. The people, therefore, diſguſted with the uſurpations of the magiſtracy, had for a conſiderable period only waited an opportunity to revolt; and the news of the taking of the Baſtille excited a univerſal ferment. A general illumination took place on the night of the 20th of July; and thoſe houſes which did not follow the example, had the windows preſently demoliſhed by the populace.—The city continued in a ſtate of uproar till the 22d; during which time the magiſtrates had pacified the more reſpectable citizens; and all would have been quiet, had not a band of ruffians, from the German ſide of the Rhine, inſinuated themſelves into the city during the troubles. At about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, the Hôtel de Ville was invaded by this banditti, and the ſucceeding night and morning the city was on fire in ſeveral places: the citizens, however, joining with the ſoldiery, orders were at length given to charge the mob, many of whom were killed by the ſoldiers, and a few were afterwards executed; the greater part of whom were foreigners from the other ſide of the river. The city, however, continued under a kind of military diſcipline till the 6th of Auguſt, when another riot enſued from the intemperance of the ſoldiers; but was quieted by the timely interference of the count de Rochambeau, commander in chief of the province.

Hitherto, in the midſt of theſe diſaſtrous events, the aſſembly itſelf had preſerved a degree of unanimity, from the time when the orders became united, which gave a force and dignity to all its proceedings. The latent ſeeds of diſcord, however, germinated within its conſtitution; and the firſt appearance of diſorder was at the time when a ſucceſſor was to be choſen to the duke de Liancourt. M. Thouret, a celebrated advocate of Rouen, a diſtinguiſhed patriot, and a moſt excellent citizen, was elected by a conſiderable majority to the preſident's chair. The ſcrutiny was no ſooner declared, than a conſiderable party expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſſatisfaction, and, it is ſaid, even proceeded to threats. M. Thouret, however, had the magnanimity and patriotiſm to decline the high honour that awaited him, and M. Chappelier, one of the deputies of Brittany, was elected in his ſtead.

The aſſembly had been aſſiduouſly employed for ſome time on the great queſtion of a declaration of the natural rights of men and citizens; and the debates upon this ſubject were full of ingenious diſquiſition, and profound moral and political ſpeculation. On the 4th of Auguſt, however, this body ſaw the object of its deliberations take a very different courſe; and inſtead of metaphyſical diſcuſſion, and abſtract reaſoning, it was at once turned to deciſive meaſures, and thoſe the boldeſt and moſt intereſting, perhaps, that ever

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ever diſtinguiſhed the proceedings of a legiſlative aſſembly.

The committee of reports, after having exhibited an affecting picture of the public and private calamities with which the kingdom was convulſed, propoſed, as a means of remedying theſe evils, "that the aſſembly ſhould publiſh as ſoon as poſſible a ſolemn declaration, intimating its anxiety and concern for the troubles which agitated the provinces, its entire diſapprobation of the non-payment of taxes, rents, and other feudal incumbrances; and declaring, that till the aſſembly had paſſed a decree upon theſe ſubjects, there exiſted no motive to juſtify ſuch non-payment."

Conſiderable debates ſucceeded upon this propoſition, and a variety of projects were propoſed for extricating the nation from the difficulties and troubles in which it was involved.—At length the viſcount de Noailles aroſe to point out, he ſaid, the only effectual means of reſtoring peace. "We are called upon (ſaid he) to quiet the troubles, and quell the inſurrections, which exiſt in the nation: to do this, we muſt enquire into the cauſe of theſe troubles, and this will lead us to the proper remedy. The communities have made a demand upon us; they have demanded that they ſhould be releaſed from the chains of vaſſalage, and that the ſeignorial oppreſſions ſhould be alleviated or changed. For three months the communities have beheld us engaged in verbal diſputes, while their own attention and their wiſhes are directed to things: they are acquainted only with two claſſes of people, thoſe who now bear arms to aſſert their liberties, and thoſe higher orders whoſe intereſt it is to oppoſe them.—What is the conſequence? They are armed to reclaim their rights, and they ſee no proſpect of obtaining their object but by force. Thus the whole kingdom is convulſed; and thus there are no means of reſtoring tranquillity, but by convincing the people that we are in earneſt in their cauſe, and that we reſiſt them only where it is manifeſtly for their intereſt that they ſhould be reſiſted.

"I propoſe, therefore, 1. That the committee be inſtructed to propoſe a declaration, that every TAX ſhall henceforward be levied in proportion to the income of each individual. 2. That the burthens of the ſtate be equally borne by every member of the ſtate. 3. That all feudal claims which are not of a perſonal nature, ſhall be redeemable on a fair valuation. 4. That all the claims of the lord which are of a perſonal nature, ſuch as perſonal ſervice, &c. ſhall ceaſe without any ranſom."

This motion was highly applauded, and was ſeconded by the duke d'Aiguillon in a very able ſpeech. M. le Grand eſtabliſhed a moſt accurate diſtinction between the different ſpecies of feudal rights. "They are," ſaid he, "real, perſonal, or mixed. The firſt, ſuch as *main-morte* or vaſſalage, the *corvées* or right to the labour of the peaſant, &c. are vicious in their origin, contrary to the impreſcriptible rights of man, and conſequently ſo unjuſt, that to order them to be ranſomed would be an act deſerving of the ſevereſt cenſure. With reſpect to real rights, ſuch as quit-rents, rents, rents in kind, &c. they muſt not only be made redeemable, but the whole of ſuch claims on any individual muſt be conſolidated, and the valuation made accordingly. Mixed rights, ſuch as the *bannalites* (or compulſion to bake in the landlord's oven, upon paying a toll out of the flour), as they partake of the nature

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of both the others, ought to be redeemed, but at a more moderate ransom than those claims which are actually real."

M. Guen de Kerangall enumerated several absurd species of feudal claims, many of which cannot even be named without offence to modest ears. By the feudal laws of some cantons, the vassals were subject to be yoked to the carriage of the lord, like beasts of burden; in some the tenants were obliged to pass whole nights in beating the ponds, that his rest might not be disturbed by the croaking of frogs; in others they were compelled to maintain his hounds: but the most dreadful instance of feudal barbarism, was a law (obsolete indeed for ages) which authorized the lord, in certain districts, on his return from hunting, to rip open the bellies of two of his vassals, that he might foment his feet in their warm bowels by way of refreshment.

In fine, the motions of M. de Noailles were approved unanimously; and the disinterested patriotism of the assembly being wound up to the highest pitch, they were followed by other sacrifices truly honourable to the members of the privileged orders. The first of these was *the total abolition of the inferior courts of justice established upon feudal principles* throughout the kingdom; and which were in every respect corrupt and oppressive.

M. Foucault proposed the *immediate suppression of all places and emoluments* granted by the court, except those which were the due rewards of merit and actual services; and this motion also was received with applause.

The president was now proceeding to put these motions to the vote; but he stopped himself by remarking, "That as the clergy had not yet had an opportunity of declaring their sentiments, he should esteem himself guilty of an indecorum, if he did not particularly request their opinions upon this interesting discussion." This invitation brought up the bishop of Nancy, who requested, in the name of the clergy, that if the *ransom of the feudal rights should be decreed, it might not be converted to the profit of the ecclesiastical lords, but might be appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings.*

The bishop of Chartres, after approving the sacrifices already made, recommended the *suppression of the game laws.*—"He represented in strong terms the absurdity of those impositions which condemned the husbandman to be the patient spectator of the ravage of his fields, and exposed him to severe punishment if he presumed to destroy those animals which were most detrimental to his labours."—A number of voices from the nobility concurred in these sentiments, and demanded the renunciation of what were termed the rights of the chase, reserving only to the proprietors of the land the right of sporting within their own demesnes.

The acclamations of the assembly were interrupted by the president de S. Fargeau, who demanded an explanation of the declarations of the nobility and clergy concerning the *equalization of taxes.* "We have given a hope to the people," said he; "let us give them a reality. Why should we delay a moment to perform what all the instructions from the different orders have constituted as almost the first of our labours? I propose, that not only for the last six months of the year, but from the very commencement of it, all the members of the privileged classes, without exception, support

ſupport their proportional part of the public impoſts; and until this aſſembly ſhall have eſtabliſhed the principles upon which taxes ſhall in future be paid, I am of opinion the adjuſtment of the proportion ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the provincial aſſemblies, the aſſemblies of the departments, &c."

Theſe renunciations were followed by thoſe of the excluſive *right of rabbit warrens*, and of *fiſheries*. M. de Riché propoſed to aboliſh the *ſale of offices*; and the count de Viſieux recommended the demolition of *dove-cotes*, which, trifling as the evil may appear to us, were from their numbers a ſerious grievance to the peaſantry of France. The curé of Souppes offered, in the name of his brethren, the relinquiſhment of caſualties, and all fees exacted from the poor. This generous declaration was followed by that of ſeveral dignitaries of the church, who ſtated, that, agreeably to the ſpirit of the canons, they were determined to limit themſelves to the poſſeſſion of a *ſingle benefice*. M. Duport embraced this opportunity to compliment the inferior clergy, and to propoſe an *augmentation of their ſtipends*.

After confirming theſe propoſals by a vote of the aſſembly, the buſineſs of reform appeared almoſt exhauſted, when the deputies of thoſe provinces which enjoyed peculiar privileges, came forward to lay their charters and their franchiſes at the feet of the national repreſentatives. Dauphiné, which was always forward to ſacrifice its advantages to the welfare of the nation, was the firſt to teſtify its acquieſcence on the preſent occaſion. The marquis de Blazons called the attention of the aſſembly to the reſolution which his province had paſſed at Vizille, to renounce its peculiar privileges. He expreſſed his wiſh that all the other provinces would imitate this example, and declare themſelves ſatisfied with the name and privileges of French citizens. He had ſcarcely ſpoken when the deputies of Brittany, which had always been the rival of Dauphiné in patriotiſm, preſſed round the table to make a ſimilar ſacrifice. The impatience of the repreſentatives of Provence and Forcalquier ſcarcely ſuffered them to wait till thoſe of Brittany had made their patriotic declaration; and they were followed by the deputation of Burgundy, Languedoc, and by the repreſentatives of Paris, Lyons, Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, Straſbourg, &c.

A number of motions of leſs importance ſucceeded; and the ſuppreſſion of deport, vacat, annates, and pluralities, was immediately decreed. The duke de Liancourt propoſed that a medal ſhould be ſtruck off in commemoration of this unparalleled ſeſſion, and that a ſolemn Te Deum ſhould be performed. On the reigning monarch the auguſt title of RESTORER of GALLIC LIBERTY was conferred by a decree, and a deputation appointed to wait upon his majeſty, reſpectfully to inform him of theſe tranſactions.

It is evident that theſe ſacrifices, diſintereſted as they were, could not be generally acceptable. The great body of the nobility and clergy were diſpoſed to deny the power of their repreſentatives, who, they aſſerted, had voted away what was not their own. That they ſhould not have had more weight with the people, is more ſurpriſing; but the ſpirit of anarchy and licentiouſneſs was excited, and could not ſoon ſubſide. In ſome places, the decrees of the aſſembly ſeemed to be made the excuſe for new diſorders—The game in particular was made a common

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prey; and, in the purſuit, even the extreme neceſſities of the kingdom were diſregarded, as the ſtanding corn was trodden down and deſtroyed. But the great cauſe of confuſion was the increaſing ſcarcity of bread, which ſeemed to render the populace deſperate, and totally regardleſs of order. Some convoys of bread and proviſions were ſtopped on the road to Paris; and two electors of that city, who were employed at Provence in purchaſing ſupplies for the metropolis, were arreſted on the ſuſpicion of being monopoliſts, and narrowly eſcaped with their lives.

On the 7th of Auguſt the new miniſters, the keeper of the ſeals, the marſhal Bauvau, the count de Montmorin, the count de la Luzerne, M. Neckar, the count de St. Prieſt, the archbiſhop of Vienne, and the count de la Tour du Pin, were introduced at their requeſt to the aſſembly; and the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, the keeper of the ſeals, drew a moſt lamentable picture of the diſorders which prevailed throughout the kingdom. He was followed by M. Neckar, who repreſented, in ſtrong terms, the miſerable ſtate of the public treaſury, which on his entrance into office was found to contain only 400,000 livres, chiefly in notes of the caiſſe d'eſcompte.—He added, that the deficit between the income and the expences was enormous; and that ſuch had been the ſums which the king had been obliged to iſſue for the purchaſe of grain, and for the ſupport of the poor, and ſuch the deficiency created by the non-payment of taxes, that no reſource remained but to raiſe a loan of thirty millions to ſatisfy the engagements and inevitable expences of the ſtate for two months, by which time he preſumed that conſiderable progreſs would be made in the eſtabliſhing of a conſtitution. This loan he propoſed at 5 per cent. But the propoſal was remitted to the conſideration of the committee of finance; which preſuming too far upon the patriotiſm of the people, retrenched the terms of the loan of all thoſe little advantages which the miniſter had annexed to it, in order to induce the moneyed people to ſubſcribe, and reduced the intereſt to four and a half. In the debates which took place upon the propoſals of the miniſter, there appears reaſon to ſuſpect that the count de Mirabeau was inſtigated by a perſonal oppoſition to M. Neckar; and it was certainly owing to his influence in the aſſembly, that the plan of the miniſter was not adopted. The conſequence was, that in three weeks not more than 2,600,000 livres were ſubſcribed to the loan, and the project utterly failed. In order therefore to procure a ſupply of forty millions, another ſcheme was offered by M. Neckar, and adopted by the aſſembly, which was, to ſolicit a loan of eighty millions at five per cent. one half of which might be paid in ſtock; but the aſſembly had loſt the favourable opportunity, and, by the impediments which they threw in the way of M. Neckar's firſt project, had unſettled the faith of the moneyed intereſt in the new government.

In the mean time the tumultuous ſtate of the nation obliged the legiſlature to paſs a decree, recommending to the municipalities to be vigilant for the public ſafety, and rigorouſly to proſecute all who ſhould be found exciting public alarms or diſturbances. The decrees of the 4th of Auguſt alſo had been ſent to a committee, which was appointed for the purpoſe of reducing them into the form of a law; and from the 5th to the 11th the differ-

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ent articles were debated. Moſt of thoſe which reſpected the feudal claims were confirmed with little variation; but the committee conſidering tithes as a ſpecies of feudal tax levied on the land, had inſerted them in the decree as redeemable like the other feudal aſſeſſments. To this conſtruction the clergy vehemently objected, and alleged that it confounded two things eſſentially different, the feudal tithes and thoſe which were purely eccleſiaſtical, which laſt conſtituted a ſpecies of private property, not at the diſpoſal of the nation. The neceſſities of the ſtate, on the other hand, had for ſome time induced the popular party to look upon the wealth of the church as a laſt reſource for the repleniſhment of an exhauſted treaſury; and with this view the propoſal of the committee was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Meſſ. Chaſſel, Mirabeau, &c. The abbé Sieyes was the ableſt defender of the rights of the clergy. With great logical preciſion and accurate information, he evinced "that the tithes were not a tax impoſed by the nation, but a rent-charge laid upon their eſtates by the original proprietors for the maintenance of the church; that the actual proprietors had purchaſed their eſtates ſubject to this rent-charge; and that the legiſlature had no authority to transfer this, which was a real property, from the hands of the clergy to the landholders, who had no legitimate nor apparent claim to it.—If you wiſh to be free," added he, "begin by being juſt." The neceſſities of the nation, however, conſtituted a plea on the other ſide, which was not to be reſiſted; and on the morning after this debate, fifteen curés ſent to the aſſembly an act, by which they voluntarily reſigned into the hands of the nation the whole of their eccleſiaſtical rights, and declared that they were content to rely on the juſtice of that body for an equitable proviſion. This act of patriotiſm was received with the loudeſt burſt of applauſe; and, as if by a ſudden emotion, all the parochial clergy in the aſſembly ſtepped forward to the table to make the ſame ſacrifice. The archbiſhop of Paris next declared, "that, in the name of his brethren, he begged leave to place the whole of their tithes under the diſcretion of the repreſentatives of the nation—claiming only for themſelves enough to ſupport the decency and dignity of public worſhip, and to enable them to adminiſter to the relief of the poor." "Such is the wiſh of all the clergy (exclaimed the cardinal de la Rochefoucault): we place our confidence in the nation."

The decree which aboliſhed the feudal ſyſtem, and the excluſive privileges of hunting, fiſhing, &c. and which laid all offices and dignities open to every citizen without diſtinction of birth; which declared that the tithes ſhould be commuted for by a certain ſtipend; which prohibited the ſale of offices, the payment of fees to the clergy on caſualties, and all payments to the ſee of Rome; which annihilated the feudal juriſdictions, pluralities, penſions, and the particular privileges of thoſe provinces which were called pays d'états, was finally paſſed on the 13th of Auguſt, and accepted by the king.

Tacitus has ſomewhere lamented, that the ſcenes which his duty compelled him to record, wanted that intereſt and variety which decorated the more flouriſhing periods of the republic, and complains that his Annals contain little more than details of bloodſhed and aſſaſſinations. In this reſpect the hiſtorian of anarchy will find himſelf in a ſimilar predicament

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ament with the annalist of despotism; and the necessity of recurring so frequently to the odious topic of popular commotion and phrensy, may perhaps be supposed to stand in need of an apology. The truth is, the kingdom of France, at the period we are describing, was destitute of regular government. The executive power, which is supported only by public opinion, was seized with a kind of political paralysis; it was neither capable of restraining the public impetuosity, nor of directing its motions. The whole kingdom was in agitation, and the slightest rumour was sufficient to produce a paroxysm of popular delusion and madness. The metropolis was however agitated beyond every other part; it was the centre of political discussion, and the theatre where those who were disaffected to the new order of things could put in action their artifices with most safety and with most effect. The calamities which the people had so lately escaped, and the malevolence and well-known perfidy of their enemies, had generated in them habits of suspicion; and the acts of bloodshed into which they had been betrayed, had familiarized them with cruelty.

In this state of things we are not to wonder if we see the populace on the point of sacrificing one of their best friends, and in the course of a few weeks demanding clamorously the life of him whom they had chosen for their general. Thus, while the assembly were engaged in performing the most important services to the people, the inhabitants of Paris were endeavouring to dip their hands in the blood of a man (the marquis de la Salle) who, though one of the first of the nobles, had deserted the cause of his order from an affection for the people. On the 5th of August, about nine in the evening, a boat was discovered on the river, rowed by three men, and was stopped by the inhabitants of Port St. Paul: it was found loaded with ammunition from the arsenal; and this discovery was no sooner made, than a general alarm was excited. The boatmen were examined; and M. de la Voisiere and some other persons who had the custody of the powder, &c. were sent for, who produced an order signed "De la Salle, acting for the M. de la Fayette."—It was in vain that it was represented to the mob, that this powder was *poudre de traite*, that is, of an inferior quality, such as is sent to Guinea, which was transporting from the arsenal only to be changed for better. The mob immediately exclaimed, It is *poudre de truitre!* and clamoured for vengeance. M. de la Salle had been dining in the country, and in the evening had returned to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was no sooner arrived than he found upwards of forty thousand people demanding his life. Learning by accident the cause of the tumult, he had, however, the good fortune to retreat without being discovered.

During this time a miscreant had mounted the lamp-post, with a new rope in his hand, where he is said to have remained for not less than three quarters of an hour, while a crew of banditti broke into the Hôtel de Ville, and ascended even into the clock, in quest of the marquis de la Salle. The coolness and serenity of the marquis de la Fayette appeared to increase with the tumult and the danger. In the mean time he had given secret orders, and had arranged every thing for the public safety by the agency of a faithful sergeant. At length, when he was satisfied that every thing was right, he suddenly arose, and addressing himself to the committee who had

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sat with him the whole evening, he said—"You are fatigued, gentlemen, and I am fatigued also—let us retire; the Grève is completely free; and I give you my word, that Paris was never in a more perfect state of tranquillity." On looking out of the windows, nothing was to be seen of the mob who had so lately filled the square; it was entirely occupied by soldiers of the national guard drawn up in most excellent order, who had been gradually introduced by the marquis, and by this means without tumult or trouble expelled their opponents.

The restoration of tranquillity and order was an object of the first importance with the friends of liberty, and it was evident, that to place the municipal governments under proper regulation was the only method of effecting this desired end. As Paris also was not only the first in importance, but the most exposed to the disasters of anarchy, to put a stop to the disorders of the capital was a matter of the most urgent necessity. This could only be done by giving the citizens an interest in the support of good government; and by conferring on those who had property to defend, functions and authority adequate to this purpose; by establishing a regular chain of subordination, and enabling each person to comprehend his proper duties as a public man. A temporary plan of municipal regulation was therefore devised by M. Bailly for the metropolis, which was to exist only till the assembly had perfected that more enlarged scheme by which the whole of the kingdom was to be regulated. As this plan was only temporary, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail concerning it. It is sufficient to say, that the number of the representatives of the districts were augmented to three hundred; that a committee of subsistence was established, which delivered the city from the horrors of famine; and that a lieutenant of the mayor was appointed in every department, who contributed greatly to preserve the harmony of government, and to facilitate the execution of every measure for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Another operation no less important was the organization of the national guard in Paris. The plan of M. de la Fayette for this purpose was simple, but excellent. The Parisian infantry was limited to thirty-one thousand men, of whom one thousand were officers; six thousand were paid as soldiers, and the other twenty-four thousand consisted entirely of the citizens without pay. The city of Paris was apportioned into six military divisions; a commandant was created for each; and to each district a battalion was appointed, composed of five companies of one hundred men each: in those battalions, one company consisted of regular soldiers, or the old French guards, and was termed the centre company. The districts elected their military officers. The choice of each of the six commandants was referred to an electoral assembly of the division, composed of representatives of the districts. The right of electing a commander in chief was vested in the districts at large, who appointed a major and lieutenant-general. To these important posts the marquis de la Fayette promoted M. Gouvion, who had been his colleague and companion when he fought for American liberty; and M. Jarré, who had been distinguished in Holland by his attachment to the patriotic party.

After having satisfied the immediate demands of the nation, by the abolition of the feudal absurdities, the

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the national aſſembly returned to its great work, a declaration of the rights of man. Among the many ſchemes or ſyſtems which were preſented to the aſſembly on this occaſion, three principally arreſted their attention; thoſe of M. de la Fayette, of the abbé Sieyes, and of M. Mounier. The firſt of theſe, in its clearneſs and ſimplicity, greatly reſembled the celebrated American declaration: that of the abbé Sieyes embraced the whole fabric of man, and pointed out his rights and his duties in the various departments of ſocial life—it was however too complex and profound to be adopted as a kind of popular catechiſm: that of M. Mounier was not quite ſo plain and ſimple as that of the marquis de la Fayette, and was yet leſs complex than the other. It was however neither ſufficiently clear and deciſive in its principles, nor preciſe in its phraſeology; and the aſſembly, after long debates, referred the matter to a committee of five members. M. Mirabeau propoſed, that the declaration of rights might ſerve as a kind of preface or introduction to the ſyſtem of the conſtitution.—After long debates upon the ſubject, however, it was agreed, that the declaration of rights ſhould be immediately publiſhed; and on the 20th of Auguſt that form was adopted, which at preſent appears at the head of the new conſtitution *.

It would be at once uſeleſs and unintereſting to enter into a minute detail of the circumſtances under which the ſeveral articles of the French conſtitution were voted, or of the debates which they occaſioned. The day after the declaration of rights was decreed, ſix articles, chiefly relating to the nature of the monarchy, collected literally from the inſtructions, were read in the aſſembly, and were upon the point of being collectively paſſed; but M. Pethion called the attention of the legiſlature to the importance of the ſubject, and demonſtrated in ſtrong terms the raſhneſs of paſſing a number of articles without a ſpecific examination. After a debate of ſome length, it appeared that the great object of diſcuſſion would be the ſhare which ſhould be allowed to the monarch in the legiſlative authority. It was therefore determined previouſly to inveſtigate this ſingle point, whether a law could be enacted by the mere authority of the legiſlative body, without the ſanction of the king, or what we term in England the *royal aſſent?* The Latin word *veto*, which had been in uſe in Poland on ſimilar occaſions, was adopted in the debates to expreſs the negative of the king; and on the ſubject of this negative three opinions were prevalent in the national aſſembly.

Meſſ. Mounier, Lally Tolendal, Treillard, d'Antraigues, de Mirabeau, and de Liancourt, ſupported the abſolute veto of the king. "Two powers," they obſerved, "exiſted in the body politic; the power of willing or decreeing, and that of acting. By the firſt a ſociety eſtabliſhed the rules of its own conduct, and by the ſecond theſe rules were carried into execution and effect. Both of theſe powers are equally neceſſary; and if on the one part it is eſſential to liberty that the legiſlative ſhould be ſecured from the executive power, ſo it is no leſs neceſſary to ſupport this laſt againſt the uſurpations of the other: this could only be effected by inveſting the chief magiſtrate with an autho-

* See the State Papers, vol. x. p. 125.

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rity to examine the acts of the legiſlative body, and to refuſe to endow them with the ſacred character of laws.

"If the whole collective body of the people were capable of expreſſing their will in direct terms, it would be abſurd to ſubject laws ſo enacted to a royal ſanction; but in a repreſentative government, where the deputies might be choſen more from circumſtances of fortune and ſituation than from perſonal virtue and merit, and where it is poſſible that the majority of them might unite in oppoſition to the general good, it is neceſſary to counteract ſuch an ariſtocracy by the prerogative of a monarch. Hence an alliance between the crown and the people, againſt every ſpecies of ariſtocracy, is created by their reſpective intereſts and their fears. If, for inſtance, the prince is poſſeſſed of no negative, what ſhall hinder the repreſentatives from paſſing an act for perpetuating their own authority, like the famous long parliament of England? What ſhall prevent them from invading all the functions of the executive power, as well as the rights of the people? There are only two caſes in which a monarch can be ſuppoſed to refuſe his aſſent: 1ſt, where he conceives the law in queſtion to be oppoſite to the real intereſts of the people; or 2dly, where, deceived by his miniſters, he is induced to reſiſt a law which is injurious to their perſonal intereſts. In the firſt caſe the prerogative will be beneficially exerciſed; in the ſecond, the law will be only ſuſpended: for it is impoſſible that a limited monarch ſhould long reſiſt the wiſhes of the whole nation. In fact, his veto, however abſolute, can be no more at any time than an appeal from the legiſlature to the people at large."

Such were the arguments with which the almoſt irreſiſtible eloquence of Mirabeau, in particular, defended the abſolute veto: they were however combated with not leſs force and energy by the oppoſite party. "It is eſſentially neceſſary," ſaid they, "to preſerve diſtinct the two departments of government, the legiſlative and the executive powers; nor is there any thing in the proper and natural functions of a king, which makes it neceſſary to conſtitute him as an eſſential integrant branch of the legiſlature. It is difficult to draw the line between the right of ſtopping proceedings, and the right of action. The right of ſtopping proceedings in the hands of the executive power, would be to make it ſuperior to the majority of the legiſlature; it would be a lettre de cachet againſt the ſupreme will of the nation.

"A ſuſpenſive veto, or an appeal to the will of the nation, would be attended with worſe conſequences than even the abſolute negative: it would change the very nature of the government, and convert it into a pure democracy, inſtead of a repreſentative government. What an appeal would it be to 26 millions of people, of whom nine-tenths are deſtitute of inſtruction, and incapable of underſtanding the complex nature of political queſtions? But it is pretended that the legiſlative power may one day encroach upon the executive; as if a power deſtitute of arms, could contend with a power which has continually arms in its hands; as if an aſſembly of 1200 men, neceſſarily divided by their private intereſts, and inveſted with a tranſient authority, were likely to invade ſucceſsfully the perpetual and hereditary depoſitory of the whole public force. Conſult hiſtory,

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hiſtory, and you will find throughout every page the legiſlature of free nations employed, not in uſurping the executive power, but in reſtraining it. Doubtleſs a good king will conſult the general wiſh of the nation; but a violent and obſtinate king will expoſe, in defending his prerogative, both his crown and his life."

It was in theſe terms that Meſſ. Garat junior, de Landine, Sales, Beaumetz, and others, attacked the royal negative. A very ſmall party pleaded for a ſuſpenſive veto; but as both the great parties agreed in rejecting it, every plan of mediation appeared at firſt improbable. In the courſe, however, of the diſcuſſion, new lights were reflected upon the ſubject, and inclined both parties at length to this ſafe and middle path: "It was acknowledged that the great fountain of the executive power could not, without ſome danger, be deprived of this prerogative; nor could it be unlimitedly aſſigned to the monarch, without the apprehenſion of a danger ſtill ſuperior. The deciſions of a legiſlative body are certainly not infallible, and in ſome inſtances may be oppoſite even to the will of the nation in general: in that caſe, therefore, there ſhould exiſt ſome counterpoiſe to their action; and though it might be dangerous and impolitic to make the king a conſtituent part of the legiſlature, yet the power of ſuſpending a law is not an act of legiſlation. An actual appeal to the people at large would be impracticable, if not unconſtitutional. When France adopted the repreſentative form of government, it virtually aboliſhed mandatory inſtructions from the conſtituents; ſuppoſing then the national aſſembly to be changed at certain periods by new elections, no great inconvenience can ariſe from inveſting the monarch with a power of ſuſpending, for a certain number of ſucceſſive legiſlatures, any law that may appear to him contrary to the welfare of the ſtate. Will not this ſuſpenſive veto, on the other hand, place the repreſentatives and the king in a ſtate of emulation extremely conducive to the general good? Will not the deputies of the nation become more circumſpect in preſenting for the royal ſanction, laws which the king may reject with applauſe? And will not the monarch be cautious of ſuſpending laws, which are in themſelves ſo good as to ſecure their enaction in ſucceſſive legiſlatures?"

The diſcuſſion of this important queſtion was not confined to the aſſembly. The city of Paris in particular was conſiderably agitated on this occaſion: the populace threatened again to relapſe into all their former violence; and even a liſt was ſhewn, in which a number of members belonging to the aſſembly itſelf were marked for deſtruction. Rennes and Dinan alſo formally proteſted againſt the veto in the moſt violent terms. In the mean time a memoire was ſent from M. Neckar to the aſſembly on this ſubject, in which, by a number of very ſenſible arguments, he enforced the adoption of the ſuſpenſive veto, limiting its effects to two legiſlatures: but the majority, conſiſting of the moſt violent of both parties, on the plea of prohibiting all miniſterial influence, would not permit the memoire to be read. It was, however, made public in a few days; and is ſuppoſed to have had conſiderable weight with the people at leaſt, if not with the aſſembly. It was therefore at length determined, "that the king ſhould have the power of ſuſpending any decree for two ſucceſſive legiſlatures; but that if a third ſhould perſiſt

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perſiſt in enacting it, in that caſe it ſhould have the force of a law without the royal ſanction."

While the aſſembly remained undetermined on the important queſtion of the royal *veto* (for it was in agitation from the latter end of Auguſt to the 14th of September), other ſubjects of government not leſs intereſting preſented themſelves for diſcuſſion. The firſt of theſe regarded the permanence of a national aſſembly; in plain terms, whether there ſhould always exiſt an aſſembly ready to be convoked upon any occaſion, like the parliament of England; or whether it ſhould only meet periodically, and be virtually diſſolved on the cloſe of the ſeſſion. On this topic there was little room for diſſent, and it was carried in favour of a permanent aſſembly with only three diſſenting voices. On the next topic of diſcuſſion there was leſs unanimity. M. Lally Tolendal, in the name of the committee of conſtitution, propoſed that the legiſlature ſhould conſiſt of two chambers, a lower and an upper houſe. In the original draft which the reporter exhibited as an improvement on the Engliſh conſtitution, the ſenate or upper houſe was to be compoſed of members choſen for life; but M. Mounier thought that this high dignity ought to be conferred only for ſeven years.

This propoſed organization was univerſally diſapproved by the people. It was evidently founded on the imaginary balance of powers in the Engliſh conſtitution. But the popular party conſidered it as the aſylum of the old ariſtocracy, and (to uſe the phraſeology of a writer of this party) as the cradle of a new one: nay, even the partiſans of the feudal ſyſtem oppoſed the creation of a new dignity, which was to be raiſed in function and authority above the ancient nobility of the realm.

On the diſcuſſion of the ſubject in the aſſembly, the Engliſh government was treated with all due reſpect; but M. Rabaud de St. Etienne obſerved, "that the eſtabliſhment of an upper houſe there, was not originally with any view of reſtraining the exceſſes of popular counſels, but was ſimply a treaty of accommodation; a capitulation between the arrogance of the great and the ſpirit of liberty in the people. It is," ſaid he, "one of the feudal relics, and we have agreed to deſtroy that pernicious ſyſtem."

"The very nature of things," it was urged, "is adverſe to every diviſion of the legiſlative authority. The nation which is repreſented is *one*, the repreſentative body ought to be *one* alſo. The *will* of the nation, of which the aſſembly is the organ, is indiviſible, and ſo ought to be the *voice* which pronounces it.—Again, if the two chambers have not reſpectively a *veto* upon the acts of each other, there is no object in dividing them: if each of them poſſeſſes this *veto*, in ſome caſes they will be reduced to perfect inaction. If the ſenators are appointed for life, they will naturally be on the ſide of the monarch, who may gratify their avarice by places and penſions, and amuſe their ambition by ſplendid expectations and promiſes: a ſenate for life then would be no more than an additional force added to the executive power."

The remainder of the debate was interrupted and tumultuous. The biſhop of Langres, who was preſident, and a decided friend to the meaſure of two chambers, quitted the chair, which was taken by the count de Clermont Tonnerre; and when the ſuffrages were taken, though more than one thouſand

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voted, only eighty-nine were in favour of an upper houſe.

In the diſcuſſion of the *veto* two other ſubjects alſo had been involved; namely, the *duration of the legiſlative body*, and the mode to be purſued in *re-electing the deputies*. On the firſt of theſe topics two evils were to be avoided—an exiſtence too ſhort, which afforded no ſcope for experience, nor for the diſplay of talents, and which would neceſſarily render the operations of the legiſlature verſatile and inconſtant; and a protracted duration, which might open the door to corruption, and generate the *eſprit de corps*. The term of *two years* was adopted, as the medium between the extreme points of an annual aſſembly and the dangerous poſſeſſion of authority for a more extended period. The ſame reaſons induced the aſſembly to prefer the *election of new members entirely to each legiſlature*, rather than a partial re-election; ſince it was evident, that whatever the new members might want in experience they would compenſate in diligence and zeal; ſince it was a means of extending the political knowledge and ability of the ſuperior claſſes; and ſince, in fine, it appeared the only effectual mode of utterly excluding the evils of faction and venality.

The aſſembly decreed with an unanimous voice of acclamation—That the *perſon of the king is inviolable*; that the *throne is indiviſible*; that the *crown is hereditary* in the males of the reigning family according to the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of females.

The unanimity on theſe queſtions was nearly deſtroyed, and the proceedings of the aſſembly interrupted, by the artful introduction of a moſt imprudent topic. The only hope of the diſaffected party now reſted on the probability of involving the nation in a diſpute or conteſt with ſome foreign power; and a fair opportunity was offered when the motion for regulating the ſucceſſion came under conſideration. It was then propoſed, that the aſſembly ſhould decide whether the Spaniſh branch of the Bourbon family were legally excluded by the renunciation which Philip V. had agreed to by the treaty of Utrecht. No queſtion could be more impertinent or irrelevant in its object than this; and the neceſſary conſequence of a deciſion muſt have been, on the one hand to diſguſt the court of Spain, or on the other to give occaſion to the calumniators of the new legiſlature to aſſert that they paid no regard to the ſacredneſs of treaties. From this dilemma they were happily relieved, after three days debate, by an amendment propoſed by M. Target, which diſavowed the intention of extending the ſpirit of the laſt of the above articles to the prejudging of the effect of renunciations by treaty.

The decrees of the 4th of Auguſt had, as we have already ſtated, been ſent to the king; and on the 12th of September a decree was paſſed, preſſing the neceſſity of their promulgation. On the 18th a letter was received from his majeſty, approving in general terms of the ſpirit of the decrees, but ſtating ſome objections againſt particular articles, eſpecially the abolition of thoſe rents which had been originally founded in perſonal ſervice, but which were to the preſent proprietors a ſpecies of actual property; and alſo remarking, that ſome difficulty would attend the abolition of tithes; and that there appeared ſome danger of offending the German princes who had poſſeſſions in Alſace,

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Alſace, which were ſecured to them by treaty. To theſe articles therefore he propoſed to give only a conditional aſſent, with a promiſe of modifying or even renouncing his opinions, if convinced by the obſervations of the national aſſembly.

Neither the people nor the aſſembly were ſatisfied with this letter of the king. It was ſaid that theſe decrees were ſent to the executive power, not for his aſſent, but for the purpoſe of promulgation merely; that they were principles rather than laws, and that the ſanction of the executive power was not neceſſary to the conſecration of principles; but that the obſervations of his majeſty would come properly under conſideration when theſe articles were to be reduced into the form of laws. On the motion of M. Chappelier, therefore, it was reſolved, "That the preſident ſhould wait on the king to entreat him, that he would immediately order the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of Auguſt and the following days; aſſuring his majeſty that the national aſſembly would pay the moſt reſpectful attention to the obſervations which he had been pleaſed to communicate." The king immediately acceded to the wiſhes of the legiſlature, and on the 20th of September ſanctioned the decrees.

Amidſt this general proſpect of a happy eſtabliſhment of rational liberty, the derangement of the finances ſeemed to oppoſe an invincible obſtacle to the patriotic labours of the friends of the people. The propoſed loan of eighty millions had failed; loans in general were decried; and the current ſpecie of the kingdom was transferred to diſtant countries. Nothing, however, could diſcourage the confidence which the citizens repoſed in their repreſentatives: the pecuniary difficulties which embarraſſed the government were no ſooner known, than a number of diſintereſted expedients were projected for relieving them. The wives and daughters of the opulent inhabitants of Paris appeared at the bar of the aſſembly, and, after the example of the Roman ladies, offered their jewels and their ornaments of value on the altar of the public. The whole kingdom was at once actuated by a general enthuſiaſm; infancy ſacrificed its toys; old age its comforts; opulence preſented the tribute of its wealth; and poverty itſelf conſecrated to its country a part of its ſubſiſtence. The king, whoſe benevolence has never been queſtioned, however imprudently he may have acted in ſome difficult circumſtances, and under improper influence, voluntarily ſent his rich ſervices of plate to the mint, though the aſſembly entreated him in the ſtrongeſt terms to revoke the reſolution.

The neceſſities of the ſtate, however, were too conſiderable to be materially relieved by theſe patriotic donations; and they were found ſcarcely ſufficient to anſwer the current expences. M. Neckar was the only perſon who did not deſpair. He had the courage to repreſent to the aſſembly the calamitous ſituation of the republic, and the means of alleviating it. He ſhewed that by certain reductions in the public expence, by different projects of œconomy, by an equalization of the taxes, the moſt reaſonable hopes might be entertained reſpecting the future reſtoration of credit, and reeſtabliſhment of the finances; and, in order to obviate the preſent embarraſſments, propoſed that a *contribution ſhould be demanded from every citizen equivalent to a quarter of his nett income*, to be collected in the ſpace of fifteen months, agreeably

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to the ſolemn declaration of the reſpective contributors. The aſſembly were terrified at the boldneſs of the project; but the count de Mirabeau, who poſſibly repented the ſhare he had taken in defeating the former project of the miniſter, now exerted the full force of his irreſiſtible talents in his favour. "He proved that the exigencies of the ſtate required an immediate ſupply; and that it was impoſſible to ſubſtitute a new ſcheme of finance in the place of that propoſed by M. Neckar, or even to examine that which he had ſubmitted to them; ſince to go through the very figures which the ſtatement contained would require a period of not leſs than three entire months. He urged the neceſſity of confidence in ſuch a conjuncture; a confidence which he obſerved the former conduct of the miniſter entirely warranted; and which ought now to be accorded to him, even though his plan might not be the beſt that human ingenuity could deviſe, becauſe there was no other before them which they could adopt." The aſſembly upon theſe reaſons accepted the plan of M. Neckar; and on the 1ſt of October he preſented it in its perfect form, and with it his own contribution, which amounted to 100,000 livres.

Though the ſcheme however was accepted in the general, the execution of it in detail appeared to be attended with ſome difficulties; the principal of which was, that all the *cahiers* or inſtructions had prohibited the impoſing of any taxes till the conſtitution ſhould be eſtabliſhed. In this caſe, however, the neceſſities of the ſtate rendered a ſtrict compliance with the inſtructions impoſſible; but as a pledge to the public that the aſſembly were not inattentive to the will of their conſtituents, ſeveral of the patriotic members propoſed, that the king ſhould be requeſted to accept that part of the conſtitution which was already determined, previous to preſenting him with the decree concerning this extraordinary impoſt. M. Mirabeau, happily combining the different views upon this ſubject, propoſed to make the firſt part of M. Neckar's plan the preamble to the decree, in order that the proſpect of relief might be as conſpicuous as the demand. His plan was therefore adopted, notwithſtanding the clamours of oppoſition; and the decree, along with the declaration of rights, was in this ſtate preſented to the king.

The events which follow, are by the candid of all parties allowed to be enveloped in an almoſt impenetrable cloud of myſtery. The democratic writers aſſert, that a plot was concerted of immenſe extent for the total ruin of the liberties of France; the principal articles of which were—That the king was to be tranſported voluntarily, or involuntarily, to Metz; where the royal ſtandard was to be erected; where all the ancient inſtruments of deſpotiſm, the miniſters, generals, and parliaments, were to be aſſembled, and to iſſue manifeſtoes againſt the repreſentatives of the nation—That a ſubſcription was actually opened, by thoſe who termed themſelves the king's party, for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying on a civil war—That both the capital and Verſailles were once more to be inveſted with a powerful army—and that the national aſſembly was to be forcibly diſſolved. Theſe aſſertions undoubtedly receive ſome countenance from the fragment of a letter from the count d'Eſtaing to the queen, "in which he mentions ſuch rumours having reached his

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his ears, and in which he earneſtly diſſuades her from becoming a party in ſo raſh a meaſure." The court party, on the other hand, throw the blame upon their adverſaries, and affirm that the whole was a preconcerted plan of the popular leaders to force the king and the aſſembly to reſide within the walls of Paris.

All however that is known with certainty reſpecting the circumſtances which conduced to the commotion at Verſailles is, that the minds of the two great parties which had already begun to aſſume the factious epithets of *democratic* and *ariſtocratic*, were at this period inflamed to a moſt extravagant pitch of reſentment, and diſpoſed to ſuſpect each other of the moſt atrocious deſigns; that the declaration of rights and the firſt articles of the conſtitution had remained for ſome days in the hand of the king, who had delayed to give them the expected ſanction; that the clamours of the ariſtocratic party were louder than ever; that every mode was eſſayed to work upon the compaſſion and the loyalty of the nation; that the king was repreſented as dethroned, and reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery; and that ſome of the dependants of the court, in the plenitude of their zeal, were heard to boaſt "that a few days would reſtore affairs to their ancient footing, and that the king and his miniſters would reſume their power." It is well known on the other hand, that the old French guards, who compoſed, as we have already ſeen, the centre company in each battalion of the city militia, and who had been accuſtomed to the honour of guarding the king's perſon, ſaw with a moſt jealous eye that important truſt committed to the body guard and the militia of Verſailles. It is not improbable too, that the more ardent of the patriotic party might entertain ſuſpicions, that the ſovereign might one day effect an eſcape from the unguarded palace of Verſailles to put himſelf into the hands of their enemies, and might ſecretly wiſh to ſee him lodged in the centre of a city devoted to their intereſts, and from which there was but little probability of retreat.

An incident which occurred at Verſailles (which ſtamps the conduct of the court with at leaſt the ſtigma of imprudence, and which evinced that they were not without hopes that, as the revolution was chiefly effected by the change which was produced in the minds of the ſoldiery, a ſimilar change might operate in their favour) contributed to blow the glowing embers into an open flame. The count d'Eſtaing, who commanded the national guard of Verſailles, either influenced by the court, or jealous of the inclination which the French guards had manifeſted to partake in the honour of guarding their monarch, requeſted an additional regiment to aſſiſt him in preſerving tranquillity and order at the palace; and the regiment of Flanders dragoons was accordingly ordered for this ſervice. On the 1ſt of October an entertainment (the firſt that was ever given in public at Verſailles by that body) was given by the gardes-du-corps, or king's body guard, to the officers of the regiment of Flanders; and to augment the unpopularity of the circumſtance, it was given in the royal ſaloon. Several of the officers of the national guard, with others of the military, were invited. At the ſecond courſe, four toaſts were given: "The king, the queen, the dauphin, and the royal family." "The nation" was propoſed, but,

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according to a number of witneſſes, expreſsly rejected by the *gardes-du-corps*.

The king was juſt returned from hunting; and the queen, having been informed of the gaiety of the ſcene, perſuaded his majeſty to accompany her with the heir apparent to the ſaloon, which was now filled with ſoldiers—the grenadiers of Flanders and the Swiſs chaſſeurs having been admitted to the deſſert. The queen appeared with the dauphin in her arms, affectionate as ſhe was lovely, and carried the royal infant through the ſaloon, amidſt the acclamations and murmurs of the ſpectators. Fired with enthuſiaſm the ſoldiers drank the health of the king, the queen, and the dauphin, with their ſwords drawn; and the royal gueſts bowed reſpectfully and retired.

The entertainment, which had hitherto been conducted with ſome degree of order, now became a ſcene of entire confuſion. Nothing was omitted to inflame the paſſions of the military. The muſic played the favourite air—"O Richard, O my king, the world abandons thee;" the ladies of the court diſtributed *white cockades*, the anti-patriot enſign; and even ſome of the national guard, it is ſaid, had the weakneſs to accept them. In the height of this political banquet, it is affirmed, and there is indeed little cauſe to doubt it, that many expreſſions of marked diſreſpect towards the aſſembly and the nation eſcaped from the officers of the gardes-du-corps, and others of the military: this however might eaſily have happened in ſuch circumſtances, without the leaſt of premeditation or evil deſign.

During theſe tranſactions the city of Paris was afflicted with all the evils of famine. Either no bread was to be obtained, or bread of ſo bad a quality, that the populace, always miſtruſtful and ſuſpicious, were not without their alarms of a criminal deſign upon the lives, or at leaſt the health, of the inhabitants. Such was the ſtate of things when the news arrived of the fatal banquet at Verſailles. The circumſtances which we have related were ſtrangely magnified; and all the ſuſpicions which were entertained reſpecting the deſign of diſſolving the aſſembly, and carrying off the ſovereign, were added in exaggeration. At the ſame time the mutual reſentment of the contending parties hourly augmented; and the imprudent conduct of the minority expoſed them to every inſult. White and black cockades were worn as ſignals of defiance. They were torn out of the hats of the wearers by the mob; but ſuch was the enthuſiaſm of one of theſe votaries of party, that he is ſaid to have picked up from the ground this relic of loyalty, to have kiſſed it reſpectfully, and attempted to replace it in his hat. Every meaſure that could be taken by the three hundred directors of the municipality to prevent the ſpreading of the inſurrection was taken—in vain! Early on the morning of the memorable 5th of October, a woman ſallied out from the quarter of St. Euſtacia, and entering the corps-de-garde, and ſeizing a drum, paraded the adjacent ſtreets beating an alarm, and exciting the people by clamours reſpecting the ſcarcity of bread. She was ſoon joined by a very numerous mob, chiefly of women, and repaired immediately to the Hôtel de Ville. A few of the committee of the commune were aſſembled; and M. Gouvion, at the head of the national guard, endeavoured to prevent their entrance; but the ſoldiers, ſwayed either by gallantry

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gallantry or humanity, gave way, and permitted them to paſs. Some, who by their air and manner appeared of a ſuperior claſs, entered with good humour into converſation with the committee, and pleaded eloquently the cauſe of their companions, who under various circumſtances of miſery came to aſk for relief. But the greater number, both by their appearance and their conduct, ſhewed that they were collected from the loweſt rank of indigence and depravity. With horrid imprecations they demanded bread and arms; they exclaimed with violence againſt the puſillanimity of the men, and threatened the lives of the whole committee, and particularly of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette. Others penetrated the magazine of arms; and a third troop aſcended the belfry, where they attempted to ſtrangle the abbé Lefevre. In one of the halls two furies endeavoured to ſet fire to the public papers, but were happily prevented by Staniſlaus Maillard, who had rendered himſelf ſo famous at the taking of the Baſtille.

This young patriot, finding all endeavours to reſiſt the fury of the mob in vain, employed a new ſtratagem to preſerve his country. He applied to the commanding officer for his authority; and having obtained it, he proceeded down the ſtairs of the Hôtel de Ville, which were filled with women, and ſeizing a drum, which lay at the door, he offered to put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents, the univerſal clamour of whom was to proceed to Verſailles. By a unanimous ſhout of applauſe Maillard was choſen captain of this turbulent troop; and by his authority the aſſembly was adjourned to the Champs Eliſées. When arrived at this general rendezvous their numbers amounted to upwards of eight thouſand; and their firſt meaſure was to ſurround their chief, and to inſiſt upon his leading them to the arſenal to equip themſelves completely with arms. Fortunately he had authority enough to make himſelf heard, and to convince them that the arms had been removed from the arſenal; and he had even ſufficient addreſs to engage them to lay aſide the weapons with which they had provided themſelves, by repreſenting to them, that ſince their object was to ſupplicate the aſſembly for juſtice and for bread, they would operate more forcibly on the compaſſion of that body, by appearing as diſtreſſed petitioners, than with arms in their hands. They departed for Verſailles about noon, preceded by a company of armed men, and guarded in the rear by the volunteers of the Baſtille, whom Maillard had prepared for that purpoſe.

Unfortunately the fanaticiſm of the moment was communicated to the grenadiers. They not only declared, "that they could not turn their bayonets againſt the poor women who came to aſk for bread, but intimated an inclination themſelves to proceed to Verſailles." Their ſpokeſman declaimed loudly againſt the committee of ſubſiſtence, againſt the gardes-du-corps—and concluded, "that the people were miſerable, and the ſource of the evil was at Verſailles; that they muſt go and find out the king, and bring him to Paris." While the marquis de la Fayette reaſoned, inſiſted, threatened, the tumult increaſed from all quarters; an immenſe crowd armed with ſticks, pikes, guns, &c. ruſhed from the ſuburbs; and though the national guard appeared not in the moſt tractable diſpoſition, the mayor

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and municipality probably conceived it the only means of preventing miſchief at Verſailles, to permit their departure with their commander at their head. The marquis therefore received an order to depart for Verſailles, and it was moſt cheerfully obeyed by the national guard.

The repreſentatives of the nation, totally unconſcious of what was paſſing in Paris, were aſſembled on the 5th, in expectation of receiving back the conſtitutional articles ſanctioned by the king. M. Mounier was then preſident. The ſitting opened with reading a letter from the king, in which he pleaded "the difficulty of judging partially of the conſtitution; adding, however, that in the confidence that the new articles were calculated to eſtabliſh the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom, he accepted them; but with one poſitive condition, that from the ſpirit of the whole ſyſtem the executive power ſhould have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch. He concluded with obſerving, that though theſe conſtitutional articles did not all indiſcriminately preſent him with the idea of perfection, yet he thought it proper to pay this reſpect to the wiſh of the aſſembly, and to the *alarming circumſtances* which ſo ſtrongly preſſed him to deſire the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, order, and confidence."

This letter by no means proved acceptable to the aſſembly; the patriotic members marked in ſtrong terms their diſapprobation of this proviſional aſſent, which only ſeemed to be given in conſequence of the alarming circumſtances of the nation. In the courſe of the debate many alluſions were made to the indecent feſtival of the military which diſgraced Verſailles on the preceding week. The inſults offered to the nation and the national cockade were pointedly mentioned, as well as the menaces of the ſoldiery. A motion was at length made, that the guilty perſons on that occaſion ſhould be delivered up to the rigour of the law, and that the accuſations which had been now inſinuated ſhould be formed into a criminal proceſs. At theſe words the count de Mirabeau roſe. "I begin," ſaid he, "by declaring that I conſider the motion as ſupremely impolitic; nevertheleſs, if it is perſiſted in, I am ready to produce the details, and to ſign them with my own hand. But this aſſembly muſt firſt declare that the perſon of the king *alone* is ſacred, and that all other individuals, whatever their ſtation, are equally ſubjects, and reſponſible to the laws." The prudence of the preſident and the aſſembly prevailed over the raſhneſs of both parties. The motion was withdrawn; and it was decreed, that the preſident ſhould wait on the king to requeſt a ſimple acceptance of the conſtitutional articles.

The aſſembly was frequently alarmed, during the courſe of this diſcuſſion, by repeated intelligence that all Paris was advancing to Verſailles. Maillard conducted his tumultuous troop with uncommon addreſs. When he came within ſight of Verſailles he arranged them in three ranks; and adverti ſed them, that as they were entering a place where they were not expected, they muſt be careful, by the cheerfulneſs of their appearance and the regularity of their conduct, to excite no alarms in the inhabitants. When arrived at the gate of the national aſſembly, Maillard undertook to ſpeak for them, that he might prevent their ſpeaking for themſelves. He entered attended by fifteen of the women, and perſuaded the reſt to wait for

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for his return at the gate. His addreſs had two objects: "to entreat that the aſſembly would deviſe ſome method of relieving the dreadful ſcarcity of bread which prevailed at Paris, and which he ſaid had been occaſioned by the interception of convoys, and by the monopoliſts; and to ſolicit that the gardes-du-corps might be ordered to aſſume the national cockade." He had ſcarcely finiſhed, when a national cockade was preſented to him on the part of the gardes-du-corps, as a proof that they had already adopted it. Maillard ſhewed it to the women, who immediately anſwered by loud acclamations of *Vive le roi, & M. M. les gardes-du-corps!* A deputation was immediately appointed to wait on the king with this intelligence.

The king had gone that morning to take the diverſion of ſhooting in the woods of Meudon; and in the midſt of his ſport intelligence was brought, "that a moſt formidable band of women were on the way from Paris, exclaiming for bread." "Alas!" anſwered the king, "if I had it, I ſhould not wait to be aſked." On his return, as ſoon as he mounted his horſe, a chevalier of St. Louis fell upon his knees and beſeeched his majeſty not to be afraid.—"I never was afraid in my life," returned the king.

On his arrival at Verſailles he found the gardes-du-corps and the national guard under arms, and the palace ſurrounded with a mob. With the deputation from the aſſembly five of the women were introduced to his majeſty, who on hearing of the diſtreſſes of the metropolis was extremely moved, and the women ſympathized in the feelings of the monarch. Louiſa Chabry, a young woman who was employed in ſome of the branches of ſculpture, and was only ſeventeen years of age, fainted. When ſhe recovered ſhe deſired leave to kiſs the king's hand, who embraced her, and diſmiſſed her with an elegant compliment. The women without doors could ſcarcely believe the report of thoſe who had been admitted. In the mean time the king ſigned an order for bringing corn from Senlis and de Lagni, and for removing every obſtacle which impeded the ſupply of Paris. This order was reported to the women, and they retired with acclamations of gratitude and joy.

This band of Amazons was no ſooner diſperſed than it was ſucceeded by another, headed by M. Brunout, a ſoldier of the Pariſian guard, whom they had compelled to aſſume the unpleaſant office of their leader. It is uncertain upon what provocation M. Savonieres, a lieutenant in the gardes-du-corps, and two other officers, imprudently ſingled out Brunout from his company, and chaſed him along the ranks with their drawn ſabres. The unhappy man was upon the point of being cut to pieces with their ſabres, when one of the national guard of Verſailles fired upon M. Savonieres, and broke his arm, and by that means ſaved the life of Brunout: and this incident is ſaid to have greatly increaſed that unfortunate hatred which the people afterwards manifeſted by atrocious acts of cruelty to the gardes-du-corps.

Whether there was indeed a concerted plan to carry off the king to Metz, or whether the court was really terrified by the accident which we have juſt recounted, it is impoſſible to determine; but the king's carriages were ordered to the gate of the caſtle which communicates with

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with the orangery. The national guard of Verſailles, however, who occupied the poſt, refuſed to permit them to paſs; and the king himſelf was reſolute in his determination to ſtay—declaring, "that he would rather periſh, than that the blood of the people ſhould be ſpilled in his quarrel."

The aſſembly continued ſitting; but the ſeſſion was tumultuous, and interrupted by the ſhouts and harangues of the Pariſian fiſh-women, who filled the galleries. A letter however from the king was read, deploring the ſcarcity of proviſions, and recommending that effectual means might be taken to remedy that calamity; and in a little time after M. Mounier entered with the pure and ſimple aſſent of the king to the conſtitutional articles. The aſſembly was then adjourned; but the applauſe which was beſtowed on its proceedings was mingled with affecting murmurs and complaints, the multitude crying out that they were actually ſtarving, and that the majority of them had eaten nothing for upwards of twenty-four hours. The preſident therefore humanely ordered that proviſions ſhould be ſought for in every part of the town, and the hall of the aſſembly was the ſcene of a miſerable, ſcanty, and tumultuous banquet. Indeed, ſuch was the dreadful famine, that the horſe of one of the gardes-du-corps being killed in a tumult, he was immediately roaſted, and greedily devoured, by the mob. Previous to the adjournment of the aſſembly, Maillard and a number of the women ſet off in carriages, provided by the king, for Paris, carrying with them the king's letter, and the reſolves of the national aſſembly, in the hope of reſtoring peace to the metropolis.

Darkneſs and a deluge of rain added to the horrors of the night. The wretched multitudes who had travelled from Paris were expoſed, almoſt famiſhed, to the inclemencies of the weather in the open ſtreets: within the caſtle all was trepidation; nothing was to be heard from without but imprecations, and the voice of enraged multitudes demanding the life of the queen and the gardes-du-corps. Towards midnight, however, all appeared tolerably ſtill and peaceable, when the beating of the drums, and the light of innumerable torches, announced the approach of the Pariſian army. The marquis de la Fayette on his arrival repaired to the cloſet, and informed the king of the whole proceedings of the day; a part of the national guards were diſtributed in poſts agreeably to the orders of his majeſty; the reſt were entertained by the inhabitants of Verſailles, or retired to lodge in the churches and public edifices, for the remainder of the night; and tranquillity appeared once more perfectly reſtored.

The troops of vagabonds who had accompanied Maillard, or who had followed the Pariſian militia, were chiefly diſpoſed of in the hall of the aſſembly, and in the great corps-de-garde; and at about five in the morning the marquis de la Fayette, after having viſited all the poſts, and found every thing perfectly quiet, retired to his chamber to write to the municipality of Paris, and perhaps in the hope of ſnatching a few hours repoſe.

The day began to break at about half paſt five; and at this period crowds of women and other deſperate perſons, breathing vengeance and thirſting for blood, advanced to the caſtle, which, in the fatal ſecurity which the arrival of the Pariſian

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ſian militia inſpired, was left unguarded in ſeveral places. Some of the iron gates were ſhut, and ſome left open. An immenſe crowd found its way into the *cour des miniſtres*, and immediately proceeded to the royal gate, which was ſhut, and a number of the invaders attempted to ſcale it. Another troop of ruffians proceeded to the chapel court, and another to that of the princes, and by both theſe avenues penetrated into the royal court. Some haſty diſpoſitions of defence were made by a M. Agueſſeau; the gardes-du-corps were ſoon under arms, and one man was wounded by them in the arm, and another ſhot dead. The crowd immediately mounted the grand ſtair-caſe, where one of the gardes-du-corps, M. Miomandre, endeavoured to diſſuade them from their attempt; but he narrowly eſcaped with his life. M. Tardivet du Repaire haſted to the queen's apartment, in order to prevent the entrance of the banditti; but he was aſſailed by thouſands, and ſtretched upon the ground. A villain with a pike attempted to pierce him to the heart; but he had the good fortune to wreſt the weapon from his hand, with which he parried the attacks of his enemies, and at length effected his eſcape. M. Miomandre in the mean time made his way to the queen's apartment. He opened the door, and cried out to a lady whom he ſaw in the inner chamber—"Save the queen, madam, her life is in danger—I am here alone againſt two thouſand tigers." He ſhut the door; and after a few minutes reſiſtance was deſperately wounded with a pike, and left for dead—though he has ſince recovered.

The queen had been awaked a quarter of an hour before by the clamours of the women who aſſembled upon the terrace; but her waiting-woman had ſatisfied her by ſaying, "that they were only the women of Paris, who ſhe ſuppoſed, not being able to find a lodging, were walking about." But the tumult approaching, and becoming apparently more ſerious, ſhe roſe, dreſſed herſelf in haſte, and ran to the king's apartment by a private paſſage. In her way ſhe heard the noiſe of a piſtol and a muſket, which redoubled her terror. "My friends," ſaid ſhe to every perſon ſhe met, "ſave me and my children." In the king's chamber ſhe found the dauphin, who had been brought there by one of her women; but the king was gone. Awaked by the tumult, he had ſeen from a window the multitude preſſing towards the great ſtair-caſe; and alarmed for the queen, he haſted to her apartment, and entered at one door in the moment ſhe had quitted it by the other. He returned without loſs of time; and having with the queen brought the princeſs royal into the chamber, they prepared to face the multitude.

In the mean time the noiſe and tumult increaſed, and appeared at the very door of the chamber. Nothing was to be heard but the moſt dreadful exclamations, with violent and repeated blows againſt the outer door, a pannel of which was broken. Nothing but inſtant death was expected by the royal company. Suddenly, however, the tumult ſeemed to ceaſe—every thing was quiet; and a moment after a gentle rap was heard at the door. The door was opened, and in an inſtant the apartments were filled with the Pariſian guard. The officer who conducted them, ordered them to ground their arms. "We come," ſaid he, "to ſave the king;" and turning to ſuch

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of the gardes-du-corps as were in the apartments, "We will ſave you alſo, gentlemen; let us from this moment be united."

Unfortunately the national guard arrived too late to prevent all the miſchief. Two of the gardes-du-corps were murdered by the mob before the troops could be rallied, and their heads fixed on ſpikes ſerved as the ſtandards of this deteſtable banditti. From the firſt moment of the alarm the marquis de la Fayette had even exceeded his uſual activity. He appeared in every quarter:—"Gentlemen," ſaid he to the Pariſian ſoldiers, "I have pledged my word and honour to the king that nothing belonging to him ſhall receive injury. If I break my word, I ſhall be no longer worthy to be your commander." Captain Gondran, the officer who had driven the ruffians from the king's apartment, was not leſs conſpicuous for his activity. The Pariſians forced their way in every part through the almoſt impenetrable maſs—ſurrounded the gardes-du-corps, and placed them in ſafety under their own colours.

Plunder is however commonly one great object of a mob. The banditti had already begun to ſtrip the palace, and to throw the furniture to each other out of the windows. M. Gondran purſued them from place to place, till the caſtle was at length completely cleared. Expelled from the palace, they repaired to the ſtables; but here a ſudden ſtop was put to their depredations by M. Doazon, a farmer-general, and captain of the Paris militia. The horſes were all recovered, and brought back in ſafety to their ſtalls. Diſappointed at length in every view, they departed in a body to Paris; and left Verſailles entirely free, and under the protection of the national guard. The moſt generous expreſſions of kindneſs and gratitude took place between the gardes-du-corps and the national guard. The former conſidered the others as their deliverers; while the latter evinced every inclination that they ſhould in future form one united corps.

The royal family now ventured to ſhew themſelves at a balcony, and received the moſt lively acclamations of reſpect from the ſoldiers and the people. But whether it had been planned by the popular party, or whether it was the immediate impulſe of the multitude—but the former is moſt probable—at the firſt a ſingle voice, or a few voices, exclaimed—"The king to Paris;" and this was inſtantly followed by an univerſal acclamation enforcing the ſame demand. After ſome conſultation with the marquis de la Fayette, the king addreſſed them: "You wiſh me to go to Paris—I will go, on the condition that I am to be accompanied by my wife and children." He was anſwered by reiterated acclamations of *Vive le roi!*

Before the departure of the king, the national aſſembly was convened; and, on the motion of M. Mirabeau, paſſed a ſolemn decree, "that the aſſembly was inſeparable from the perſon of the king." A deputation of one hundred members was alſo appointed to accompany the king to Paris. During the preparations for the journey, the gardes-du-corps changed hats and ſwords with the grenadiers and national guards, and both they and the regiment of Flanders deſired leave to mix indiſcriminately in the ranks. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before the proceſſion ſet out. During the progreſs all was gaiety

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gaiety and joy among the ſoldiers and the ſpectators; and ſuch was the reſpect in which the French nation ſtill held the name and perſon of their king, that the multitude were ſuperſtitiouſly perſuaded that the royal preſence would actually put an end to the famine *. On his arrival, the king was congratulated by the municipality, and declared his approbation of the loyalty which the city of Paris manifeſted. He however gave one proof, among ſeveral others which he had before given, that however he may be wrought upon by miſrepreſentation and evil counſels, his character is in the general neither deficient in good ſenſe nor firmneſs. As they aſcended the ſtairs of the Hôtel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette requeſted the king that he would either aſſure the people himſelf, or permit ſome other perſon to aſſure them in his name, that he would fix his abode in Paris.—"I feel no objection," replied the monarch, "to fix my abode in my good city of Paris: but I have not yet formed any determination on the ſubject; and I will make no promiſe which I do not poſitively mean to fulfil."

CHAP. III.

Emigration of the Ariſtocratic Members of the Aſſembly. Title of King of the French. Duke of Orleans retires to England. A Baker hanged by the Mob at Paris. Riot Act. New Diviſion of the Empire. Church Lands applied to the Exigencies of the State. Lettres de Cachet aboliſhed. Committee appointed to inſpect the Penſion Liſt. Diſtinction of Orders aboliſhed. Oppoſition of the Provincial States and Parliaments. Riots at Marſeilles and Toulon. Melancholy Event at Senlis. Debate on the Eligibility of Miniſters to the National Aſſembly. Corſica declared a conſtituent Part of the French Empire. Plan of the Caiſſe de l'Extraordinaire. Refuſal of a Donation from Geneva. Of an Alliance with Brabant. Reſiſtance of the Parliament of Brittany. Affair of the Marquis de Favras. Municipalities made reſponſible for Damages ſuſtained by Riots. Suppreſſion of Monaſteries. Emiſſion of Aſſignats. Gabelle, &c. aboliſhed. Reform of the Juriſprudence. Troubles in St. Domingo, &c. Publication of the Red Book. Religious Inſurrections at Toulouſe, Montabon, and Niſmes. Right of making War and Peace. Organization of the Clergy. Abolition of Titles, &c. Grand Confederation. Return of M. d'Orleans.

WHATEVER might have been the intentions of either party in producing the riots of the 5th and 6th of October, the removal of the king to the metropolis was certainly productive of the happieſt conſequences. It ſatisfied completely the ſuſpicious and unquiet minds of the Pariſians; it brought their ſovereign more immediately in connexion with them, and ſtrengthened in ſome degree the bands of union: nay, chimerical as it may appear, the ſuperſtitious fancy of the populace, that the preſence of the king would terminate

* The popular exclamation was, as they proceeded along—"We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the little journeyman."

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the famine, was in ſome degree realiſed. The abundance and profuſion which always accompany a court, procured ſome relief to the indigent; and the conſciouſneſs of the ſupply that would be neceſſary, ſerved to repleniſh the impoveriſhed markets.

The ariſtocratic party, connected with the court, were the only perſons who manifeſted any degree of regret. The preſence of the king in Paris gave a fatal blow to their hopes and deſigns; and they had in reality ſome cauſe to be apprehenſive of the fury of the populace, ſhould any incident happen to excite their ardent and ſanguinary reſentment.

In the aſſembly itſelf, notwithſtanding the vote which declared the national aſſembly to be inſeparable from the perſon of the monarch, ſome objections were ſtrongly inſiſted on againſt the projected removal. It was ſaid, that the deputies would no longer be the legiſlators of the nation; they muſt obey the arbitrary mandates of the populace, and even the freedom of debate would be annihilated. To remove their ſcruples, a letter was directed to them by the king, inviting them to reſume their ſeſſion in the metropolis; and this was powerfully ſeconded by a deputation from the citizens of Paris.—By the mouth of their ſpeaker, M. Briſſot, the citizens "profeſſed their joy at the expected removal of the repreſentative body; they pledged themſelves by a ſolemn oath to protect the perſons of the deputies, and the freedom of debate; they intimated that they had forwarded an addreſs to all the provinces and communities of France to ſatisfy them relative to the late proceedings, to aſſure them that the commune of Paris was actuated by the moſt perfect loyalty to the king, the moſt inviolable obedience to the national aſſembly, and a ſincere paternal regard to all the municipalities of the kingdom."

Though this addreſs might probably diminiſh the fears of a part of the aſſembly, and certainly haſtened their removal; yet the apprehenſions of the ariſtocratic part of that body, on the eve of their departure, are ſcarcely to be imagined. Numberleſs paſſports were ſolicited on various excuſes; and among theſe ſome deſerters from the popular cauſe were obſerved with regret. M. Mounier, deſpairing of meeting in Paris a full toleration of his political opinions, retired into Dauphiné to ſearch for auxiliaries to ſupport the abſolute veto of his projected ſenate and of the king. Count Lally Tolendal, equally bigoted to the viſionary balance of powers in the conſtitution, retired alſo in diſguſt. Many of the high ariſtocratic members took refuge in foreign countries, where they applied themſelves indefatigably to the laudable purpoſe of exciting war againſt their country. To prevent however as much as poſſible ſimilar emigrations, the national aſſembly decreed, "that paſſports to the members ſhould be only granted for a ſhort and limited period; and that as to unlimited paſſports on account of ill health, they ſhould not be granted till ſubſtitutes were elected; that in future all ſubſtitutes ſhould be elected by the citizens at large, or by their repreſentatives, without any regard to orders; and that eight days after the firſt ſeſſion at Paris, a call of the houſe ſhould be inſtituted."

A proclamation aſcertaining the rights of citizens was next decreed; the power of originating laws was excluſively confined to the aſſembly; and the executive power was prohibited

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prohibited the liberty of creating or ſuppreſſing poſts or offices without an act of the legiſlature. The power of laying taxes was alſo veſted excluſively in the repreſentatives of the people; the reſponſibility of miniſters was eſtabliſhed; and the pernicious phraſeology in the proclamations and other acts of the king, "ſuch is *our* pleaſure," &c. was aboliſhed. The title of the king was changed from "the king of France" to that of "king of the French," as more expreſſive of the office, which is a king or ruler of men, and not of the ſoil or territory. Some difficulty aroſe reſpecting the title of king of Navarre; for that petty ſtate, conſidering itſelf rather as the ally than as a part of the empire, had not ſent repreſentatives to the national aſſembly. The deputies of the great provinces, howevever, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this title, and aſſerted that the king might as well be ſtyled count of Provence, duke of Brittany, king of Corſica, as king of Navarre: it was therefore agreed to expunge the title.

Tranquillity however was by no means perfectly reſtored, and to repeat the vague and idle reports that every day were ſpread, to the alarm of the citizens, would require volumes: for ſeveral nights the houſes of individuals were marked with chalk, and the colours, it was ſaid, denoted whether they were to be plundered, burnt, or the inhabitants murdered. In this ſtate of ſuſpicion and ferment, the moſt injurious reports were ſpread to the diſadvantage even of the moſt diſtinguiſhed friends of liberty: among others, the duke d'Orleans was calumniated as harbouring criminal deſigns upon the crown, or the regency at leaſt. The marquis de la Fayette, who was always forward in every thing that might contribute to the union of order and good government with the bleſſings of liberty, undertook to perſuade the duke to withdraw himſelf from the public for a ſhort time at leaſt. He was inveſted with ſome public commiſſion, rather nominal than real, and ſolicited from the aſſembly a paſſport for England. The count de Mirabeau, and ſome other of the more intimate friends of the duke, oppoſed ſtrenuouſly his retiring, as more likely to give credit to the calumnies which were fabricated againſt him than to diſprove them; but he choſe to ſacrifice his private intereſt to what the known friends of the people conſidered as the public good. At Boulogne his highneſs was ſtopped by the municipality, notwithſtanding his paſſport, and detained till ſet free by a ſubſequent order of the aſſembly.

On the 19th of October the repreſentatives of the French nation held their firſt ſeſſion at Paris. A deputation from the commune waited on them immediately with the congratulations of the city, at the head of which were M. Bailly the mayor, and the marquis de la Fayette. After the anſwer of the preſident, which was interrupted by peals of applauſe, the count de Mirabeau embraced the opportunity to preſs a vote of thanks for their eſſential ſervices to the nation, and "thus (he ſaid) to ſignalize their firſt ſeſſion in the metropolis, by a public act of juſtice, which was calculated to confirm the authority of the civil powers, and to repreſs the falſe zeal of imprudent friends, as well as the malignant deſigns of the enemies of freedom." The vote of thanks was decreed amidſt the loudeſt acclamations, and the ſeſſion of that day concluded, contrary to general expectation, without the ſmalleſt diſturbance.

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Neither this act of reſpect towards the magiſtracy of the city, however, nor the departure of the duke d'Orleans, could entirely prevent the horrors of maſſacre and inſurrection; and the aſſembly had ſcarcely been eſtabliſhed two days at Paris, before a moſt atrocious murder, committed almoſt in its very preſence, obliged them to adopt a ſtronger meaſure to prevent civil outrage and bloodſhed. On the 21ſt of October an unfortunate baker, of the name of François, who reſided in the ſtreet *Marché Palu*, cloſe to the *Archeveché*, where the aſſembly at that period was convened, was ſingled out as the victim of popular phrenſy. After having ſerved out his uſual quantity of bread in the morning, he found his door ſtill beſieged by ſeveral perſons who had not yet been able to obtain a ſupply. Among theſe was a woman, who is ſaid to have borne a particular enmity againſt the unfortunate baker, and who inſiſted on ſearching the houſe for bread. On entering, ſhe found three loaves which the journeymen had reſerved for their own uſe; and ſnatching up one of them in her hand, ſhe raiſed the injurious outcry, that François had reſerved a part of the proviſion which ought to have been diſtributed for the uſe of the poor, and that he was a monopoliſt and a monſter. The complaint was no ſooner made public than an immenſe mob was collected; the baker was dragged forcibly to the Grève; and there, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the municipality in his favour, he was hanged.

So outrageous a defiance of authority, ſo complete a ſubverſion of law and juſtice, could not eſcape the pointed notice of the legiſlature.—The firſt movements of popular fury, on their deliverance from deſpotiſm, might ſeem excuſable; but the populace of Paris had now reached the ſummit of licentiouſneſs and injuſtice. They had erected themſelves into a power ſuperior to the magiſtrates; and unleſs ſome deciſive meaſure was taken, there was danger that the repreſentative body itſelf would no longer be able to maintain its authority. An act was immediately paſſed for the prevention and the diſperſion of riots, which authoriſed the magiſtrates, on any number of perſons aſſembling, to call in the aid of the military, and to proclaim martial law. A red flag was to be diſplayed from the principal window of the town-houſe; and from that moment all aſſemblies of the populace, with or without arms, were to be conſidered as criminal. Should the mob refuſe to diſperſe on being required by the magiſtrates, the military were then to act on the offenſive; thoſe who eſcaped might be arreſted; and if unarmed, and they had been guilty of no act of violence, they were to be impriſoned for one year; if found in arms, they were declared liable to three years impriſonment; and if they had committed any violence, were judged guilty of a capital offence. To give effect and vigour to this law, the committee of reſearch was ordered to make all neceſſary enquiries into treaſonable offences; and the conſtitutional committee to form a plan as ſoon as poſſible of a tribunal for the trial of all crimes of *leze-nation*; and in the mean time this power was for the preſent veſted in the court of the Chatelet.

Theſe efforts of the aſſembly were vigorouſly ſeconded by the municipality. The murderer of François was arreſted on the very day on which he committed the crime;

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crime; and on the following day was executed, with another unfortunate perſon who was alſo convicted of exciting ſedition. The king and queen ſympathiſed in the diſtreſs of the unfortunate widow of Francois: by the hands of the duke de Liancourt they ſent her 2000 crowns; the commune alſo ſent a deputation with a preſent to her; his remains were decently interred at the public expence; and the king and queen undertook to become the ſponſors at the baptiſm of the child with which his widow was pregnant at the time of his death.

The ſame diſpoſition to violence, the ſame proneneſs to ſuſpicion, that appeared in the capital, was no leſs active in the provinces. At Alençon, the viſcount Caraman, who had been ſent thither by marſhal Contades with a detachment of horſe, was on the point of being deſtroyed by the populace, on a moſt improbable rumour that he was inimical to the revolution. And at Vernon, a M. Planter, deputy of the commune at Paris, who had been ſent by the magiſtrates to purchaſe corn, was ſeized by the mob, and, after a mock trial, the fatal cord was twice fixed round his neck; when Mr. Neſham, a young Engliſhman who happened to be in the town, oppoſed himſelf ſingly to the violence of the populace, and reſcued from inſtant death a reſpectable member of ſociety. For this noble act of courage and humanity, Mr. Neſham was honoured with the firſt civic crown which was ever decreed in France; and was preſented by the magiſtrates of Paris with a ſword, on which was engraven the honourable teſtimony of having ſaved the life of a French citizen. At Lanion, a town in Brittany, alſo, ſome gentlemen who had been ſent from Breſt for the purchaſe of proviſions incurred a ſimilar danger with M. Planter. A detachment, however, of the national guard from Breſt ſoon reſtored order and tranquillity, and obliged the inhabitants of Lanion to make ſatisfaction for the outrages they had committed.

The next important object which occupied the attention of the legiſlative body, was to reform and organize the repreſentation of the kingdom. A plan was propoſed by the abbé Sieyes, in which the profoundeſt policy was united with the faireſt and moſt equitable principles. The ancient diviſion of the kingdom into provinces, each poſſeſſing what it termed its peculiar rights, each governed by peculiar laws, and each forming in itſelf a little kingdom, with its own parliament, its own metropolis, its own juriſdiction, was found to be productive of a rivalſhip and jealouſy, which nothing but the ſtrong arm of deſpotiſm could coerce. In the preſent glow of patriotiſm, the preſent tranſport of liberty, the minds of men were diſpoſed to ſacrifices and renunciations; but there was the utmoſt reaſon to apprehend, that ſhould this auſpicious criſis not be improved, ſhould the generous feelings of the moment be ſuffered to ſubſide, thoſe petty local prejudices which weaken and diſjoint a ſtate would again revive; and as every government which approaches the republican form is naturally weaker than that which partakes of abſolute monarchy, they could only revive to diſtract, and perhaps diſmember, the empire. Beſides the radical diviſion into provinces, the kingdom was alſo divided fantaſtically and irregularly upon other principles. It was divided into governments, agreeably to the military order; into generalities, according to the order of adminiſtration; into

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dioceſes, according to the eccleſiaſtical order; and alſo ſubdivided in the judicial order into bailiwicks, ſeneſchals, &c. The diviſions and ſubdiviſions were all without regularity, conformity, or proportion; neither adapted to population nor territory. A new arrangement was therefore not only eſſential to an equal repreſentation of the people, but to the uniformity of government, and the ſecurity and permanence of the conſtitution.

Three principles were attended to in forming the new repreſentative ſyſtem: territory, population, and taxation; and it was ſuppoſed that, by the combination of theſe three elementary principles, they would ſerve mutually to correct each other.

According to the new ſcheme of the repreſentation, therefore, "the whole kingdom was divided into 83 larger ſections, which are called departments, and each of which comprehends a ſpace of about 324 ſquare leagues; each department was divided into diſtricts, the number of which were not to be leſs than 3, nor more than 9; each diſtrict was again ſubdivided into cantons of 4 ſquare leagues in extent. Three degrees were preſerved in the adminiſtrative aſſemblies; but only two in the elective. The firſt were the aſſemblies of the canton, which were called primary, and which chooſe the electors for the department; the ſecond were the electoral aſſemblies, which return the repreſentatives to the national aſſembly. The whole number of repreſentatives was to be 745; of which 247 are attached to the territory, and of which each department nominates 3, except that of Paris, which nominates only one.—249 are attributed to population, each department nominating in proportion to its population; and 249 are attributed to direct contribution, and each department is to nominate repreſentatives in proportion to the contribution which it pays to the ſtate. The functions of the elective aſſemblies were limited entirely to the right of election. The adminiſtrative body was to be elected by the electoral aſſemblies; and in each department was conſtituted a ſuperior board of adminiſtration; in each diſtrict, an inferior or ſubordinate adminiſtration; and to theſe were committed the ſuperintendance of the collection of the revenue, and all the details of interior adminiſtration."

On this great and able ſyſtem of interior policy we have only to remark, that the diviſion of the kingdom into parts too ſmall to act offenſively in a ſeparate ſtate, was, for the reaſons which we have already aſſigned, a meaſure fraught with wiſdom, and favourable to liberty. The preſerving diſtinct the electoral and adminiſtrative powers was equally judicious. The mode of electing by primary and ſecondary aſſemblies, was aſſuredly the only adequate means of obviating the fatal effects of faction and venality. As to the baſis on which the repreſentation is formed, many doubts will be entertained by politicians concerning its expediency: the adjuſting of it to three principles is certainly a complex mode of proceeding; nor will it be eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it ſhould not have been inſtituted on the ſimple and obvious principle of population alone.

After all that had been performed by the aſſembly, the utter derangement of the finances, and actual deficiency of means to ſupply the exigencies of the nation, threatened loudly the deſtruction of the ſtate. In this difficult and hazardous predicament, the popular party reſolved upon

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upon a bold and dangerous meaſure, which no apology can juſtify, and which it is difficult even to excuſe; and this was, to ſacrifice the poſſeſſions of the church to the exigencies of the ſtate.

The moſt ſingular circumſtance attending this unprecedented alienation is, that it was firſt propoſed by an eccleſiaſtic. The young and patriotic biſhop of Autun, M. Talleyrand Perigord, whoſe appointment was already conſiderable, and whoſe rank and abilities afforded him the moſt brilliant proſpects in the eccleſiaſtical career, aſcended the tribune on the 10th of October; and "after ſtating the neceſſities of the nation, the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, and utter impoſſibility of remedying them by any thing but a ſtrong meaſure; with a diſintereſtedneſs which aſtoniſhed the aſſembly, and with a boldneſs which for the moment ſilenced oppoſition, he obſerved that the ſtate had yet an immenſe reſource in the poſſeſſions of the clergy. He aſſerted, that the revenues of the clergy are at the diſpoſition of the nation; that all ſinecures might and ought to be ſuppreſſed; and that the right which every eccleſiaſtic poſſeſſed in the revenues of his church, was limited to that of a decent ſubſiſtence. The annual revenue of the church he eſtimated at 150 millions; 100 millions of which he propoſed to appropriate ſtill to the purpoſes of public worſhip, and 50 to the public ſervice. This, with a vigorous exertion of public economy, he aſſerted, would ſupply the annual deficit, would redeem the heavy and oppreſſive ſalt tax, and the ſale of offices." His ſpeech contained many other matters in detail, and appeared of ſuch importance that it was ordered to be printed.

The diſcuſſion was continued at intervals to the 2d of November: the principal ſpeakers for the affirmative were Meſſrs. Thouret, Garat, Mirabeau, Barnave, Gouttes, and Dillon; and it was oppoſed by M. Montlauſier, the viſcount de Mirabeau, the abbés Maury, Monteſquiou, d'Aymar, and the archbiſhop of Aix. On the one ſide it was urged, "that it was evident the clergy had not a full title as proprietors in the church lands, becauſe no eccleſiaſtic could ſell or diſpoſe of them—that public utility is the ſupreme law, and ought not to be weighed in a balance againſt a ſuperſtitious regard to what was called the will of the founders; as if a few weak and injudicious individuals ought to bind the nation and poſterity—that foundations multiplied by vanity, if ſuffered to be of eternal duration, would in time abſorb the whole property of a nation; as, if every perſon that ever lived had a ſepulchre, there would have been a neceſſity for overthrowing theſe barren monuments, in order to find lands for cultivation. They diſtinguiſhed the eſtates of the clergy into three kinds: thoſe which were beſtowed by the kings, by aggregate corporations, and by individuals—The foundations made by the kings could be only made in the name of the nation, by diſmembering the public eſtate. Thoſe which were made by aggregate bodies fall under the ſame predicament; every ſuch gift was the undoubted deed, that is, the undoubted property, of the nation.

"With reſpect to the donations of individuals, it was aſked, what is property in general? It is a right given by the laws and convention of a ſtate to an individual, to poſſeſs excluſively what in a ſtate of nature would have been the property of all, or of any other perſon: it is an

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eſtate acquired in virtue of the laws. No law of the nation, it was urged, had conſtituted the clergy a permanent body—they were created by the nation, they might be deſtroyed by the nation. This every founder muſt have ſeen; and muſt have ſeen that it was not in his power to treſpaſs on the rights of the nation. The clergy, it was aſſerted, were the ſervants of the ſtate, were authorized to demand a ſubſiſtence from the ſtate; and conſequently, if they poſſeſſed property, it could be for no other purpoſe than to relieve the public from the charge. The ſame obſervations were applied to whatever eſtates might have been acquired by the economy or diligence of the eccleſiaſtics themſelves; and it was aſked, whether it was not of importance to religion and morals, that a more equal diſtribution of the eccleſiaſtical revenues ſhould henceforward reward the induſtrious, and reſtrain the luxury of thoſe who were a diſgrace to the ſacred order?"

The advocates of the clergy, on the other hand, maintained, "that their opponents had grounded their arguments on a principle which was drawn from the dark and abſtract ſubtleties of metaphyſics, in oppoſition to the dictates of common ſenſe, the evidence of hiſtory, and the univerſal practice of mankind—that unleſs the rights of property were held ſacred, civil ſociety was diſſolved, the confidence that ought to be its ſupport was for ever removed, and men ſunk again into a ſtate of nature, that is, of barbariſm and rapine—that the eſtates of the clergy were never actually poſſeſſed by the nation; and were ſanctioned by the ſame titles, the ſame authorities, as the eſtates of private citizens: a part was obtained by bequeſt or aſſignment; and a part was the effect of economy and induſtry in the clergy themſelves—that to deprive the church of its property, was to annihilate it—that infinite ſcandal would accrue to the nation from ſuch a meaſure; and that religion itſelf would receive a fatal wound." The clergy concluded by offering a quarter of their revenues to ſupply the deficiency of the finances, and, if that ſhould not be ſufficient, a half: but the offer was rejected, and it was decreed, "that the eſtates of the church were at the diſpoſal of the nation, which undertakes to provide for the decent ſupport of the clergy; and that in conſequence no clergyman ought to poſſeſs leſs in any pariſh than 1200 livres, or about 50l. per annum, independent of the parſonage-houſe, garden, glebe, &c."

While the diſcuſſion concerning the eſtates of the clergy was in agitation, the aſſembly aboliſhed formally *lettres de cachet* and all arbitrary impriſonment; decreed, that henceforth no man could be impriſoned but for offences againſt the laws; and appointed a committee for inquiring into the offences of perſons detained in the ſtate priſons. They alſo aboliſhed the difference of habit which marked the different orders in the national aſſembly. They refuſed to inveſt their own members with any peculiar immunities; and in particular diſclaimed the privilege of franking letters. An inquiry into the nature and amount of the penſions paid out of the public funds was alſo inſtituted, and a committee appointed for the purpoſe.

The decree concerning the clergy was followed on the 3d by another, which ſuſpended the parliaments from the exerciſe of their functions; and on the 5th the final blow was given to the feudal ſyſtem, and all its conſequences, by the famous decree which utterly aboliſhed all diſtinction of orders.

It

It is evident that measures so hostile to the interests of so many individuals, possessed both of consequence and power, could not be suffered without opposition. The bishop of Treguier was one of the first to draw the sword of hostility against the assembly: he publicly declaimed against all the measures of the new legislature, represented them as fatal to religion, and as reversing the whole system of government. About the same period, a considerable number of the members of the parliament of Toulouse, who styled themselves of the order of nobility, though the distinction of orders was abolished, published an invitation to the clergy and the *tiers etat*, to unite with them in an effort "to restore to religion its beneficial influence; to the laws, their force and action; to the monarch, his liberty and lost authority."

But what might appear more formidable still, was the convoking of the ancient provincial states. Those of Bearn were actually assembled. Those of Dauphiné convoked themselves also without the king's authority; and, contrary to their own positive resolution, they restored the distinction of orders in their form of assembling. The states of Cambray protested against the decree concerning the church lands. In Brittany also some strong efforts of faction were made, which could scarcely fail to intimidate a body less resolute than the national assembly.

The parliaments were not backward in joining this league against the interests of the people. The chamber of vacations at Rouen registered indeed the law which suspended their powers, but transmitted a secret protest to the king, who, justly irritated at such a proceeding, immediately laid it before the assembly. So decisive a defiance of the legislative authority demanded exemplary punishment; and the assembly resolved, "that this protest should be forthwith submitted to the tribunal, which for the time had cognizance of the crimes of lezenation; and that the king should be entreated to name another chamber of vacations, which might register without any comment the decree of the 2d of November." So decided a step had its due effect upon the refractory parliament. Instead of persisting in its opposition, its first step was to endeavour to explain away the malignant spirit of the protest; to represent, that the decree was registered in the fairest and most simple manner; and that the paper in question was meant merely as a testimony of respect to his majesty. Satisfied with this submission, the king wrote to the president with his own hand, soliciting the pardon of the offending chamber of vacations, which, after some debate, was at length accorded. The parliament of Metz, in the same spirit but with less violence, protested against the decree which suspended its functions: the assembly ordered the offending members to their bar; but the parliament finding little support from the people, and terrified, for the consequences, applied to the municipality to intercede with the legislative body in their favour. A decree of amnesty was therefore passed, and the pardon of the magistrates granted to the entreaty of the citizens.

In Provence, and particularly at Marseilles, commotions were excited by a fatal jealousy between the members of the parliament and the municipality. A cat was hanged by the populace at Marseilles, and the aristocratic party insisted upon it that the execution was emblematical.

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The intendant of that city was particularly odious to the people, and he requeſted a military force to aſſiſt him in preſerving order. The military were received with infinite courteſy by the inhabitants: but the harmony was not of long continuance; for the diſturbances broke out afreſh, on an attempt being made by M. Caraman, the commander of the troops, to reform the conſtitution of the national guard. An invitation was put up in different parts of the city, requiring the citizens to repair to the turret to oppoſe this reform. Thither immediately the military was ordered, and one of the citizens was killed. The people immediately carried his body through the ſtreets; entered the houſe of an obnoxious perſon, M. la Fleche; the military were again called out, and twenty-three perſons were arreſted. The ſeverity of the prevôt-general, M. Bourniſac, in proſecuting on account of theſe commotions, and his injuſtice in directing accuſations againſt innoxious citizens who were guiltleſs of every public offence, continued to promote, inſtead of appeaſing the troubles. The indignation of the national aſſembly was at length rouſed by theſe proceedings. The proſecution of the offenders was taken out of the hands of M. Bourniſac, and referred to the ſeneſchal court of Marſeilles, and peace was once more eſtabliſhed.

It was natural, in ſuch a ſtate of things, that jealouſies ſhould ariſe between the people and the ſoldiery; and theſe jealouſies were certainly fomented with induſtry by the enemies of the new conſtitution. At Toulon, M. Albert de Rioms, commandant of the marine, a man of high military reputation, but deeply infected with ariſtocratical prejudices, offended the populace by expreſſing himſelf in a contemptuous manner of the national guard, and prohibiting the workmen in the arſenal from wearing the national cockade. His raſhneſs, however, had nearly coſt him his life; a mob aſſembled, and, but for the prudence of the national guard, would have ſacrificed him to their reſentment. He and four of his principal officers, who were accuſed of having given orders to fire on the people, were committed to priſon to wait the deciſion of the aſſembly; and the legiſlative body judging favourably of the motives of M. Albert, and probably wiſhing to provoke as little as poſſible the reſentment of any party, paſſed a decree favourable to the reſtoration of tranquillity, and liberated the officers.

About the ſame period a melancholy event, the effect of private revenge, took place at Senlis, which, from the vicinity of that place to Paris, made the greater impreſſion. A ſoldier, who had been diſcharged from the national troops, fired on a proceſſion of the citizens as they paſſed by the houſe in which he was. An immenſe multitude ruſhed impetuouſly in to ſeize the culprit; when the houſe, by deſign, as was generally believed, blew up, and no leſs than ſixty perſons loſt their lives, and an immenſe number were wounded by the exploſion.

While the provinces were agitated by theſe and ſimilar events, the national aſſembly was divided by contending parties, and not leſs by the intereſted conteſts of private ambition. Among the moſt important diſcuſſions at this period, was that which regarded the eligibility of the executive miniſters to ſeats in the legiſlative aſſembly. It was about the beginning of November that the count de Mirabeau, after a long diſcourſe upon the ſtate of the nation and the finances, propoſed three motions

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tions for the conſideration of the aſſembly: the firſt regarded the ſupply of corn and bread; the ſecond contained a propoſal for eſtabliſhing a national bank; and the third imported, "that his Majeſty's miniſters ſhould be invited to a conſultative voice in the aſſembly, till the conſtitution ſhould have determined the rules by which they were to be governed." So ſtrange a combination as that of the laſt article with two motions which ſimply regarded the finance, could not fail to alarm the popular party; and as the count de Mirabeau was not ſuſpected of the pureſt motives, the diſcuſſion of the two firſt propoſitions was ſoon abandoned to make room for the third, which appeared of the greateſt magnitude and importance to the nation. It was ſpiritedly attacked by Meſſrs. Blin, Cuſtine, de Richier, d'Eſtourmel, and the viſcount de Noailles; and it was ſupported by M. M. de Montmorenci, Garat, jun. by the duke de la Rochefoucault, count Clermont Tonnerre, and others. An adjournment was propoſed; and the debate was renewed with conſiderable ſpirit the following day, on an amendment propoſed by M. Lanjuinais, which excluded completely the members of the national aſſembly, and for three years after they ceaſed to be members, from any ſhare in the executive government. By the party which ſupported the admiſſibility of miniſters to the legiſlature, it was pleaded, "that the preſence of miniſters was frequently required for the purpoſe of information; that it would give a dignity and ſplendour to the officers of the crown; that the public ſervice ought not to deprive any citizen of his rights, and there were none better qualified to legiſlate than thoſe who were generally appointed to the high offices of the ſtate." In defence of the motion of M. de Mirabeau in particular it was contended, "that at all events it was only a mere temporary meaſure, and that to this moment no perſon had doubted of the propriety of the members of the ſtates-general acting in a public capacity. On the other hand it was urged, with no leſs force and energy, "that the admiſſion of miniſters to a ſeat and a voice among the repreſentatives of the people, effectually confounded what ought to be preſerved eſſentially diſtinct, the legiſlative and executive powers—that the ſervants of the crown could not without manifeſt injury be admitted to participate in the higheſt prerogative, that of legiſlation. The example of England was adduced as an inſtance of the ill effects of this ſyſtem, where two factions are continually kept up in the legiſlative body; that of the miniſters, who are endeavouring to keep their places, and that of the oppoſition, or thoſe whoſe endeavour it is to perplex and embarraſs the agents of the executive power, in order that they may ſeize the vacant offices." The count de Mirabeau, highly exaſperated, at length moved, "that the motion ſhould only extend to the excluſion of M. Lanjuinais and *himſelf* from the miniſtry." It was, however, finally determined in favour of the motion of M. Lanjuinais; and with this addition, with reſpect to the preſent conſtituting aſſembly, "that no member could accept of any place in the miniſtry."

Another determination, which was effected with more complete unanimity, evinced equally the broad baſis on which the aſſembly deſired to proceed. The iſland of Corſica, from the period in which it was conquered, had never been firmly attached to the old government of France, and had been retained in

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ſubjection only by the ſtrong fetters of military deſpotiſm. They had never ratified the infamous contract by which a nation was tranſferred, like a flock of ſheep, from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The meeting of the ſtates-general had revived within the boſoms of theſe brave men the untamed ſpirit of liberty, and the hope of being once more reinſtated in their rights. Theſe hopes were ſucceeded by a ſiniſter rumour, that they were once more to be ceded to the deteſted domination of Genoa; or, that at leaſt they were to be ſtill retained as a ſervile appendage to a land of freedom. In ſuch a ſtate of doubt and perplexity, the paſſions of the multitude are eaſily excited. They propoſed immediately to form a national guard. The citizens of Baſtia aſſembled for that purpoſe in the pariſh church of St. John. The army marched to diſperſe them, and in the conteſt ſome lives were loſt. In this ſtate of ferment the iſland remained, when a deputation appeared at the bar of the aſſembly, entreating, in the name of the people of Corſica, that they might be irrevocably united by a decree of the legiſlature to the French nation, as a conſtituent part of the empire. Such a requeſt was too reaſonable and too flattering to the aſſembly not to be inſtantly complied with; and this was followed by a motion of the count de Mirabeau (who lamented that his youth had been diſgraced by participating in the conqueſt of this iſland), to reſtore all who had emigrated, except on account of civil crimes, to their rank, their rights, and their property.

Notwithſtanding all that had been effected in favour of the people, the ſtate ſtill continued to be oppreſſed under an intolerable weight of diſtreſs, occaſioned by the total diſorder of the finances. The public deficiency was an immenſe gulf, which no patriotic ſacrifice was powerful enough to cloſe, and the pecuniary embarraſſments of the nation ſeemed rather to increaſe. The current ſpecie of the country was ſwept away by emigrations; and the royal treaſury was exhauſted by the purchaſe of corn and proviſions. A miracle was neceſſary to reinſtate the public affairs, and this miracle was expected from the miniſter of finance. But, in ſuch a ſtate of things, what could human wiſdom or human foreſight effect? In the midſt of alarms, of ſuſpicions, of diſcredit, it was impoſſible to enter upon any new or extraordinary meaſure for reinſtating the wealth and reſources of the nation: the miniſter, therefore, inſtead of producing a new and complete ſyſtem of national finance, embraced that remedy which appeared moſt adapted to the circumſtances; and, amidſt a number of difficulties, made choice of that which appeared to be fraught with leaſt danger and inconvenience. The caiſſe d'eſcompte had been created by M. Turgot in 1776, and, though not ſtrictly a national inſtitution, had been a favourite with moſt of the miniſters from that period; it had occaſionally rendered ſervice to the ſtate; and, at the period of which we are now treating, the nation was indebted to it in no leſs a ſum than 70 millions. The idea of a national bank had for ſome years been extremely popular in France. In compliance, therefore, with the popular voice, and as the only means of furniſhing the nation with reſources, M. Necker propoſed the eſtabliſhment of one; and for the baſis of this eſtabliſhment he was deſirous of taking an inſtitution to which the public had ſo many obligations, and wiſhed, in a word, to convert the

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the caiſſe d'eſcompte into a national bank. In oppoſition to this plan two obſtacles preſented themſelves: the credit of the caiſſe d'eſcompte was extremely low; and therefore it was neither eaſy to force its notes into circulation, nor to protract the period when it ſhould be called upon to convert them into ſpecie. After much diſcuſſion in the aſſembly, it was determined in part to adopt the plan of the miniſter—to act with juſtice towards the caiſſe d'eſcompte, to provide the nation with a temporary ſupply, and to derive as ſpeedy advantages as might be from the immenſe landed property of the king and of the clergy. Two decrees to this effect were paſſed on the 19th of December, the particulars of which it would be tedious to detail: the firſt gave currency to the notes of the caiſſe d'eſcompte, ſtipulating at the ſame time, that it ſhould furniſh the national treaſury with 80 millions for the current year, which were to be reimburſed, together with the old debt, by aſſignats on the caiſſe de l'extraordinaire; and the ſecond created *la caiſſe de l'extraordinaire*, in which all patriotic donations were to be funded, and which was to take charge of the ſale of the national domains, and from theſe reſources to anſwer ultimately the exigencies of the public.

This plan was no ſooner carried into execution, than a profuſion of patriotic donations flowed into the aſſembly. Even foreigners, affected with the ſame generous enthuſiaſm, were deſirous of participating in the glory of giving liberty to France, and extricating thoſe noble aſſertors of freedom from the difficulties that beſet them. The city of Neufchatel, among others, preſented the nation with a quarter of its revenue, which was accepted with gratitude: but a donation of 900,000 livres offered by the republic of Geneva met with a very different reception. The ruling party of that city were conſidered as uſurpers, who by the force of arms had ſeized the government in 1782, and had retained it in oppoſition to the rights of the citizens. With a unanimity which did honour to their feelings, the aſſembly refuſed the donation, declaring, that the repreſentatives of the French nation could not accept of a preſent from the oppreſſors of Geneva.

The patriotiſm and virtue of the aſſembly were put to a ſeverer trial on the 10th of December. The revolted ſtates of Brabant and Flanders were naturally led to look up to the aſſertors of Gallic liberty as protectors and allies. M. Vandernoot, therefore, who aſſumed the title and character of agent plenipotentiary of Brabant, tranſmitted to the king and the legiſlative body the manifeſto of thoſe newly created ſtates. The firſt impulſe of the people demanded the immediate recognition of the liberty and independence of the Auſtrian Netherlands; but the aſſembly had the courage and the prudence to reſiſt this impulſe; and conſcious that the ſtate was unprepared for a general continental war, in which ſuch a ſtep muſt infallibly involve them, and yet unwilling to declare themſelves the immediate partiſans of deſpotiſm, deferred opening the diſpatch till a remote period.

The examples of the rebellious parliaments of Metz and Rouen did not deter that of Brittany from following their example; with this additional mark of contumacy, that the chamber of vacations there did not ſatisfy itſelf with a proteſt againſt the authority of the legiſlature, but poſitively refuſed to regiſter the edict which ſuſpended them from the exerciſe

ercise of their functions. On being ordered to the bar of the assembly, they pleaded that the term for the exercise of their power was expired, and therefore they could not perform any legal act; but justified the measure still farther by a reference to the old charters and statutes of Brittany. The consequence was, that, being a second time ordered to the bar, they were deprived formally of the rights of active citizens, till by a solemn act they should declare their submission; and a temporary chamber was established for the administration of justice in Brittany.

The corruption which had pervaded all the old tribunals of justice, indeed, appeared scarcely less to attach to that of the Chatelet than to the provincial administrations. In acquitting the baron Bezenval, marshal Broglio, and the prince de Lambesq, they at once asserted the sacred independance of the laws, and demonstrated their own regard to justice. To condemn the servants of an existing government for obedience to the commands of their superiors, is to punish the guiltless, while the really criminal escape; and to try men for offences against the rights of the people, while the actual constitution of the country has denied them any, is to try them by an *ex post facto* law. But, in the sacrifice of the marquis de Favras, this tribunal forfeited the honour it would otherwise have acquired in the eyes of good men, and enveloped their own proceedings in a veil of mystery unbecoming a free government, and which fixes an indelible stain upon their own characters.

This unfortunate gentleman inherited from nature an enterprising genius, and an exalted ambition. He had been successively a captain of dragoons, and first lieutenant of the Swiss guards in the service of Monsieur. He had married a princess of Anhalt Schaamburgh, who had been persecuted by her family on account of her attachment to the Roman catholic religion; and, by his spirit and address, had obtained an imperial rescript to oblige the prince her father to allow his daughter a pension of 1000 florins. The marquis de Favras engaged deeply in the troubles of Holland in 1785; and having undertaken to raise a regiment for the service of the patriotic party, he formed a connection with a M. Tourcaty, who engaged to furnish him with troops. The peace, however, which was forced upon the Dutch by the military mediation of the king of Prussia, disconcerted his projects, and induced him to turn his attention to the insurrection in Brabant, as a proper field for the display of his talents. His patriotic connections in these countries, however, had not converted him to the democratic side of the question in his own. Connected by birth with the aristocracy, and in habits of intimacy with the great men of the court, he was supposed to have been privy to the plan of carrying off the king to Metz. He was one of the first to wear the white cockade on the 2d of October; and on the 5th he had requested M. de St. Priest to furnish him and a number of volunteers with horses from the royal stables, in order to disperse the rabble, and deprive them of their artillery.

After the establishment of the king and the assembly at Paris, the marquis de Favras was accused of entering into a further conspiracy, the object of which was to engage a number of men, under the pretence of raising a regiment for the service of Brabant, who were to enter Paris by different ways, to massacre M. de

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M. de la Fayette, M. Bailly, and M. Neckar, and with or without his conſent convey the king to Peronne. Monſieur, the king's brother, was alſo ſuſpected of being at the head of this conſpiracy. In the courſe of his proceedings, he renewed his connection with Tourcaty, in order to engage his ſervices in raiſing men: this perſon had introduced him to another of the name of Morel. Theſe were his principal agents; and in concert with theſe men he actually applied to M. Chomel, a moneyed man in Paris, to negociate a loan in the name of Monſieur.

The news of this ſuppoſed conſpiracy was no ſooner abroad, than the whole city was in a ſtate of confuſion. Monſieur flew to the Hôtel de Ville, to explain to the magiſtrates the nature of his connection with M. de Favras. He ſtated, that in 1772 that gentleman entered into his Swiſs guards, and declined the ſervice in 1775, from which time he had never ſpoken with him. That finding himſelf diſappointed from the troubles of the nation in the collection of his revenues, and not wiſhing to apply to the public treaſury, he determined to ſolicit a private loan; that M. de Favras had been recommended as a proper perſon to negociate this buſineſs, and had actually effected it with Meſſieurs Chomel and Sertorius, bankers—but that he had never had any perſonal communication with the marquis de Favras on this affair, or on any other. He appealed, in his juſtification, to his conduct in the aſſembly of the notables; and aſſured the magiſtrates, that he had ever been a moſt firm friend to the revolution. The diſcourſe of Monſieur appeared to ſatisfy both the magiſtrates and the national aſſembly, though ſome of the patriotic party ſtill are diſpoſed to doubt of his innocence.

M. de Favras was arreſted on the 26th of December, but was not brought to trial before the 9th of February following. The principal evidences againſt him were Tourcaty and Morel, who ſtated the facts which have been already related in accuſation: and theſe were corroborated by the teſtimony of a M. Marquié, who had been a ſerjeant in the French guards, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the taking of the Baſtille, and was now ſub-lieutenant of one of the centre companies. On the 6th of October this perſon had been extremely active in ſaving the lives of the gardes-du-corps; and, in conducting the king to Paris, was obſerved to ſhed tears. It appeared that the marquis de Favras had had ſome interviews in private with M. Marquié, in which he attempted to infuſe into his mind ſuſpicions that the French guards were no longer to be entruſted with the honour of guarding their monarch, which was to be committed entirely to the citizens: he inſinuated, that they ought to reſume their former appellation; and preſented him with a pamphlet, the title of which was, "Open your eyes." To all this the marquis replied, in his defence, that conſidering himſelf, as he was, without money, without men; with no confidants but two ſuch perſons as Tourcaty and Morel, the groſs abſurdity of projecting ſuch a plot as he was accuſed of was a ſufficient anſwer to the calumny; and he obſerved, that the evidence of the two firſt witneſſes was ſo contradictory and inconſiſtent with each other, that their teſtimony ought to be conſidered as of no weight.

A third witneſs, more formidable than

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than any of the others, was however produced, and this was M. Chomel. He did not pretend that M. Favras had communicated to him any particulars similar to those which were stated by the other witnesses; but asserted, that he had talked with him of a much more feasible project, which was, to assemble all the discontented party on the frontiers of the Netherlands, under a pretence of taking part in that dispute, until they should form an army strong enough to invade France from different quarters; which was to be followed by a reinstatement of the parliaments, and all the different branches of the old government which had been destroyed.

On the first day of the trial of M. de Favras, the mob had endeavoured riotously to assemble; but they were dispersed by the masterly conduct of M. de la Fayette, and the fidelity of the French guards, and long before his condemnation the city was restored to perfect tranquillity.

It is plain that the evidence against this unhappy gentleman was by no means sufficiently decisive to justify a verdict against him. At the most, his crime was little more than conversation, the expression of a wish to overturn the government, without the least probability of success in the execution of it: even this, however, he most strenuously denied. He asserted, that he was not disaffected to the new order of things, and only wished to see his sovereign enjoy in safety and tranquillity that share of authority which was consistent with a free government; and that, in all the projects he had ever entertained concerning the levying of troops, he had nothing farther in view than to push his fortune in the service of Brabant. He pleaded his cause with all the energy and confidence of conscious innocence, with all the eloquence and argument of a most accomplished mind—in vain. The temper of the people, it was supposed, required a victim, and this corrupt tribunal was determined it should not want one. He was found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 19th of the same month. If we may credit the report of ocular witnesses, there never was displayed greater vigour of mind, greater force of character, or more exalted courage, than was manifest in the conduct of the unfortunate criminal, at a moment the most trying for human nature. From that period till his execution his fortitude never forsook him. On the fatal day he was dressed at an early hour, and with peculiar decency and care. He requested that he might be attended in his last moments by the curate of St. Paul's church, and professed, with a sober but fervent piety, his firm belief in the great truths of the gospel, and his hope of a joyful resurrection. He was drawn in a cart to the place of execution, his head and feet naked, his hair loose and flowing, and dressed, agreeably to the sentence, in a white robe over his own clothes. When arrived before the principal gate of Notre Dame, he desired to be conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where he would reveal, he said, important secrets. He there dictated, with his usual calmness, a long protestation of his innocence. "He declared that neither in July, September, nor October, he had been privy to any conspiracy to carry off the king.—His earnestness in the king's service on the 5th of October had pointed him out, he said, to a great

lord

lord, who was engaged about the king's person, as a proper man to observe the motions of the populace. This great person (probably the prince de Luxembourg) was, at that time, apprehensive of an insurrection in the suburb of St. Antoine; he therefore employed M. de Favras to procure intelligence, in order that, in such a case, measures might be taken for the king's safety, and presented him with 100 louis to discharge his expences in this inquiry. On this account, and on this only, he declared, he had applied to Tourcaty and Morel, and had sounded M. Marquié with respect to the sentiments of the French guards. It is said, moreover, but on what authority we cannot say, that he asked the judge who attended him on the occasion, "whether, if he were to explain himself more openly, it would make any alteration in his favour?" and that, upon the judge assuring him that it was impossible to defer the execution of the sentence, he replied—"In that case, my secret shall die with me."

At eight o'clock in the evening M. de Favras descended from the Hôtel de Ville, and proceeded to the place of execution (surrounded with lamps and torches) with a firm step, and with the utmost composure exhorted his friends not to lament him. The whole of the ferocious multitude, who waited for and rejoiced in, his death, was moved. The curate of St. Paul fainted. When at the foot of the scaffold, he exclaimed—"Citizens, I die an innocent man. Pray for me." The whole assembly trembled; the executioner himself was overwhelmed with emotions of grief; the most awful silence ensued for some minutes, and was only broken by the intrepid sufferer himself calling out to the executioner to do his duty.—After hanging the usual time, his body was delivered to his friends.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate nobleman;—unmerited, certainly, if we are to judge only from the evidence which is before the public; and if among his papers, which were seized, any more convincing testimonies were found, they ought to have been fairly exhibited to the world, whatever the rank of the persons whom they might involve. Either the public ought to have been satisfied of the guilt of M. de Favras, or he ought to have been acquitted. What is most extraordinary is, that about the same period M. Augeard was accused before the same tribunal of a similar crime; and a project in his own hand writing for carrying off the king to Metz was produced, which project he had himself communicated to M. de Clermont Tonnerre; and yet, difficult as it may be to reconcile such contradictions, this man was solemnly acquitted, while the elegant and accomplished Favras was condemned and executed.

While the Chatelet was thus ignominiously employed, the national assembly was proceeding in its patriotic labours. Several decrees which reflect honour on their liberality of sentiment were passed. Among these we shall only mention the decree which declared all persons, whether professing the catholic religion or not, eligible to all offices and employments of the state; and that which abolished the barbarous feudal principle, which attached infamy to the descendants of persons executed for crimes, and which, with us, is still retained under the unphilosophical term, *corruption of blood*. On the 4th of February the king voluntarily repaired

paired to the national aſſembly; and "lamenting, in a long diſcourſe, the malignant efforts of the enemies of the new conſtitution, he declared ſolemnly, that he would defend it to the laſt moment of his exiſtence; and that, in concert with the queen, it ſhould be his conſtant endeavour to educate his children in the ſacred love of liberty." The applauſe which was beſtowed on this diſcourſe was mingled with tears of joy and gratitude. As ſoon as the king was retired, the aſſembly decreed a moſt loyal addreſs; and profiting by the occaſion, it was alſo determined to adminiſter immediately to all the members preſent the civic oath, and that thoſe who were abſent ſhould not be permitted to take any part in the deliberations till they had ſubmitted to a ſimilar ceremony. The example was followed by the whole city of Paris; and at the ſame time an addreſs to the provinces was decreed by the aſſembly, to announce what they had already effected, and what they ſtill propoſed to do for the entire regeneration of the empire.

The diſorders of the kingdom had not yet entirely ſubſided.—At Beziers a riot was occaſioned by the ſeizure of ſome contraband ſalt; and five perſons were hanged by the mob. The caſtles of the nobility in many parts of the kingdom were pillaged; nor did thoſe of the moſt decided patriots eſcape. That of M. Charles Lameth was plundered; and that of the duke d'Aiguillon was threatened, but was ſaved by the activity of the national guard. As the only remedy, therefore, to theſe diſgraceful proceedings, the aſſembly was obliged, in addition to the riot act formerly mentioned, to paſs a decree, which made the municipality reſponſible for whatever damages might enſue from riotous aſſemblies of the people in any part of the kingdom.

The continuance of theſe acts of violence furniſhed the parliament of Bourdeaux with a pretext for exciting the country againſt the new conſtitution: and a kind of report was drawn up by the chamber of vacations there, of the grievances which the new arrangement had brought upon the country. As ſoon as this matter was known to the national aſſembly, it was agitated with much violence for ſome days; but they at length diſmiſſed the magiſtrates of the parliament with a gentle reproof.

If the gentlemen of the robe contended with their uſual chicanery and addreſs, the oppoſition of the clergy was not leſs violent. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the property which the latter had at ſtake was much more conſiderable than that of the former; and their claim to that property was much ſtronger than that which the legal profeſſion advanced in favour of their monopoly of juſtice. Theſe clamours were increaſed by the apprehenſion that the church lands were ſpeedily to be put to ſale; and as a preparatory ſtep, the abolition of monaſtic vows and orders was agitated in the aſſembly. After a clamorous debate upon this ſubject, which in its own nature ſcarcely admitted of any, it was decreed, "that in future the aſſembly would ſanction no monaſtic vows in perſons of either ſex: that the monaſtic orders were from that moment ſuppreſſed in France: that every individual confined in monaſteries, of either ſex, might be immediately releaſed from their monaſtic obligations, by giving in their declaration to the municipality, and that ſuch ſhould be entitled to a certain penſion; but that houſes ſhould be provided for the reception and ſupport of

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of ſuch as ſhould not be diſpoſed to take advantage of this decree."

During the diſcuſſion of this topic in the aſſembly a voice was heard, requiring that a decree ſhould be paſſed, ſolemnly declaring that the Roman catholic religion was the eſtabliſhed religion of the ſtate; and this was followed by a violent clamour, that the church was in danger. M. Dupont replied, that there could not be a doubt that the Roman catholic religion was the religion of the ſtate, ſince they had appropriated more than 80,000,000 (or four millions ſterling) annually to its ſupport. To put an entire termination, however, to all ſimilar debates, the aſſembly decreed, "that the attachment of the nation to the Roman catholic religion ought not to be doubted, ſince the ſupport of that form of worſhip held the firſt rank in the public expences."

Theſe proceedings were ſpeedily followed by a decree, authorizing the ſale of the church lands to the amount of 80 millions of livres; to be diſpoſed of from time to time, as the legiſlature ſhould direct. In the mean time it was determined, that a number of aſſignats, or notes of credit upon theſe lands, to be accepted in payment on their ſale, ſhould be iſſued into circulation.—Some regulations were alſo made reſpecting the ranſom of the feudal rights, and the temporary adminiſtration of the tithes.

Several other financial arrangements were adopted for the eaſe and convenience of the people, and for the encouragement of commerce. The taxes upon leather, oil, ſoap, ſtarch, and iron, were all aboliſhed. But the moſt popular ſtep of the legiſlature was to annihilate for ever the odious and oppreſſive *droit de gabelle*, or ſalt tax, which had for ages been the cauſe of continual ſeditions among the people. Theſe were replaced by a ſmall addition to the territorial taxes. The tax on tobacco has ſince been aboliſhed; and from that period tobacco and ſalt are become, what they were not before, conſiderable articles of commerce in France. In fine, that no unlawful reſtriction ſhould remain upon commerce, the trade to the Eaſt Indies was declared free and open to the whole nation.

In the mean time the aſſembly was not inattentive to that great and neceſſary taſk, the reform of the juriſprudence. In almoſt every nation of Europe the laws are founded upon an equivocal baſis; the ſtructure is heterogeneous and inconſiſtent, and the practice conſequently difficult, expenſive, and uncertain. They are either founded upon the voluminous code of the Roman law, or they are derived from feudal principles, which are now obſolete and barbarous. Thus the ſources of European juriſprudence have no connection or analogy with the manners or the ſpirit of the times; and the practice of the courts is neceſſarily ſometimes in contradiction to the principles of the feudal laws, and at others abſurdly directed by them. The precedents which are founded upon theſe uncertain and obſolete principles are too voluminous to be uſeful, too contradictory to be juſt. The laws themſelves, inſtead of being ſimple, and obvious to the capacities of the people, are more deeply involved in myſtery than the moſt abſtruſe ſpeculations of ſchool divinity: they are ſtudied, not to be underſtood, but to be diſputed; and the people are governed by a collection of maxims of which they know as little as of the code of China or Indoſtan. In no country was this the caſe more than in

France,

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France, and in scarcely any were the expences of lawsuits more grievously oppressive. The assembly at once simplified the laws, and placed justice within the reach of the poor; by ordering that it should be *gratuitously administered*. It restored the excellent institution of juries in criminal cases, though it is to be regretted that they have not yet extended that institution to civil causes, where it is still more essential to an uncorrupt administration of justice.

The abolition of the feudal tenures affected materially the revenues of some of the princes of Germany who had possessions in France: to these the French legislature decreed a compensation; but the prejudices or the policy of those noblemen have not yet permitted them to accept of any.

In the regulation of their own West India colonies a still more difficult task was imposed upon the national assembly; and as these affairs have been much spoken of, but not generally understood, we shall endeavour to state them as authentically as we can, and as copiously as our limits will admit. When the national assembly first proclaimed the rights of men and citizens, the sugar islands trembled, in the apprehension that the two most cruel outrages against humanity, slavery and the slave trade, were about to be abolished. The enlightened policy of the united states of America had set the example; and a considerable majority of the people of Great Britain demanded the abolition of the slave trade with a peremptory voice. The most unjust suspicions had pervaded the islands of the intentions of the negroes; which united to the distrust in which the planters held the views of the assembly, contributed to produce a general ferment in the minds of the white inhabitants.

St. Domingo above all was destined to be the fatal theatre of commotion and of bloodshed. This island is divided into three provinces, the north, the south, and the west; but these are united under one governor general, and one intendant. It appears that so early as the month of June 1789, the deputies from this island negociated with the minister of marine concerning the new form of government which was intended for the colony. It was however the 27th of September before any thing decisive was determined; and then the minister of marine addressed to the governor and intendant an order to convoke the inhabitants for the purpose of forming a legislative assembly for interior regulation, &c.

The minister's letter arrived too late in the island; those committees were already formed for the three provinces: those of the south and west still preserved a communication with the administration, and with the metropolis; but that of the north, which was assembled at the Cape, manifested very different principles. It declared that the full power of the northern province was legally vested in itself, and that any other assembly would be seditious, and would rather obstruct than promote the re-establishment of order. It presumed to control the executive government; it continued in their functions *for a time* the public officers; but it nevertheless intercepted the ministerial dispatches, made some alteration in the taxes, and in the administration of justice; it even imprisoned M. Dubois, deputy procurator general, for having said that the slavery of the negroes was an infraction of general liberty. The necessary consequence was a contest between

tween the committee and the executive power.—M. Peynier, the governor, annulled by a decree of the supreme council all the resolutions of the committee; forbad the imprisonment of M. Dubois, and ordered an account of all these facts to be transmitted to the national assembly.—On the other hand the decree of the governor and council was declared invalid by the rebellious assembly, who chose a commander in chief of their militia, and were proceeding to hostile measures; but the prudence and moderation of M. de Peynier for a while at least repressed their violence.

The free people of colour (so all the shades between black and white are termed), who formed a considerable part of the population, and possessed a great part of the property of the island, conducted themselves in a very different manner. The unjust arrogance of the whites had placed them in a state of degradation, and insulted with opprobrium every person who bore the smallest relation to the despised African race. As the abolition of all absurd and oppressive prejudices was one of the first principles sanctioned by the French revolution, these depreciated persons were induced to hope that the day was at hand, when a barbarous prejudice, which branded them with the seal of infamy, should no longer exist. In the course of November 1789, the people of colour were assembled in the different parishes for the purpose of advancing a modest claim to the common rights of citizens, and on the 19th they presented an humble memorial to the assembly adapted to that purpose. Such an act of insolence, as it was termed, irritated at once the offended pride of the whites; they caused the deputies to be arrested, and threatened to hang them on the spot, if they refused to disclose the name of the person who drew up their address. It proved to be a M. Ferrand, a procureur of the king.—He was therefore immediately sent for and interrogated. He declared himself with a becoming firmness the author of the paper which they termed seditious, and proclaimed himself the defender of the cause. Without further ceremony or process, they ordered his head to be struck off by the common executioner, and the sentence was instantly performed.

The outrages and persecution which were commenced upon the people of colour immediately after this transaction knew no bounds. On the nights of the 26th and 27th of November the whites of the committee of Aquin, in three bands, fell upon their habitations, under the pretence of searching for treasonable correspondence. Among others, these ruffians repaired to the house of a M. Labadie. This respectable old gentleman was at that moment reposing quietly in his bed. They burst open his door, and informed him, without further preface, that they were come for his head. Five-and-twenty muskets were instantly fired at him, and his young child was murdered at his side. Though desperately wounded, he had still strength enough left to defend himself; and as they knew he had 150 negroes by whom he was adored, and whom a single call would have brought upon them, they consented to a kind of compromise, that they would spare his life for the present, if he would make no resistance, but go along with them and submit to a trial. He was immediately, without dressing his wounds, put to the bar; and after a mock examination his head was going to be taken off, had he not been rescued from the execu-

tioner by the intrepidity of a perſon of the name of Maigret, who came to his aſſiſtance at the head of a ſmall party.

With a patience and magnanimity highly honourable to the people of colour, they tranſmitted an account of theſe proceedings to the national aſſembly, and declared that, whatever might be the reſult of their petition, they would ſubmit to its deciſion. Such was not the language of the white coloniſts, of their deputies, and of the merchants who traded with them. They repreſented all the proceedings of the other party as inſolent and treaſonable, and denounced no leſs than deſtruction on the colony, ſhould any reſolution in favour of the black inhabitants be paſſed by the legiſlature.

In this dilemma, the committee appointed by the national aſſembly for regulating the affairs of the colonies took the unfortunate determination to temporize, and not to effect any thing of a definitive nature. By their recommendation a decree was paſſed, which "authorized the inhabitants of every colony to make known their ſentiments to the aſſembly, concerning that plan of interior legiſlation which would be moſt conducive to their proſperity; which ſanctioned the illegal aſſemblies already elected, and recommended in places where there were none the ſpeedy election of ſimilar bodies. To the decree was tacked a declaration, that the aſſembly would not innovate directly or indirectly any ſyſtem of commerce, with which the welfare of the colonies was connected:" which declaration was generally underſtood as a ſanction of the African ſlave trade.

This decree, which was paſſed on the 8th of March 1790, was certainly well intended, but it was as certainly a moſt injudicious meaſure. The aſſembly had not the daring inhumanity to decree deciſively the ſubjugation of the free people of colour; but it had not the courage to do them juſtice, to reſtore them to the common rights of citizens, and annihilate a ſenſeleſs prejudice founded ſolely on a difference of complexion. By leaving the adjuſtment of the government to the coloniſts themſelves, they might be ſaid to have paſſed an act ſubverſive at once of all order, and declaratory of civil war; and unfortunately the preliminary article to this adjuſtment was undefined, for they had left undetermined the deſcription or claſs of men who were to accompliſh the very object of the decree. Hence, and hence only, have originated thoſe dreadful conteſts and inſurrections which have deſolated the iſland of St. Domingo; conſequences which the ſagacity and penetration of Mirabeau anticipated, and would have averted. He and M. Cazalès both aſcended the tribune to deprecate the paſſing of the decree; but ſuch was the influence of the coloniſts in the aſſembly, that they were not heard.

We have already intimated, that a committee was appointed for the purpoſe of enquiring into the expenditure of the public money in penſions and donations; and it was found that a regiſter was kept by the miniſters, under the name of the *Red Book*, in which every penſion or gift was entered in the hand-writing of the comptroller-general of the finances, and checked by the king himſelf. At the preſſing inſtance of the committee, this book was communicated to them on the 15th of March. The communication was made under ſtrong circumſtances of reſerve and delicacy. The king entreated that the profuſe expences of his

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his grandfather might be kept from the public eye; and the committee promised M. Neckar, it is said, that no part of it should be divulged which might in any respect hurt the feelings of his majesty. The possession of such a depository was however too important an advantage in the hands of the popular party not to be employed; it was, therefore, not without surprise and indignation that M. Neckar saw this register in a few days committed to the press; and when he demanded why they had presumed to publish it without the permission of the assembly and the king, he received for answer—"That as to the assembly, they were certain of its approbation; and as to the king, they were not his representatives." Of this proceeding we can only observe, that it would not have been easy for the committee to reconcile the suppression of this catalogue of public depredations with their duty to their constituents; but certainly the publication ought to have been conducted in a manner more honourable to the representatives of a great nation.

The publication of the Red Book disclosed a series of extravagance and iniquity perhaps unparalleled. Such was the profusion of one minister alone, M. Calonne, that under his short administration it appeared that, independent of their immense revenues, the two brothers of the king had committed depredations on the public treasury to the amount of nearly *two millions* sterling; that upwards of 1,100,000l. of this had fallen to the share of the count d'Artois; and that the same minister had undertaken moreover to discharge the debts of this prince, amounting to nearly one million sterling besides. Among the donations and benefactions also, some appeared of the most singular description: among others was recorded a present of 600,000l. to an individual for his *important services*—and these services so important to the state were, that he was *maître d'hôtel* to his own wife, madame de Polignac!

The disagreement which took place, upon the publication of the Red Book, between the minister of finance and M. Camus and the other members of the committee of pensions, contributed greatly to the destruction of M. Neckar's popularity, which was already on the decline. Another objection which was raised against him by his enemies related to his plan of creating a board of treasury, which should have a constant control, and which should be continually occupied in apportioning the expences of the state; but the only circumstance which it appears they were able to insist upon in opposition to this plan of the minister was, that his board was chiefly selected from the members of the national assembly, and they had already decreed that none of their members could accept of appointments under the executive government. Another more reasonable cause, which accelerated the unpopularity of this great and upright minister, was, that he had not been forward to promote the creation and circulation of assignats, though it certainly appeared the only measure which was likely to restore the finances, and retrieve the credit of the nation.

M. Neckar was not the only one of the king's ministers who fell under the displeasure of the people. The count de St. Priest was suspected, and apparently not quite without cause, of treasonable designs. A M. Bonne Savardin, who was connected with M. Maillebois, had engaged in carrying on a negociation between that general and the ex-

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princes, to effect a counter-revolution. Upon an information, however, given to the committee of research by M. Massot de Grand-maison, secretary to M. Maillebois, the whole scheme was detected. The general himself fled; but M. Bonne Savardin was seized, and among his papers were found minutes of a conversation between him and M. St. Priest, which indicated no inconsiderable portion of disaffection in that minister. The other members of administration were scarcely more popular; and but little confidence was reposed in the patriotism of either M. de la Tour du Pin or the archbishop of Bourdeaux.

Suspicion and discontent were not indeed confined to the metropolis, but seemed at this unhappy period to pervade the whole kingdom. At Lyons a corps of volunteers was instituted, who refused to mix with the city militia; and but for the judicious conduct of the Swiss regiment d'Ambert, which was quartered there, the whole city might have become the theatre of the most shocking barbarity. At Toulon, a formidable insurrection took place among the workmen in the arsenal, under the pretence of demanding the liberty of three sailors who were confined for some offence, and was with difficulty quelled by the national guard. At Marseilles two regiments of infantry and two hundred dragoons were stationed under the command of M. d'Ambers, colonel of one of the regiments. This officer is accused of having grossly insulted the national guard. Be this as it may, his conduct proved in some way offensive to the patriotism or the prejudices of the municipality and the citizens. An order was obtained from the king for the removal of the regiments; but as the commanders appeared rather tardy in the execution of this order, a troop of young men, to the number of thirty, concerted a stratagem for the purpose of seizing forcibly the fortress, and expelling the garrison, which they successfully effected on the night of the 29th of April. The fortress, with those of St. Nicholas and St. John, were demolished: on the latter of these forts human nature had been for almost a century insulted by a Latin inscription; "This tower was erected by Louis XIV. lest his faithful people of Marseilles should become infatuated with the love of liberty."

In a similar insurrection at Valence, the viscount de Voisin was torn by the populace from the hands of the national guard, and murdered. In his pocket the traces of a treasonable correspondence were said to be found; though such evidence, we must confess, ought always to be regarded with suspicion, since, if there is a design to take away the life or character of any man, nothing is more easy than to forge a letter.

On the other hand, the enemies of the revolution were not less forward than their adversaries in exciting disturbances and insurrections. Religion was a pretext which was eagerly seized by the disaffected, and the fanaticism of the multitude was but too successfully wrought on.—In the metropolis, the populace took but little interest in the fate of the church; and though the clergy had assembled in the church of the Capuchins St. Honoré, to protest against the sale of the lands, and the proceedings of the national assembly, their declaration, like all impotent menaces, produced only a smile of contempt. In the course of this proceeding, they reproached the assembly for not having formally declared a national religion: "Why," said Mirabeau, "have they not reproached

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preached us for neglecting to declare that the sun is the star of the nation, and that no other shall be acknowledged or permitted to regulate the succession of day and night?"

In the provinces, the efforts of the refractory clergy were more successful. In the south particularly, which had been the theatre of religious war, and where the two parties of catholic and protestant still regarded each other with a due degree of theological animosity, the consequences were truly serious. At Toulouse the pious season, when they celebrated the massacre of the Albigenses, was chosen for the circulation of an inflammatory address. On the 18th of April a large assembly of fanatics was collected in the hall of the Great Augustins: hence they adjourned under the command of a M. du Barry to the Seneschaussée, where the apostle of this crusade, as a master-piece of policy, contrived somewhere to hide the bust of the king. Some young men of the national guard, however, happening to discover it, fortunately contrived to turn the plot against its author; for, immediately on discovering the bust, they drew their sabres, and shouting *Vive le roi*, they forced their officers, and many others who were suspected of ill designs, to take the civic oath. The municipality soon after appeared; and having quelled the tumult, they strictly forbad the renewal of these treasonable assemblies.

What was only a feeble and abortive attempt at Toulouse was at Montauban a most alarming commotion. The protestants of that place amounted to about one-fifth of the population. They lived in perfect harmony with the catholics, and composed in conjunction with them the national guard, a body of men devoted to the new constitution and to the service of their country. As it was found impracticable to disseminate the principles of distrust or disunion through this body, a plan was conceived by the aristocratic party to raise up another military force in opposition to it, and a corps of volunteers was instituted. In establishing the municipality also, the same party had taken care to fill the vacant offices with their creatures; and one of the first acts of these magistrates was to demand from the commander of the national guard the keys of the arsenal where the arms were deposited. The requisition was peaceably complied with, and it proved the first effect of a fatal conspiracy. After some other proceedings which indicated a settled system of hostility, about the beginning of April meetings were held in the churches, for the avowed purpose of petitioning the assembly to preserve the episcopal chair of Montauban, and the religious houses; while no means were omitted in these meetings at the same time to inflame the populace against the national guard, as a body chiefly composed of infidels and heretics. In opposition to these hostile steps, the patriotic soldiers adopted in their own defence only the peaceable measure of transmitting to the national assembly an account of these proceedings, and at the same time of endeavouring to prevent the creation of new companies of volunteers, by a declaration that they were ready to enrol in the old companies every citizen who manifested a disposition to serve his country. While affairs remained in this state, the municipality appointed the 10th of May for visiting the five religious communities, and making the inventory of their effects, agreeably to the decree of the 26th of March. The commissioners

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were no ſooner named to proceed upon this duty, than they found themſelves interrupted by a riotous mob compoſed chiefly of women; ſoon after a ſimilar aſſemblage was collected oppoſite the houſe of the commandant general, and another at the Cordeliers, breathing indignation and deſtruction againſt the heretics. The municipality was then ſitting, and the patriots earneſtly beſought them to permit the national guard to arm for the relief of the city. The company of dragoons, which was chiefly compoſed of proteſtants, were particularly obnoxious to the mob, who exclaimed that it was now time to ſacrifice theſe heretics. Inſtead of permitting them to arm in their own defence, the perfidious magiſtrates ordered the dragoons to retire.—To retire was now become impoſſible without the loſs of their lives. In this deſperate extremity they took the reſolution of throwing themſelves into the corps-du-garde, where with a few bad arms they hoped to make ſome ſtand againſt the fury of the populace. Unfortunately they were without ammunition, and the mob directed a deſperate and continued fire againſt the windows of the corps-du-garde. It was in vain that the beſieged hung out a white handkerchief as entreating clemency. In the very act of ſubmiſſion five of the dragoons were killed, and the mob immediately began to pull down the walls. Happily the regiment of Languedoc was ſtationed not far diſtant, and in this dangerous criſis arrived time enough to ſave the lives of the remaining dragoons. The regiment was juſt ſtrong enough to protect them, as they were conducted, covered over with blood and wounds, from the ſcene of their ſufferings to the common priſon, where the enraged multitude ſtill continued aſſembled, moſt brutally aſking for their heads, and exclaiming, "Down with the nation!"

The news of thoſe intolerant proceedings no ſooner reached Bourdeaux, than a patriotic army was detached for the purpoſe of avenging the cruel outrages committed on their fellow-ſoldiers, and reſtoring the tranquillity of Montaubon. From Toulouſe a ſimilar expedition proceeded. The regiment of Languedoc refuſed to act againſt theſe patriotic armies, though urged by its commanding officer, who was in the ariſtocratic intereſt. Fortunately M. Dumas, the commiſſary of the king, arrived in time to prevent a conteſt which would probably have terminated in a dreadful carnage. At his inſtance the detachment of Bourdeaux retired without entering the city, and the priſoners were honourably releaſed, and carried in triumph to Bourdeaux, as the confeſſors of liberty.

The ſame indecent ſcenes which had been rehearſed at Toulouſe and performed at Montaubon, were repeated at Nimes. The population of that city amounted to about fifty thouſand ſouls, the quarter part of whom were proteſtants. No religious diſtinction was obſerved in forming the national guard, nor was it till after many efforts that the ſpirit of fanaticiſm could be excited in the inhabitants. When the municipality, however, came to be elected, the prieſts and monks were aſſiduous in engaging the citizens by oath not to give their vote to any proteſtant. By a ſimilar courſe of intrigue and faction, M. Marguerites, one of the noble and proteſting members of the aſſembly, was elected mayor; and his inſtallation was marked by a proceeding which was a proper omen of what

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was to follow. At Nimes a number of forks or halberds had been manufactured for the purpose of arming the catholic party; and at the ceremony of his installation, several persons of the militia appeared armed with these weapons, contrary to the express order of the commandant of the national guard.

The following day, one of the serjeants who had in this manner transgressed the orders of his commanding officer, was reproached with his disobedience. He replied, that he was authorised by the mayor. A protestant serjeant who happened to be present obliged the other to follow him to that magistrate, who denied the fact, and ordered the catholic serjeant to be imprisoned for *half an hour*. Such a sentence was considered rather as a triumph than as a punishment; and he was no sooner released, than with an immense troop of desperadoes he repaired to the house of the protestant serjeant, who was fortunate enough to escape by a back way. The alarm soon spread in almost every quarter; the protestants were every where attacked, and several of them grievously wounded.

The city continued in a state of ferment, owing to the desire of the magistrates to disarm gradually the national guard, and insisting on their taking, besides the usual civic oath, a particular oath of obedience and submission to themselves. On the 21st of April twenty companies were assembled for this purpose, when the general cry was, "Long live the king, down with the nation, cut the throats of the blacks!" so they termed the protestants. In a few days after an incendiary libel was distributed among the regiment of Guyenne, entitled, "Important advice to the French army, by the anti-patriots in general, and men some companies of the military put on the white cockade, the signal of rebellion; several tumults were excited by contests between the different parties; and on the 4th of May the devastation and carnage would have been universal, had not the regiment of Guyenne insisted on the mayor proclaiming the martial law, which once more restored tranquillity and order.

M. Marguerites was cited before the national assembly to answer for these disorders; but his defence was ingenious, and the tenderness of his colleagues for a member of their own body prevented the infliction of punishment. On the 4th of June the disorders were renewed before the gate of the palace, where the electoral body were assembled. The rebellious companies who had worn the white cockade would forcibly prevent the dragoons and the regiment of Guyenne from forming the patrole, and doing the regular duty of the city. They openly attacked the unarmed dragoons, fired on the citizens from the windows, and intrenched themselves in a tower adjacent to the house of M. Froment. After some attempts at a parley, which it is said were broken by the firing of the aristocrats, the regiment of Guyenne forced the tower; and on both sides about twenty-four persons were killed.

Innumerable jealousies took place between the officers and soldiers of the different regiments; and in one of these contests the viscount de Mirabeau ran off with the colours of his regiment, but was pursued, and obliged to surrender them. In the capital the same causes operated to promote disunion and distrust; and this, united to the hasty and impetuous spirit of the French nation, was frequently on the point of be-

raging them into the most desperate excesses. An instance of this kind occurred on the 19th of May, which is worthy of being recorded. On that day an unfortunate man was detected in the act of stealing a sack of oats. Some soldiers of the national guard took him immediately under their protection, and were convoying him as a prisoner to the Chatelet; but the populace, who were in the habit of inflicting summary justice, tore him from the soldiers, and were in the act of beating him to death with their clubs, when the marquis de la Fayette happened to pass by the horrible scene. He plunged instantly into the thickest of the mob, and in despite of their outcries and menaces seized the person who had begun the tumult, and conducted him with his own hands to the Chatelet. He next delivered the unfortunate criminal from the fury of the mob; and, exhorting them to disperse and conduct themselves like orderly citizens, had the happiness to see the tumult entirely suppressed, and the people return to their houses, full of the praises of the man who had so intrepidly rescued them from their own phrensy, and prevented them from contaminating themselves with human blood.

An unexpected event, which occurred about the middle of May, excited the attention of the national assembly to one of the most important questions that can agitate a political society. The dispute which took place between Great Britain and Spain, the particulars of which we stated in our former volume, became extremely embarrassing to the politics of France. The strict alliance which for almost a century had subsisted between the nations of France and Spain, strengthened by the once inviolable bond of family connection between the respective courts, rendered it probable that a demand would be made by the latter for the stipulated assistance: on the other hand, a war might be fatal to the nascent liberties of France; and the love of freedom which dignifies the British nation rendered her an object of veneration with the French patriots, and her increasing power made her no less an object of apprehension. On the 14th of May, M. de Montmorin communicated to the national assembly the preparations for war in which the neighbouring nations were engaged, and the precautions which the king had thought necessary to adopt for the preservation of his dominions. The discussions into which this communication led, were as various as the alarms which it excited: the lesser objects were, however, all at length absorbed by one important question—"To whose hands ought the nation to delegate the right of making war and peace?"

Two opposite opinions for a considerable period divided the assembly.—The count Clermont Tonnerre, Messrs. de Serent, Virieu, Dupont and others, defended warmly the concession of this prerogative to the king—They stated, "that the constitution originally established two distinct powers, the legislative and the executive. The one was intended solely to express the public will; the other to execute it—That under the latter of these predicaments fell the right of directing the public force, for the defence or for the advantage of the nation—That general principles and general laws are the objects of legislation; but that the detail of political action fell entirely within the limits of executive government.—The proceedings of popular assemblies, they added, are necessarily too slow

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and too public in a business where secrecy and dispatch are commonly required. Ministers too are responsible to the nation for their conduct; but to the members of the national assembly no responsibility whatever is attached; and if ministers are found to be not free from corruption, experience equally evinces that the members of legislative bodies are not less exposed to temptation. England, so remarkable for its jealousy with respect to its liberties, has delegated to its monarchs this formidable prerogative, and has only thought it necessary to guard against abuses by the authority which the legislature retains over the treasures of the nation. If, in fine, said these advocates of regal power, we have reason to dread the folly or the depravity of a monarch, is there no reason to apprehend those rapid movements of popular enthusiasm, that false and national pride, that unfounded and hasty resentment, which so frequently agitate mixed and numerous assemblies?"

Among the orators who appeared on the contrary side of the question, were Messrs. d'Aiguillon, Garat, jun. Freteau, Jellet, Charles Lameth, Silery, Pethion, Robertspierre, &c.—In wishing to confine to the legislative body the right of making peace or war, they urged, "that the only proper judges of the expediency of war were those who were to feel its inconveniences; and not those who were far removed from all experience of its evils.—That the entering into a war could not be considered as a mere function of executive government, which consists only in putting the existing laws in execution—and that the secrecy and dispatch, for which the partisans of the royal prerogative so strongly pleaded, were indeed essential to the conduct of military operations, but could scarcely be necessary to the act of declaring war. They proved from history, that the ruin of most nations had been effected by the false glory of their rulers. They ridiculed the imaginary control that a legislature might be thought to possess, after the commencement of hostilities, by withholding supplies; since the safety, the existence of a state was committed by the declaration of war—and to say we will withhold supplies, is to say *we will not defend ourselves*.—They doubted the efficiency of that responsibility which was attributed to ministers; and demonstrated that there was no responsibility for incapacity, for mistaken opinions, for erroneous speculations; and that even corruption and intrigue might not unfrequently shelter themselves under some of these pretences."—These arguments were enforced by a resolution, proposed by M. Pethion—"that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war."—which was passed with universal acclamations.

From this collision of sentiment a third opinion arose, which, while it contradicted in some measure, served at the same time to conciliate the others; and this was, that to the king should be confided the prerogative of announcing to the assembly the necessity of war or peace, and, after a solemn deliberation, it should be declared "on the part of the king of the French in the name of the nation." This was nearly the opinion which was supported by the count de Mirabeau; and though much obloquy was thrown upon him while the affair continued under deliberation, which was to the 22d of May, it was at length victorious.

On the 27th of June the assembly went into mourning for three days on

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on account of the death of Dr Franklin; and nearly about the same period the expences of the civil list were settled at twenty-five millions per annum, or about 1,250,000 l. sterling; and the dowry of the queen at four millions, or 200,000 l. per annum sterling. The civil list of France includes—1st, the king's personal expences, and those of the queen; the education of the royal children, and a provision for the other branches of the royal family: 2d, the buildings; the *garde meuble*, &c. of the crown: 3d, the royal military establishment, viz. the body-guards, &c. However liberal this allowance may at first sight appear, if we recollect the immense domains which the reigning family brought to the nation, it will perhaps not appear enormous: beside that, whatever the parsimonious spirit of republicanism may allege, it is always found policy to attach by the strongest interests the head of the state to the support of the constitution. A million a year is too little to bribe so numerous a representation, biennially elected, as that of France; and yet it is such as will enable the monarch to live in a state becoming the chief magistrate of a great nation.

These measures were followed on the 14th and the succeeding days by a series of decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy. In these, the injustice which we must confess had been done to that body of men was in some degree compensated, by the wise regulations which prevented the extreme poverty of the inferior orders, and which restrained within moderate bounds the income of the higher clergy. But whether they have acted wisely in establishing an elective priesthood, or whether the improved mode of election which is adopted in France will be preventive of those evils to which such an institution would be liable, where the old forms of election are preserved, are experiments which are yet to be tried, and which will require the sanction of time to warrant and confirm.

The assembly had scarcely completed this arduous task, before it ventured upon a measure which has drawn upon them the censure and indignation of all Europe—a measure, which was the first to awake that malignant jealousy with which the privileged orders and their dependants in every civilized country have since continued to view the French revolution; and which is the principal theme of those who censure the conduct and reprobate the principles of the patriots. Early in the month of June, the mayor of Paris had communicated to the assembly a plan for the celebration of a grand confederation, in which the representatives of the nation, the king, the soldiery, and all who were in ostensible situations, should solemnly and in the face of the whole nation renew their oaths of fidelity to the new constitution; and this confederation was decreed to take place on the 14th of July, in honour of the taking of the Bastille, and of the first establishment of Gallic liberty. On the 19th of June, therefore, after decreeing civic honours to the conquerors of the Bastille, the patriotic feelings of the assembly were raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm, by a deputation of foreigners from every nation, who came to testify their respect for the new constitution in a warm panegyric, and to request a seat at the ensuing solemnity. They were answered by the president with dignity, and dismissed with respect; and they had no sooner retired, than M. Alexandre Lamoth moved that the foreigners,

reigners, and particularly the Germans, who might reſort to Paris to be ſpectators of the approaching ceremony, might not be inſulted by the repreſentation of their anceſtors, whom the vanity of Louis XIV. had cauſed to be exhibited in chains at the feet of his ſtatue. The deputies of ſome of the provinces, which were repreſented in this ignominious ſituation, roſe with indignation to demand that theſe monuments of regal inſolence ſhould be effaced; and another member propoſed, that all the falſe and panegyrical emblems which decorated the ſtatues of the kings ſhould be removed, and replaced by a repreſentation of the *beſt* action of each of the monarchs.

At this moment M. Lambel, a diſtinguiſhed advocate and deputy for Villefranche, taking advantage of the general enthuſiaſm, exclaimed, that "he truſted he now ſaw the laſt moment of expiring vanity, and propoſed the abolition of titles." Meſſrs. Prefelne and la Fayette mounted the tribune at the ſame inſtant; and the former read the outlines of a decree to that effect, which he ſaid he had prepared two months before. M. Foucault oppoſed the motion—"What," ſaid he, "would you deprive man of the moſt powerful and the moſt noble motive of emulation?—What would you do, for inſtance, with the man whom Henry II. honoured with a brevet, which recited 'that he was created a count for having ſaved the ſtate?"—"I would omit," ſaid M. la Fayette, "the words *created a count*, and inſert only 'that he had ſaved the ſtate." M. de St. Fargeau obſerved, that the decree in queſtion would not impoſe any hardſhip upon him, ſince he was poſſeſſed of ſeveral *counties* and *marquiſates*, the titles of which he had never employed. Many other members diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this debate, but none more than the viſcount de Noailles. "Titles," ſaid this nobleman, "in this enlightened age can only confer honour where there is nothing internally to reſpect. We do not ſpeak of duke Fox, count Waſhington, the marquis Franklin, but of Charles Fox, George Waſhington, Benjamin Franklin. Permit me to add," ſaid he, "to ſo many excellent motions, one, the object of which is to reſcue from diſgrace a part of our fellow-citizens. Liveries, as a portion of the feudal ſyſtem, ought to be aboliſhed." To theſe motions was added another from M. de Montmorency, for the ſuppreſſion of armorial bearings; and the whole of them was moulded into a decree by M. Chapelier, and paſſed.

Theſe decrees, which have been ſo much extolled by one party, and ſo much decried by the other, were in themſelves really deſerving neither of much cenſure nor of much praiſe; they were neither a ſubject of exultation for France, nor of imitation for other countries differently ſituated. The inconſiſtency of mankind is never ſo deciſively evinced as when vanity is the ruling paſſion. The princes and the nobility of Europe had beheld with indifference the plunder of the Gallican church; they had ſeen without alarm the virtual annihilation of nobility by the union of the three eſtates in one houſe, and by the ſuppreſſion of the feudal privileges:—but when the unmeaning titles, titles without function, titles without privilege, titles often without property, mollly without legal claim, and frequently debaſed and degraded, came to be ſuppreſſed, then, and not till then, the ſtorm of noble and of regal indignation was at once excited, and the alarm-bell was ſounded againſt the evils

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ceits of French innovation. In this country in particular, no comparison can be instituted but with an invidious design between the British house of peers and the nobleſſe of France. No reſemblance exiſts between them, nor is there either any thing to be feared or to be dreaded from the example. In France the nobleſſe amounted to upwards of 200,000 perſons; in England to not more than 600. In France the whole race was ennobled; in England only the eldeſt ſon, and the reſt of the family is returned to the maſs of private citizens. In England nobility is rather title attached to a certain function; in France it was privilege attached to a title. The houſe of peers of Great Britain is a member of the ſtate, a legiſlature and a ſupreme court of juſtice; in France nobility was ſomething without deſignation, without function, without reſpectability. There the nobility formed a peculiar caſt or claſs which diſdained to mix with the reſt of the nation; in England there is ſcarcely a family which is not, or has not been, in ſome manner allied to the nobility, and all are equal except the actual repreſentatives of noble families. In France the offices and emoluments of the ſtate were monopolized by the nobleſſe; in England they are equally open to every commoner. In reality no titles were legal in France, but thoſe of the few who were termed peers of France: the reſt were aſſumed at the pleaſure of the perſon; and it was only neceſſary to be of a noble family, in order to decorate themſelves with whatever title ſounded moſt agreeably to the ear of the individual. When the nobleſſe were diſrobed of their feudal privileges, then in truth and reality they were aboliſhed. When they ceaſed to repreſent their own body, when the power of the nation was veſted in an aſſembly choſen by the people, then ranks were in reality levelled; for rank without power will ſoon ceaſe to be ſuch, and no longer deſerves the name. As to liveries and armorial bearings, they are trifles, which were, on the one hand, beneath the notice of the national aſſembly, and on the other, their aboliſhion can never be a matter of ſerious diſapprobation with men of ſenſe. The principal motive for paſſing theſe decrees was, doubtleſs, that no badge of ſeparation might remain to diſtinguiſh the privileged caſt from the reſt of the nation, and that no regular order might ſubſiſt, thus diſtinguiſhed, inimical to the new conſtitution. But could the aſſembly have foreſeen what a degree of odium this tranſaction was to bring upon their proceedings, they would have been greatly wanting in prudence not to have declined the meaſure; but the more reaſonable conjecture is, that they did not foreſee it. They conſidered it as an act much more indifferent and leſs invidious than many which they had paſſed; and conceived that, where no perſon was deprived of any thing ſubſtantial, no perſon would conceive himſelf ſubſtantially injured.

In the mean time the preparations for the general confederation proceeded with conſiderable rapidity. The *Champ de Mars*, ſo famous for having been the rendezvous of the troops which in the preceding year were intended to overawe the capital, was choſen for this ſolemnity. This piece of ground, which is about 400 toiſes, or 800 yards in diameter, is bounded on the right and left by lofty trees, and commands at the further extremity a view of the military academy. In the middle of this vaſt plain an altar was erected for the purpoſe of adminiſtering

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miniſtering the civic oath; and round it an immenſe amphitheatre was thrown up, of a league in circumference, and capable of containing four hundred thouſand ſpectators. The entrance into the Champ de Confédération (as it was now called) was through triumphal arches. The king's throne was placed under an elegant pavilion in the middle, and on each ſide of it were ſeats for the members of the national aſſembly.

Two thouſand workmen were employed upon this immenſe labour; but the citizens of Paris, fearing leſt the preparations ſhould not be completed at the appointed period, flocked from every quarter to aſſiſt in the patriotic undertaking. Not only the military, but the clergy and even the ladies lent their cheerful aſſiſtance. With aſtoniſhment ſtrangers beheld the moſt delicate and elegant of the female ſex dragging the wheel-barrow, or handling with willing but ſometimes ineffective endeavours the weighty mallet or the ſpade. The provinciale, who came from the remoteſt parts of the kingdom to join in the confederation, emulated the citizens in their ardour and enthuſiaſm; and the work was completed, ſo as both with reſpect to time and manner to ſurpriſe every ſpectator.

The important 14th of July at length arrived. The national guards of the departments, diſtinguiſhed by their reſpective ſtandards, the battalions of infantry, and the different troops of cavalry, the marine of France, and the foreigners who ſerved under its banners, being all arranged in military order, the king and the national aſſembly took a ſolemn oath to maintain the conſtitution; the armed citizens repeated it amongſt the applauſes of innumerable ſpectators. They ſwore to live free, or die; and this oath was taken on the ſame day through the whole extent of the kingdom.

Previous to the confederation, the duke d'Orleans, having completed the object of his miſſion, deſired leave to return and aſſiſt at this auguſt ceremony. On the receipt of his letter, M. de la Fayette aſcended the tribune, and explained his motives for having adviſed the departure of the duke; which were in brief, "that he apprehended an ill uſe might be made of his name, while preſent, in order to diſturb the public tranquillity. Theſe reaſons, M. de la Fayette added, did he believe ſtill ſubſiſt, though he ſaw nothing to make him apprehenſive at preſent for the public ſafety." The duke arrived on the 11th of July, and after firſt renewing his civic oath in the national aſſembly, aſſiſted perſonally at the confederation.

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CHAP. IV.

Courts of Juſtice. New Taxes. Droit d'Aubaine, &c. aboliſhed. Acceſſation of the Chatelet againſt M. M. d'Orleans and Mirabeau. Provincial Diſturbances. Affair of Nancy. Reſignation of M. Neckar. Mutiny at Breſt. Riot at Paris. Affairs of Avignon. Ejectment of the non-juring Clergy from their Benefices. League formed by Foreign Powers againſt France. Troubles at Aix, Lyons, and Brittany. Emigration of the King's Aunts. Armed Men found in the Palace. Decrees relative to the Army, the Regency, &c. Diſcuſſion of the Law of Inheritances. Death and Character of M. de Mirabeau. Organization of the Miniſtry. The King ſtopped as he was going to St. Cloud. Inſurrections in the French Colonies. Flight of the King. His Return. Hoſtile Preparations on the Frontiers. Martial Law proclaimed at Paris. The new Conſtitution preſented, and accepted by the King.

CONTRARY to general expectation, the grand confederation was performed without tumult or confuſion, and nothing but the weather, which was damp and unfavourable, occurred to cloud or to diſturb the magnificent ſcene. Though to the eye of a philoſopher theſe ceremonies convey little more than the idea of a great national pantomime, yet in the minds of the populace this ſolemnity ſtamped an additional legality on the proceedings of the national aſſembly, and ſtrengthened their hands.

The legiſlature made an advantageous uſe of the calm which ſucceeded the confederation, in completing the organization of the judicial department. Judges or juſtices of the peace were to be elected in each canton, for the determination of petty differences; tribunals for the adjudication of more important cauſes were eſtabliſhed in diſtricts; and a tribunal of *caſſation*, or court of appeal, was appointed for the whole kingdom, where, under certain reſtrictions, the proceedings of the inferior courts might be reviſed. Courts of criminal juſtice were eſtabliſhed in each of the departments; and a high national court for the trial of crimes againſt the ſtate completed the edifice. One inſtitution, however, demands our attention, and we believe it is peculiar to the new juriſprudence of France.—Boards of conciliation were appointed in every diſtrict, where the parties in a ſuit were to be cited perſonally, and where every means were to be employed to effect an amicable termination, before the cauſe could be brought to a hearing before the ordinary courts of juſtice. Family arbitrators were alſo authorized to terminate petty diſputes between near relations, and the forms preſcribed in all theſe caſes were the ſimpleſt that could be invented. We have already remarked that the trial by jury was only adopted in criminal caſes: an ariſtocratic writer obſerves on this ſubject, with ſome archneſs, that "the trial by jury would alſo have been eſtabliſhed in civil cauſes, if there had not been too many lawyers in the conſtituting aſſembly." This is indeed not the only objection to the new juriſprudence of France, ſince there is much room to doubt whether temporary and elective judges will

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will be found effectual to the purpoſes of ſubſtantial juſtice. Notwithſtanding theſe defects, however, the French code is deſerving of admiration for its ſimplicity, its conſiſtency; for the gratuitous adminiſtration of juſtice; for the eaſy acceſs which the pooreſt ſubject, when injured, finds to the means of redreſs; for the diſcouragement which it holds forth to litigious and vexatious conteſts: and however the French revolution may terminate, in this part of the conſtitution other nations may find much worthy of imitation, and many inſtitutions for the obvious eaſe and advantage of the people.

With reſpect to the pecuniary intereſts of the republic, it was alſo decreed that the legiſlative body ſhould annually determine the ſum total of the public expences and contributions; and that, under the direction of the king, an adminiſtration ſhould be eſtabliſhed in each department, with an inferior or ſubordinate one in each diſtrict, for the regulation and collection of the revenue. The police of each city or community was committed to magiſtrates choſen by the citizens.

To replace the falt tax, and the other odious and oppreſſive impoſts, which had been aboliſhed, the aſſembly impoſed an eaſy land-tax upon immoveable property, and a poundage upon perſonal property and annuities; a tax upon patents, and a ſtamp tax upon contracts and other writings. Theſe taxes were however but ill paid; and to remedy the deficiencies of the revenue, continual emiſſions of aſſignats became neceſſary; and even to ſupply the want of current coin, which had been greatly leſſened by the continual emigrations, it was thought proper to iſſue aſſignats for the ſmalleſt ſums. But paper credit, however reſponſible the bank on which it is dependent, is always attended with a temporary inconvenience. It circulates with leſs facility than ſpecie, and commonly increaſes the balance of exchange in favour of foreign nations.

Several decrees of leſſer moment, but which reflect no leſs credit on the liberality and wiſdom of the aſſembly, were paſſed about this period. That in particular which reſtored to the proteſtants thoſe poſſeſſions of which their anceſtors had been deprived by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is deſerving of the higheſt encomiums; and that which aboliſhed for ever all extraordinary taxes levied upon the Jews was at once politic and juſt. Theſe were followed by the abolition of the execrable droit d'aubaine, which aſſigned to the king the property of all aliens not naturalized who died in France.

In the fate of the unfortunate Favras the tribunal of the Chatelet had evinced themſelves not the moſt unexceptionable judges of the competency of evidence. A more flagrant inſtance, if poſſible, of their credulity or their corruption occurred ſoon after the confederation. That tribunal was charged by the aſſembly to take cognizance of the affair of the 5th and 6th of October. On the 7th of Auguſt they brought their report ſealed to the bar of the aſſembly, and in a pompous addreſs "lamented the ſevere taſk which their duty to their country had impoſed upon them; and concluded with informing the aſſembly that two of their own body were among the principal criminals." The aſſembly heard this denunciation with horror and conſternation; the report of the Chatelet was referred to a committee; and the members againſt whom it was pointed appeared to be M. d'Or-

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M. d'Orleans and M. Mirabeau the elder, whom they accuſed of a conſpiracy to murder the queen, and to place M. d'Orleans upon the throne. The procedure of the Chatelet was printed; and before the committee had time to make their report, ſo weak and diſreputable was the evidence, ſo inconcluſive the reaſoning, and ſo groundleſs the proceedings, that though neither M. d'Orleans nor M. Mirabeau were at that time great favourites with the populace, the public voice had already acquitted them of every ſuſpicion: on the 2d of October therefore the aſſembly decreed, that on a full examination there was no cauſe of accuſation againſt them. Others were alſo involved in the proceſs, probably with more juſtice: but this unpropitious commencement ſo totally annihilated all confidence in the tribunal to which the proſecution was referred, that the affair was dropped, and even the guilty were permitted to eſcape.

Whatever might have been the motives of the Chatelet on this occaſion, it is certain that party never was more violent in France than about the period of which we are now treating. The ariſtocratic body, who had previouſly acted chiefly on the defenſive, were now become the aſſailants, and no means were left untried to plunge the nation into a ſtate of confuſion. It muſt be allowed too, that the impatient and irritable temper of the French populace was an excellent engine to work with; and the jealouſy which exiſted between the ancient ſoldiery and the new militia afforded frequent opportunities but too favourable to the wiſhes of the malcontents. Petty tumults and continual diſtruſt were excited in the frontier provinces, in different parts of Flanders, Alſace, and Lorrain, and a defection of ſome magnitude took place among the ſoldiery at Touloufe: but what happened at Nancy was of a ſtill more ſerious nature, and deſerves a particular detail.

As far as we have been able to collect from the journals of the national aſſembly, and other authentic information, the following appears a juſt ſtatement of this dark and myſterious tranſaction. From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the revolution, the French army had been in a ſtate little favourable either to patriotiſm or ſubordination. The majority of their officers were of the ancient nobleſſe, and a mutual jealouſy exiſted between them and the private ſoldiers. Every inducement had been employed to ſeduce the ſoldiers from their duty; and when promiſes and blandiſhments did not prevail, the moſt ſevere meaſures were put in execution. The ſoldiers were frequently ill paid, and yet the moſt culpable profuſion had been made of the money voted for the ſupport of the army. Such, by the evidence of a party of the national guard of Nancy at the bar of the aſſembly, was the ſtate of the garriſon in that city. The officers in general were inimical to the new conſtitution, and had made uſe of every temptation to deſtroy the attachment of the ſoldiers to the new arrangement. Theſe means proving unſucceſsful, they had adopted the moſt rigorous diſcipline; they had withheld the pay of the ſoldiers, and even condemned them to run the gauntlet for demanding neceſſaries. They had endeavoured to perſuade the men, that all theſe acts were in conformity with the orders of the national aſſembly, which refuſed any longer to furniſh them with the uſual allowance of bread, and which was upon the point even of depriving them of the augmentation of pay which had

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had been eſtabliſhed at the revolution.

In the ſame ſpirit the utmoſt pains were employed to produce diſtruſt and mutual abhorrence between the citizens and the ſoldiers. Men were dreſſed in the uniform of the king's regiment (one of the regiments in garriſon there), and employed to wound and inſult the citizens. One of theſe perſons was taken, and baniſhed from the city at the requeſt of the regiment; at the ſame time, ſome young officers were encouraged by their ſuperiors to behave in the moſt indecent manner to ſeveral of the peaceable inhabitants; and even hired ruffians were engaged for the ſame purpoſe. Several of theſe were arreſted, and a court-martial appointed, at the requeſt of the regiment, for their trial; but M. Bouillé, who commanded in the province, had ſet himſelf in oppoſition to this meaſure. One of the grenadiers who had been active in theſe proſecutions, was menaced in the moſt inſulting manner by an officer, who ſoon after deſerted to the king of Hungary.

Wearied with theſe repeated indignities and acts of oppreſſion, the regiment at length threw off its allegiance, aſſerted loudly that they were wronged of their pay and their allowance, and demanded the regimental accounts. M. Denou threatened with the gauntlet all who preſumed to call for the accounts. The regiment therefore immediately ſeized the military cheſt, and diſpatched a deputation to Paris, to repreſent theſe facts to the national aſſembly.

The officers, however, took care to anticipate the repreſentation of the ſoldiers, and were too intimately connected with the miniſters, and ſome members of the aſſembly, to permit the complaints of the privates to be heard. The deputation from the regiment was arreſted at Paris. M. de la Tour du Pin, the miniſter of war, made a formidable repreſentation of the rebellious conduct of the regiment. The miſeries reſulting from a want of ſubordination, and the neceſſity of an example, were echoed through the aſſembly. On the 16th of Auguſt, a ſevere decree was paſſed, which authoriſed the commander in chief of the province to reduce the inſurgents by force.

In the mean time the other regiments in garriſon, the Swiſs regiment of Chateau-vieux, and the regiment of cavalry called Meſtre de Camp, irritated by ſimilar oppreſſions, had concurred in the rebellion, had ſeized ſome of their officers, and were joined by great numbers of the populace.

The decree of the 16th was no ſooner made public than, from knowing the character of the commander in chief, the moſt ſerious conſequences were apprehended by all good citizens. The national guard of Nancy aſſembled, and offered to the regiments to undertake the part of mediators, and to ſend the terms of their ſubmiſſion by a deputation from their own body to the national aſſembly. The deputation proceeded immediately to Paris, and on the 31ſt of Auguſt appeared before the aſſembly.—On their repreſentation, the decree of the 10th was repealed, and commiſſioners were appointed for the purpoſe of inquiring minutely into the circumſtances of the caſe, and to puniſh the guilty, and reward the deſerving.

Such an arrangement however did not ſuit the views of the perfidious and ſanguinary Bouillé. Without waiting the reſult of the deputation from Nancy, he haſtened with a fatal raſhneſs (as was confeſſed even by his advocates) to enforce the de-

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eree of the 16th.—He collected all the troops that he could assemble from every part, and such of the national guard as preferred a patriotic subordination to the immediate dictates of their feelings and their consciences. In spite of their offers of submission, he fell upon the regiments of Chatean-vieux and Mestre de Camp; and after putting an immense number to the sword, he completely routed them, and took 400 prisoners.

The king's regiment had been retained in their barracks by the exertions of some patriotic persons who urged them to submission. Even when M. Bouillé arrived, they were prevented from acting by the intrepidity and virtue of a young officer of the name of Dessilles. This intrepid young man, after urging his fellow-soldiers by every motive to submit, assuring them that sooner or later they would experience the justice of the legislature, placed himself before the mouth of a cannon, which they were going to fire. He was forcibly dragged from this dangerous situation, but in the struggle received three or four wounds, of which he afterwards died.

The news of this event was received at Paris with horror. As M. Bouillé had not exceeded the authority which the national assembly had unfortunately conceded to him by the rash decree of the 16th, they could not legally inflict either punishment or censure upon him. The populace, however, who were not reduced to any such dilemma, gave a full vent to their feelings; they openly accused M. Bouillé of treachery, and a desire to effect a counter-revolution, and even threatened the lives of the ministers. In a word, the resentment of the people seemed to menace the most dangerous excesses, which were only prevented by unusual circumspection and care. It is only necessary to add with respect to this business, that in the month of December following, the assembly reversed all its own decrees against the insurgents at Nancy, liberated all the prisoners, and recompensed them as men who had unjustly suffered; at the same time they decreed public honours to the memory of the brave Dessilles, and placed his family under the protection of the state.

The decline of M. Neckar's popularity has been already noticed. He had not lessened it by a pamphlet which he published on the abolition of nobility, or at least of titles, which supported with some ingenuity the aristocratical order. Both previous to this step, and after it, he must have felt the gradual loss of the public esteem, and possibly had for some time meditated a retreat from office. The measure was however probably accelerated by the popular clamours on the affair of Nancy, which involved him (certainly unfairly) with the rest of the ministers in the guilt of that transaction. On the 4th of September he sent a letter of resignation to the assembly, and pleaded his ill state of health, which required his retiring to the baths in Switzerland; though he dropped some distant intimation of the uneasiness he had experienced in his situation. It is not to the credit of the national assembly that no public notice was taken of this letter. The inflexible integrity of M. Neckar certainly demanded the highest veneration; his abilities entitled him to respect, and his services to gratitude.—But, what is the gratitude of public bodies! If, like one of his predecessors in office, he had retired, a public defaulter, infamously loaded with the spoils of his country, only to be employed in exciting

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exciting enemies, and provoking the most profligate combinations against her, could he have been treated with more marked contempt?

The same parties, and the same factious spirit which prevailed in the army, pervaded also the navy of France. The national assembly had decreed the adherence of the nation to all existing treaties, in which the family compact was necessarily included; and as England continued arming on the Spanish dispute, a fleet of 30 sail was ordered to be equipped at Brest, as it was uncertain how far France might be involved in the expected hostilities. The disorders which took place among the seamen at Brest have been attributed to different causes. On the 13th of September, while the squadron was fitting out with all possible expedition, the Leopard arrived from St. Domingo, having on board a part of the refractory assembly, who were ordered over to answer for their conduct; and as the disaffection commenced on board this vessel, on account of the admiral commanding a sailor to be imprisoned for intoxication, it was supposed by some that the crew had been depraved by their communication with the rebellious members of the St. Domingo assembly; while others have attributed it, perhaps with more probability, to the general suspicion which the seamen entertained of their officers, the majority of whom were of the nobility, and possibly not well affected to the new constitution. M. Menou, in a report from the military and marine committees on the 21st of October, attempted to fix the blame on the inactivity and inertness of the ministers. This charge however did not appear well founded, though it was followed on the 29th by the resignation of the naval minister, M. de la Luzerne, who was succeeded by M. Fleurieu; and on the 16th of November, by that of M. Tour du Pin, who was replaced by M. du Portail. The admiral, M. Albert de Rioms, also resigned, with many of the officers; and M. Bougainville was appointed to the command of the fleet. The malecontents were with some difficulty reduced to subordination; but happily for France, she was delivered from the necessity of engaging in a war by the convention which was soon after signed between Spain and England.

It was fortunate for France and for the assembly, that, amidst all these disturbances in the exterior parts of the kingdom, the new police of Paris had preserved the metropolis tolerably quiet. The discontent excited by the affair of Nancy ended without violence. On the 15th of November, however, the tranquillity of the capital was once more disturbed, in consequence of a private dispute, which ended in a duel between M. Castries and Mr. Charles Lameth, in which the latter was dangerously wounded. As every report is at first exaggerated, the news was very generally spread that M. Lameth was killed; and the people, ever prone to suspicion, immediately conceived the formidable idea of a general conspiracy successively to assassinate all the patriotic members. An immense mob was presently assembled at the hôtel de Castries, which they proceeded to spoil and destroy. M. de la Fayette, whose vigilance was ever awake, no sooner heard of the commotion, than with a party of the national guard he repaired to the spot, and with a fortitude which never forsook him forcibly represented to the populace the rashness of their conduct. It is equally to the credit of each party, that the mob immediately desisted,

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and even, on coming out of the houſe, inſiſted that every man ſhould be ſearched, to evince that plunder was not in the leaſt their object.

On the 16th and 20th of November, a buſineſs came before the aſſembly, which was pregnant with difficulty, and which ſuſpended the public opinion for ſome ſucceeding months. It is well known, that the country of Avignon is incloſed on every ſide by the dominions of France; that it formed anciently a part of Provence; that it was alienated by a queen who was at that period both under circumſtances of compulſion and a minor; that, as ſoon as ſhe came of age, ſhe reclaimed it; that the ceſſion had not been formally acknowledged by the parliaments, and that ſeveral ſucceſſive monarchs had renewed their claim to the city as a part of their hereditary dominions. On the other hand, it muſt be acknowledged, that long poſſeſſion had given to the popes that title by which moſt ſovereignties are held; that the ceſſion of Jane, queen of Naples, had been ratified by the ſtates of Provence; and that if ſome of the kings had denied the right of the pope, it had been acknowledged by others. A ſtronger reaſon ſolicited the aſſembly to incorporate this city with the kingdom of France, and that was the voice of the inhabitants of Avignon themſelves. The papal government is notoriouſly the worſt in the world; it is even ſaid, that juſtice was publicly bought and ſold at Avignon; nor could any remonſtrances to the pope obtain redreſs for the people. In this ſtate of oppreſſion, a large party in the city ſaw with a ſpirit of emulation the new government of France; they deſired to make it their model, but ſtill profeſſed obedience to the pope. They elected a municipality, and formed the active citizens into a national guard. Such a ſtate of things was ſcarcely conſiſtent with a foreign dominion.—A conteſt between the vice-legate and the people immediately ſucceeded: on the 10th of June a violent inſurrection took place in the city; the people ſeized the palace; the papal arms were taken down, and thoſe of France put up in their place; and a petition was diſpatched to the national aſſembly, entreating, that the territory of Avignon might be incorporated into the dominions of France. To this firſt application the aſſembly only anſwered, by ſending a body of troops to reſtore tranquillity, and to preſerve order in the city; at the ſame time adjourning the queſtion concerning the object of the petition. In May 1791, the diſcuſſion was again reſumed, and it was again deferred. In the mean time, as the papal party was ſtrong, and the clergy apprehenſive of being deprived of their influence and their wealth, a moſt dreadful civil war deſolated this beautiful country. It would be diſguſting, as well as tedious, to enter into a detail of the bloody ſcenes and the horrid outrages which ſucceeded. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that all theſe circumſtances being made known to the aſſembly, after repeated deliberations, it was at length reſolved, on the 14th of September 1791, that the territory of Avignon, with the adjacent county of Venaiſſin, ſhould be conſidered as a part of the French empire, and that a compenſation in lieu of theſe countries ſhould be offered to the pope. We have anticipated a little the order of theſe tranſactions, for the ſake of perſpicuity, and now return to the chain of our narrative.

We have already ſeen but too much occaſion for cenſure in the ſevere

ſevere treatment which the national clergy experienced from the conſtituent aſſembly. Their ſituation was not improved by a ſeries of decrees which were paſſed in the latter end of the year 1790. In the month of July, among other eccleſiaſtical regulations, it had been enacted, that every beneficed clergyman ſhould ſolemnly take an oath, "to watch carefully over the faithful in the pariſh or dioceſe which was entruſted to his care; to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, to the utmoſt of his power, the new conſtitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil conſtitution of the clergy." Many of the clergy, on the firſt publiſhing of this decree, ſpontaneouſly offered to take the oath; but in many places the reſolution continued a mere dead letter, till the 27th of November, when a moſt ſevere decree was enacted, declaring that all ſuch clergy as ſhould neglect to take the oath, ſhould be conſidered as virtually ejected from their benefices, and condemning to ſevere pains and penalties all ſuch as ſhould prove refractory. The policy of this meaſure was certainly to place the government of the church in the hands of men who were well affected to the new conſtitution, and to diſengage the nation from a number of diſaffected perſons, who might be dangerous if poſſeſſed of power. In this view, the meaſure was probably politic; but it is much to be doubted whether or not it was juſt. It might be a means of giving permanency to the new order of things, but it certainly was a violent infringement on toleration; and may we never ſee civil liberty preſerved by a tyranny exerted over the conſciences of men! The conſequence was, that many conſcientious perſons, who had been well affected to the conſtitution, reſigned their benefices; and indeed the ſituation of honeſt men with ſtrict notions of church authority, was rendered extremely perplexing by the public declaration of the pope, who teſtified in marked terms his diſapprobation of the oath. It is but juſtice to add, that the ſeverity of this decree was in ſome degree mitigated by a ſubſequent law, which aſſigned to the non-juring clergy a penſion of 500 livres per annum.

The year 1790 cloſed with ſome acceſſion of popularity to the national aſſembly. A ſtatue was decreed to be erected to the memory of Rouſſeau, and his widow was allowed a penſion. Some other popular acts were paſſed; but what conferred upon them the moſt ſolid applauſe, was the report of the committee of finances, from which it appeared, that the national receipt exceeded the expenditure by three millions, and that there was upwards of 500,000l. ſterling in ſpecie in the public treaſury. To the immortal honour of the aſſembly, the pernicious and diſgraceful tax of LOTTERIES was totally aboliſhed and prohibited. About the cloſe of the year M. de St. Prieſt, miniſter of the interior department, reſigned.

The firſt act of the new year was not leſs honourable to the conſtituent legiſlature. Inſtead of indicating (as its enemies inſinuated) an inclination to prolong its ſeſſion, like the long parliament of England, a liſt of articles was introduced, which were neceſſary to be diſcuſſed previous to the final eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution; after the determination of which the aſſembly declared its intention of diſſolving itſelf, and reſigning its authority.

The jealouſy of the neighbouring

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potentates now began to be alarmed, and there was much reaſon to apprehend that a league was formed againſt the riſing liberties of France, among the moſt powerful nations of the continent. Cordons of troops were advanced from Germany on the north, from Spain on the ſouth, and from Italy and Savoy on the weſt; and France might be ſaid literally to be beſieged with hoſtile armies. The events which took place in France, retarded for a while the execution of this plan: but the diſpoſitions of deſpotic courts never alter; their action is occaſionally interrupted by circumſtances, but their tenour is direct, and their conduct commonly conſiſtent: what Leopold left unperformed, Francis will probably endeavour to accompliſh.

The only plea which the conduct of France afforded theſe powers for interfering in her domeſtic concerns, was the claims of the German princes who had eſtates in Alſace and Lorraine. On the ſubverſion of the feudal inſtitutions, the claims of vaſſalage, mortmain, &c. &c which theſe princes conſidered as their right, were neceſſarily abolished. It was in vain that the national aſſembly repeatedly decreed them the ampleſt compenſation. The views of the German courts were different. Alſace and Lorraine afforded the excuſe, but the object of the projected war was certainly not the ſeignorial rights of a few petty princes, who would think themſelves amply recompenſed by the receipt of a few louis in their empty treaſuries. The cautious politics of Leopold, however, led him to purſue the moſt courtly meaſures in treating with France. On the 22d of January, the king communicated to the aſſembly a letter from the emperor of Germany, in which that monarch makes the moſt unqualified proteſtations of his amicable intentions towards France; but intimates at the ſame time, that "it is neceſſary that all the innovations that have taken place in conſequence of the decrees of the 4th of Auguſt be done away, and matters put upon the ancient footing." The king, when he communicated the letter, treated it merely as an official meaſure of the emperor, as head of the German empire; and obſerved, that he received at the ſame time the moſt pacific aſſurances from the court of Vienna. The aſſembly, however, were not to be impoſed upon by the fineſſe of Leopold; they immediately decreed a conſiderable augmentation of the national force, and that every defenſive meaſure ſhould be expeditiouſly adopted.

Several cauſes conſpired to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the provinces. The people in many places were too little inſtructed to enjoy legal and temperate liberty. The hopes of thoſe who were adverſe to the new conſtitution were elevated by the proſpect of a counter-revolution, and the movements of the hoſtile powers; and the reſentment of the refractory and ejected prieſts operated every where upon the fanatiſiſm of the populace. At Aix, a club or ſociety, calling itſelf "Friends of the king and the clergy," was inſtituted; the members of which, on the 14th of December, indulged themſelves in the imprudent meaſure of wearing the white cockade. In the evening of that day, ſome of the party met with a number of perſons who belonged to a club of oppoſite principles; ſome piſtols were diſcharged, and a riot immediately enſued. The mob haſtened immediately to the priſon, where a Mr. Pachalis, an advocate, had for ſome time been confined

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confined for ſeditious writings and practices; and, in defiance of the municipality and the national guard, tore him from his place of confinement, and hanged him, with two others of the ariſtocratic party, Meſſrs. Roquette and Dorimont, on the neighbouring trees.

At Lyons, on the other hand, a deſperate, but ill-concerted conſpiracy was diſcovered, which had for its object, to corrupt the populace of that city, by diſtributing money among them; to bring back thither the ex-princes; to make that city the retreat of the king, if he could be detached from the national aſſembly; and if not, the aſſembly was forcibly to be conveyed thither along with him.

In the neighbourhood of Vannes in Brittany the fanatic clergy openly preached againſt the conſtitution: and in one country pariſh, the prieſt, after having celebrated maſs, deſired his congregation to kiſs the crucifix, and gave them abſolution.—"Go now," ſaid he, "and plunge your daggers into the hearts of thoſe impious perſons who have degraded your holy religion: you are ſaved!" The infatuated multitude, inſtigated by this incendiary exhortation, marched in a body to Vannes. At this place, however, they found the Iriſh regiment of Walſh, and the national guard of l'Orient prepared for their reception, and they were eaſily repulſed and diſperſed.

The public attention was now occupied with a tranſaction which would have been of little conſequence in any other circumſtances of the ſtate. On the 20th of February, the preſident of the national aſſembly received a letter from the king, ſtating that his aunts, the daughters of Louis XV. had left Paris that morning at ſix o'clock, and that, as he was perſuaded that they could not legally be deprived of the liberty which the conſtitution gave to every citizen to travel wherever he would, he had not attempted to prevent their departure. This report was no ſooner made than M. Camus propoſed that the civil liſt ſhould be diminiſhed in proportion to the proviſion which the nation allotted them; this was again oppoſed by M. Martineau; but the aſſembly conſidering the ſubject unworthy of their notice, paſſed to the order of the day. On the following day however the ſubject was renewed by M. Barnave, who, as the conſtitutional committee were at preſent occupied in providing a ſet of regulations for the government of the royal family, propoſed that they ſhould be inſtructed to preſent to the aſſembly the plan of a decree to aſcertain the right which perſons allied to the throne ſhould have to travel out of the kingdom. This propoſal produced another from Meſſrs. Martineau, Goupil, and others, that the law againſt emigrants ſhould extend not only to the royal family, but to all other individuals; and that a reaſonable abſentee tax ſhould be impoſed, in order to diſcourage emigration in general.

In the mean time the ladies continued their journey, and with a train of carriages preſented themſelves before Moret, and produced to the magiſtrates a paſſport from the king, counterſigned Montmorin, and a declaration from the municipality of Paris, ſtating that they arrogated to themſelves no right to ſtop any perſons travelling through the kingdom. As the municipality of Moret was informed that the matter was now under the conſideration of the conſtitutional committee, they

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determined to arreſt them. They had however no ſooner taken this determination, than a party of a hundred or more of the chaſſeurs de Lorraine, with a number of the domeſtics of M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, appeared before the gates, forced them open, and made a clear paſſage for the travellers. At Arnay-le-Duc, the municipality was more ſucceſsful; there they effectually ſtopped the progreſs of the royal emigrants, and diſpatched an account of their proceedings to the national aſſembly. On mature conſideration, however, the legiſlative body decreed, that "as there was no poſitive law exiſting which ſanctioned the arreſt of meſſengers, aimts to the king, it ſhould be referred to the executive power;" and in conſequence of this decree, after ſome delays, they were left to purſue their journey to Rome.

Thus the country was entirely deſerted by all the different branches of the royal family, except monſieur. The people, whoſe fears and ſuſpicions foreſaw a thouſand evils in theſe emigrations, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at the Thuilleries; and a report being ſpread, that the only remaining brother of the king was about to depart alſo, the mob immediately directed their courſe to his palace, and inſiſted on a promiſe not to leave the kingdom. The prince conceded to the wiſhes of the populace, and they diſperſed with every appearance of ſatisfaction and joy.

On the 28th of February an event of a more extraordinary and ſuſpicious nature occurred, and unfortunately contributed to increaſe the jealouſy and diſſatisfaction of the public. On the morning of that day, at the uſual hour of divine ſervice at the royal chapel, a gentleman, after walking for ſome time in the gallery, requeſted of the attendants on the dauphin to be permitted to ſee the prince. As he paſſed into the apartment, a poniard of a peculiar conſtruction was diſcovered under his coat: he was arreſted, and examined before the mayor of Paris, and committed to cuſtody.

While the mayor was occupied with this affair, he received intelligence of a riot in another quarter. The caſtle of Vincennes had been directed to undergo ſome repair; and, as that edifice had formerly been uſed as a ſtate priſon, the jealouſy of the populace immediately took fire; and their imaginations repreſented to them the horrible ſpectre of a Baſtille ſtill more formidable than that which had been demoliſhed. The ſuburb of St. Antoine was preſently in motion, and the object of popular ſuſpicion was powerfully aſſailed. M. Bailly was however no ſooner informed of this commotion, than he proceeded thither, accompanied by M. de la Fayette and a ſtrong party of the national guard. The populace were eaſily undeceived, and perſuaded to diſperſe; but what was the ſurpriſe of the magiſtrate and the national guard, on their return to the Thuilleries, to find the gates barred againſt them; and as ſoon as they were forced open, the apartments were diſcovered to be filled with men who had aſſembled under the pretence of defending the king! As no criminal intention could be proved againſt them, after being ſearched, and deprived of their arms, they were ordered civilly to depart, and leave the protection of the royal family to the national guard. The general ſuſpicion was, that a conſpiracy had been concerted by the chiefs of the ariſtocratic party, to take

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take advantage of the first commotion, which would necessarily draw off the national guard, to put in effect their long-projected plan of carrying off the king. Whatever might be the motive of the persons who assembled on this occasion, it is much to be regretted, as it gave too much countenance to the suspicions of the people, and cherished that spirit of party which it was so much the interest of the nation to counteract and subdue.

The beginning of March was dedicated by the assembly chiefly to the organization of the army. On the 4th it was decreed, that there should in future be only six marshals of France, whose functions should be entirely military, and whose pay was fixed at the rate of 30,000 livres per annum. With regard to the marshals of France then existing, it was determined, that such of them as should not be retained in the actual service of the state, should receive pensions adequate to their merits. On the succeeding day M. Victor Broglio addressed the assembly in favour of his father, marshal Broglio. "He observed, that the decree which had just been passed seemed to menace his respectable father, after a long and glorious career, with the deprivation of an honour which he had obtained, not from favour, but by merit. His father, he said, always a stranger to intrigue, and repulsed from court even for his virtues, had lived among the soldiers from the age of fourteen. He was their friend, their patron, their father. On the late unhappy occasion, he stated, that marshal Broglio had been drawn from his retreat in the country by the positive order of the king—That he was not privy to the assembling of the troops near the capital; and so little conscious of the design, that, on his arrival at court, his first address to the king was—'Here are the troops! but where is the enemy?' That he was made acquainted with none of the measures of the court, and heard of the dismission of M. Neckar only through the medium of public report—That when he arrived at Metz, so sensible had he been of the dishonourable cause in which he had been unconsciously engaged, that his spirits were sunk, and his health had been visibly on the decline—That he was now in so dangerous a state, that he was unable to return to his country, but had most obstinately resisted every attempt to seduce him from his allegiance to it."

In consequence of this representation, the assembly resolved—"That for the present nothing decisive should be decreed with respect to the rank of marshal of France, as held by M. Broglio; but that he should still be considered as preserving his rank and title, &c."

Towards the conclusion of the month, several decrees were passed relative to the case of a regency.—"Women were excluded from that trust, as well as from the succession to the crown. The regency was declared to belong of right to the next male heir to the crown, during the whole minority of the king. The person of the minor king, however, was not confided to the regent; and he was pronounced to be of age at eighteen."—Nearly about the same period it was decreed, "that all public functionaries ought to reside in whatever place was the proper scene of their employments—That the king, as the first public functionary, should be always resident, during the session, within twenty leagues of the legislative body; and that if he or the heir apparent went out of the kingdom without

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without a decree of the legislature, they should be considered as having abdicated the crown."

This discussion was succeeded by one of still greater importance to the welfare of the community. This regarded the succession to property, and the right of disposing of possessions after death. In the outset of the debate, a very judicious distinction was established; and it was determined, 1st, to decide what was proper to be decreed with respect to the effects of persons dying intestate; and, 2dly, whether any restriction ought to be laid on the right of testamentary alienation. In the first part of this investigation, the evils of the existing law of inheritances were strongly depicted. The absurd feudal institution of primogeniture was successfully attacked. It was demonstrated, "that no such institution existed among the enlightened nations of antiquity; that it originated among the most barbarous tribes, and in the most uncivilized periods; that, in the present circumstances of society, it was warranted by no motive, no reason, no excuse; that its basis was injustice, its consequences profligacy and crimes; that the heir to a large fortune was generally corrupted by the possession of it, and the younger branches devoted to beggary and prostitution; that its effects in a public view were still more deplorable; and that it was the principal cause of that inequality among the citizens, which produced most of the vice and all the misery that exists in society." In fine, the opinion, that an equal division of property should take place among the children or relations of persons dying intestate, seemed to meet with unanimous approbation, and was some time after the discussion decreed. On the other topic, there was a greater diversity of sentiment. "In defence of the unlimited power of testators, recourse was had to the sacred light in which property ought always to be regarded; to the discouragement which would be held forth to industry, if a man was not permitted to dispose of his property agreeably to his inclination. The power of parents over their children was another forcible argument, which was resorted to on this topic. To make children independent of their parents, it was said, would be the annihilation of good morals. Youth, it was added, is the torrid zone of human life, and must fall the unresisting prey of temptation, of debauchery, of usury, of every existing corruption and depravity, if possessed of an independent patrimony. The character of a father was represented as the most sacred of titles; it was that which the Deity himself assumes. The equal partition of estates, which was the principal argument employed by the other side, was adduced as a proof in favour of that arrangement which left the disposal of his property to the will of the testator. In the increase of population, it was said, the landed property of individuals would be subdivided into atoms, and the portions would be so extremely small as even to baffle the diligence of the collectors of the land-tax."

The arguments on the other side were not less forcible and ingenious. It was said, "that the question in this case was simply, whether the will of the law, or the will of the individual, should be obeyed? The will or determination of the law ought to be preferred, because it was totally exempt from the influence of the passions; whereas the will of the individual was always under their direction. If the law had determined, therefore, that an equal division

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tion of property was for the good of the ſtate, the will of the individual ought not to interfere with the public welfare. The arbitrary diſpoſition of parents not only obſtructed the public proſperity, by contributing to the inequality of fortune among the citizens; but frequently produced the moſt cruel outrages, by diſinheriting their children from paſſion or miſrepreſentation.—It was not however contended that the reſtriction ſhould be ſo abſolute that a parent ſhould have nothing left to diſtribute as a recompenſe to a deſerving child, nothing to withhold as a check upon one leſs worthy; the object was, to leave a part of the inheritance at the diſpoſal of the teſtator, and to diſtribute a part in ſuch proportions as ſhould ſeem moſt likely to promote the proſperity of the commonwealth.

Of this latter opinion was Mirabeau; but he ſpake no longer from the tribune, which had ſo often reſounded with the thunders of his eloquence, but from the dark and ſilent regions of the dead. While the law of ſucceſſions continued in agitation, he was ſeized with an inflammatory colic, and at the early age of forty-two was cut off in the meridian of earthly glory. During the moſt ſevere part of his illneſs, and even while ſtruggling in the arms of death, he continued to be the man of the public.—A few hours before his deceaſe he ſent for the biſhop of Autun, and obſerved to him that the law of inheritances was the order of the day.—He requeſted him to take down his ſentiments on the ſubject, and report them to the national aſſembly.—It is difficult to ſay whether the affliction with which they heard the news of his death, or the reſpect which they ſeemed to pay to his laſt ſentiments, was more honourable and conſpicuous. Some ſuſpicions were entertained that he died by poiſon; but, on opening his body, no proofs were found to juſtify ſuch a conjecture.

The preſent age has not ſeen a more extraordinary character than M. de Mirabeau. His talents were brilliant, and the times and ſituation were favourable to the exerciſe of them. He was formed by nature and by habit to govern and direct a popular aſſembly.—His deep penetration, his promptitude, his fluent eloquence, his powerful voice, were all adapted to command attention, and to ſilence or confute. Born of a noble though not an opulent family, his early education had initiated him in all the engaging, all the ſocial arts; his love of pleaſure had led him into a variety of ſituations, and had made him perfectly acquainted with the human character; the perſecution and diſtreſs which he had encountered in early life, had rendered him firm; a tedious confinement had made him ſtudious. Few ſtateſmen poſſeſſed more extenſive views; few orators have been capable of bolder flights, of a more paſſionate addreſs, or a more energetic expreſſion.

Of his private life we profeſs to know but little: common report, however, has not ſpoken of him in this view in the moſt favourable terms. His private character clouded with ſuſpicion his public conduct; though it muſt be confeſſed, that there is nothing upon record which juſtifies ſuch conjectures. Though he defended royalty, it would be harſh to ſay that he did it only to promote his intereſt with the monarch: though he pleaded for the admiſſion of miniſters to the legiſlative body, we have no authority to aſſert, that he meant to ſolicit

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an employment. He profeſſes of himſelf, that his ſyſtem of politics was that which is termed the moderate ſyſtem.—Perhaps every man who ſees deeply into human nature, and who knows the weakneſs of mankind, and the inſtability of popular counſels, will be moderate. He is even ſaid in his laſt illneſs to have expreſſed his fears leſt the democratic party of France ſhould go too far in weakening the executive government.

As an orator, the faireſt teſtimony is the amazing power which he poſſeſſed in a numerous and turbulent aſſembly, and his confeſſedly excelling all the efforts of his illuſtrious rivals and contemporaries. The faculty on which he appears moſt to have valued himſelf, was that of improving on the obſervations of others, and perpetually drawing even from his adverſaries a copious fund of matter. His writings are unequal, and not unfrequently obſcure. In delineating the characters of other men, he is ſevere, ſarcaſtic, and uncandid; and in his gallery of portraits (if it be indiſputably his) he appears to have made ſacrifices to jealouſy and envy unworthy of his own great talents, and unbecoming a liberal mind.

The honours which he received from his country are perhaps unparalleled in the preſent age. During his illneſs his door was beſieged by inquiring citizens, whoſe countenances evinced that they conſidered him as the ſaviour of their country. The directory of Paris and the national aſſembly decreed a mourning of eight days. By a reſolution of the legiſlature alſo, a public funeral was ordered, and which was attended by the national aſſembly, the miniſters, the magiſtrates and judges in their robes, the national guard of Paris, the ſociety of Friends of the Conſtitution, or Jacobins, and an incredible number of ſpectators. The magnificent new church of St. Genevieve was conſecrated for the reception of the remains of great men, and Mirabeau was the firſt who was publicly decreed that honour. As that church however was not complete, the body was for the preſent depoſited in St. Etienne du Mont, which adjoins St. Genevieve, by the ſide of the coffin which contains the aſhes of Deſcartes.

The next diſcuſſion which engaged the attention of the aſſembly, was the organization of the miniſtry. The miniſters were declared reſponſible; and it was alſo decreed, that no member of the national aſſembly could take any part in adminiſtration till four years after the concluſion of that legiſlature of which he was a member.—The appointment of miniſters was veſted in the king; but their number was to be regulated by the legiſlature.—The miniſters then appointed were, 1ſt, A miniſter of juſtice, who was to keep the great ſeal; to execute all laws relative to the ſanctioning of decrees; to preſerve a correſpondence with all the inferior departments of juſtice; to ſubmit to the legiſlature all queſtions of juriſprudence, &c. 2d, A miniſter of war, to ſuperintend the regulation of all the troops of the line, &c.; to order the movements of the armies againſt the enemy, &c. 3d, A miniſter of foreign affairs, to ſuperintend and conduct all correſpondence with foreign courts; to enforce the execution of treaties; and to have a general care of the political and commercial intereſts of the kingdom. 4th, A miniſter of marine and for the colonies. The miniſter of foreign affairs to have a ſalary of 150,000 livres (about 7,400l.)

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2,400l.) per annum, and the reſt 100,000 livres (about 5,000l.) per annum. The king and the miniſters to compoſe a great council of ſtate, for the due exerciſe of the executive power.

The nobleſſe aſſembled on the borders of Alſace, for the purpoſe of reconquering their titles, began now to create ſome alarm in the people. The emigrant army had been reviewed by the prince de Condé: their uniform was black, faced with yellow, with a death's head ſurrounded with a laurel wreath on one cuff, and a ſword on the other, with the motto, "Conquer or die." The emigrants alſo, it was added, were well received by moſt of the German princes, and every thing appeared hoſtile on the frontiers. As the cardinal de Rohan had taken an active part in ſeducing the people from their duties, an act of impeachment was decreed againſt him and ſome other of the principal emigrants.

With this circumſtance ſeveral others concurred to keep awake the ever-watchful eye of popular ſuſpicion. The king, whether he entertained them through prejudice and predilection, or through mere compaſſion, was ſurrounded with non-juring prieſts, and other perſons of a dubious character; and the people had not forgotten the ſingular tranſaction of the Thuilleries on the 28th of February. However, therefore, we may condemn, we cannot be ſurpriſed at the tumult which took place on the 18th of April, while the royal family was preparing to ſet out for St. Cloud, where they intended to paſs the Eaſter holidays. The populace, who conſidered this as only foreboding the flight of the king, and a counter-revolution, clamorouſly ſurrounded the carriage, and inſiſted on their majeſties' return. It was in vain that M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette oppoſed this phrenſy; in vain they exerted themſelves to procure a free paſſage for the carriage. A ſet of orators better adapted to the ears of the common people, exclaimed, "If the king eſcapes, there will be a civil war, and the ſtreets of Paris will be deluged with the blood of the citizens." The national guard refuſed to act—"We know," ſaid the grenadiers, "that we are violating the law; but the ſafety of the country is the firſt of laws."

The royal family, in ſhort, was obliged to return. The king immediately repaired to the aſſembly, where, with a becoming firmneſs and dignity, he complained of the inſult, and declared his intention of perſevering in his reſolution. He was anſwered in a reſpectful ſpeech by the preſident; and he proceeded on his journey. At the ſame time, his majeſty embraced this opportunity of notifying to all the foreign courts his acceptance of the conſtitution; and, in compliance with a requeſt from the municipality of Paris, diſmiſſed from about his perſon thoſe obnoxious perſons who had been a principal cauſe of the ſuſpicion.—New aſſurances of fidelity to the conſtitution, and of loyalty to the king, paſſed between the ſovereign and the national aſſembly, and all was quiet.

The writers of all parties have done juſtice to the ſpirit and propriety which diſtinguiſhed the conduct of M. de la Fayette on this occaſion. On the 21ſt, he, with the other ſtaff-officers, ſent in their reſignation, obſerving, that ſince the national guards would no longer obey, they muſt ceaſe to retain a command which was merely nominal. This event was no ſooner known than all Paris was ſeized with a general

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neral terror; nor could all the machinations of La Fayette's enemies prevent their soliciting in a body, and under circumstances the most respectful to him, that he would resume the command. After some hesitation on his part, and the strongest assurances given on theirs of entire obedience, he agreed on the 24th to comply with their wishes.

During these transactions in the capital, the provinces could not even yet be pronounced in a perfect state of tranquillity. At Toulouse in particular, several patriot citizens were assassinated on the night of the 17th of March. The murder was attributed to the officers or soldiers of the regiment of St. Barthelemy. The people immediately took arms, but happily the tumult ended in burning the colours of the regiment. The real authors of the assassinations, however, escaped into Spain.

These commotions, which agitated the mother country, were however trifling when compared with the fatal animosities which prevailed in the colonies. The decree of March 1790 was so far from quieting the jealousies and disturbances which existed, that its immediate effect seemed to be to kindle the whole of the French West Indies into a flame. Before the arrival of the commissioners who were to enforce the decree, a mulatto of the name of Ogé attempted to excite a rebellion in St. Domingo: his party was, however, defeated: he took refuge among the Spaniards; they, however, surrendered him, and he expired upon the wheel. The very troops which had been sent from France to restore tranquillity, became infected with the spirit of insubordination. A regiment of native troops too, which was named the regiment of Port-au-Prince, assassinated their colonel. The rebellious regiment was embarked, and sent to Europe; but the king's commissaries still exercised a feeble and dubious authority.

But the very decree of the assembly, the substance of which has been already intimated, proved the most deplorable source of discord: in that decree, parochial assemblies were directed to be held previous to the forming of a colonial constitution; but no definition was given of the persons who were to form these meetings. The people of colour, not being excepted, concluded naturally that they were virtually comprised in the law. The most violent contests ensued, and a deputation was sent over to the national assembly, to demand an explication.

In May 1791, the matter was warmly agitated in the assembly. The advocates in favour of the people of colour urged the declaration of rights, which the assembly itself had agreed on as the basis of their new constitution, and even appealed to a higher authority, the great fundamental principles of reason and justice. The colonial deputies, and their abettors, confessed that the prejudice against the people of colour was absurd and unjust; but they alleged that it was a prejudice which could not be annihilated by a single decree, or be obliterated in a short space of time. That a law which should at once elevate these persons to the same rank with the white colonists, would expose the island to the severest calamities. The assembly found itself in a most difficult predicament. The free people of colour on the one hand, and their dependents, were numerous and wealthy; and, on the other, the whites in the French islands were masters of nearly 200,000 negroes, were possessed of

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all the actual power, and had exhibited the moſt alarming ſymptoms of independence. They had already opened their ports to foreign nations, and had threatened to transfer their allegiance to the Engliſh government. The troops which had been ſent had been debauched from their duty, and corrupted in their principles, and little reliance could be placed upon new debarkations. In this dilemma, the legiſlature proceeded gradually, and with extreme caution.

On the 13th of May, a decree was paſſed to quiet the apprehenſions of the coloniſts with reſpect to the liberation of the negroes; and it was eſtabliſhed as a conſtitutional article, "that the legiſlature of the mother country could decide nothing with reſpect to the liberation of the ſlaves, but upon the actual and formal demand of the colonial aſſemblies." This was followed, on the 15th, by another decree equally cautious, and in effect partial to the white coloniſts; which was, that people of colour born of free parents on both ſides, ſhould be admitted into all the colonial aſſemblies: and as to thoſe whoſe parents on one ſide only were free, the legiſlature would not determine any thing till they heard the ſentiments of the colonial aſſemblies.

Thus, by a repetition of the ſame timid policy which had produced the diſturbances, the aſſembly ſtill continued to widen the breach.—Neither party was ſatisfied with the decree. The majority of the people of colour were not born of parents who were both free, ſince it happened that a conſiderable number were the offspring of ſlaves who had been in a ſtate of concubinage with their maſters; and the white coloniſts, on the other hand, found their darling prejudice invaded even by this trifling innovation. The moſt fatal diſcord manifeſted itſelf immediately. The aſſembly had ſent over no troops to enforce its own decree. The coloniſts complained, that the decree in itſelf was impracticable. Such a ſcrutiny as it required into the pedigree and extraction of individuals, could not be conducted without offence, without difficulty and litigation. The white coloniſts repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms, that this laſt decree was a total violation of the preamble to the former: though the aſſembly had ſanctioned the continuance of ſlavery, they ſtill feared the abolition of the ſlave-trade, and determined to relax nothing in their ſeverity and oppreſſion of the people of colour.

In the mean time, the enemies of the revolution were not inactive in inflaming the minds of both parties. The ſlaves, whether inſtigated by incendiaries, or whether finding the civil authority which held them in obedience almoſt annihilated, ſoon began to take a part in the diſputes; and diſcord, violence, and bloodſhed pervaded every part of the colonies. In Martinico, and the ſmaller iſlands, after much conteſt, order has been partly reſtored; but St. Domingo ſtill remains a melancholy ſcene of deſolation and civil war. The hiſtory of theſe tranſactions has not yet been ſufficiently inveſtigated: but, in our next volume, we purpoſe to collect the moſt authentic ſtatements, and to furniſh as complete a narrative as poſſible, both of the cauſes and conſequences of this inſurrection.

In the latter end of June, the city of Paris, and the whole kingdom of France, were thrown into the moſt violent conſternation, by the deſertion of the king. It was remarked, that for ſome weeks previous to this event, the emigrations had greatly increaſed;

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increaſed; and the circulating ſpecie of the kingdom diſappeared, as it were by a miracle.—The non-juring prieſts were more active and audacious than ever, and emiſſaries were employed to corrupt the ſoldiery of almoſt every regiment, and eſpecially on the frontiers.

The perfidious Bouillé, who had ſo wantonly imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-ſoldiers, in the affair of Nancy, was the principal agent on this occaſion. By a variety of fictions and excuſes, he evaded for a long time the civic oath; but at length he took it with ſuch ſpontaneous tokens of zeal as left no room to doubt of his fidelity. He was entruſted with the protection of the frontiers; a truſt which he exerciſed more conſiſtently with his own character and views, than with the principles of duty and honour. He either permitted the fortifications of all the frontier towns to run to decay, or aſſiſted in their dilapidation. The garriſons were left without proviſions or ammunition: The national ſoldiery were replaced wherever it was poſſible with foreigners; and the utmoſt pains were taken to ſpread diſunion and diſcontent among the national troops. The place nominally appointed for the retreat of the king, was Montmedy, a fortified town of Luxemburgh; but it was generally ſuppoſed that his actual reſidence was to be within the emperor's dominions. Here the emigrants from all quarters were to be aſſembled, and were to act in concert with the powerful ſuccours which were to be furniſhed by Pruſſia and Auſtria, while other diverſions were to be made on the ſide of Spain and Savoy, by the reſpective monarchs of thoſe countries.

Such is the account which is moſt generally believed of the motives and plan of this ill-concerted and unfortunate journey; unfortunate for the country, becauſe it deſtroyed that confidence which the people ought to have in the executive government; and doubly unfortunate for the monarch, becauſe it loſt him much of the love of an affectionate and loyal people, who, in the moſt diſtreſsful and tumultuous circumſtances of the revolution, was never known to waver or abate in the reſpect and perſonal regard which they retained for their ſovereign. The king's intention was not kept ſuch a profound ſecret, but that it was known to M. Gouvion, one of the officers of the national guard, who communicated it to the mayor and M. la Fayette: the guard was in conſequence doubled, and ſuch precautions were taken as appeared likely to prevent every poſſibility of effecting the intention. On the night of the 20th of June, however, the king, queen, madame Elizabeth, fiſter to the king, and the whole of the royal family diſappeared. Soon after their departure, it was diſcovered that a ſewer which ran under the princeſs Elizabeth's apartment, from the caſtle of the Thuilleries, and communicated with the river, under the firſt arch of the Pont Royal, had been cleaned out, and covered with planks and ſand.—Through this it was ſuppoſed the royal family eſcaped, and proceeded in a boat along the river to Sevé, where a ſtrong and convenient coach, made for the purpoſe, received the king, the queen, the dauphin, and madame Elizabeth. The others were conveyed in poſt-chaiſes. Monſieur and madame took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmedy.

If a teſt had been wanting of the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the nation, none could have been deviſed ſo ſatisfactory

tisfactory as this. The assembly received the news with a calmness and dignity, sufficient almost to discountenance opposition. Their first care was the public safety and tranquillity. They committed to the ministers the execution of the laws, and the other political functions of the king. A new oath of fidelity to the nation was prescribed to the military. Couriers were dispatched to all the different parts of the kingdom, with orders to stop the fugitives, if possible, and to recommend the preservation of peace and good order. After these precautions, the assembly, with unparalleled calmness, resumed their ordinary labours, and proceeded to the discussion of the penal code.

Among the people, the first impulse was a combined emotion of consternation, surprise, and indignation. The king's arms and effigies were taken down and broken by the populace of Paris. A proclamation from the assembly, however, soon restored order. The national guard assembled; deputations from different bodies appeared at the bar of the assembly, with the strongest and most firm professions of patriotism and obedience.

Though the majority of the nation, however, thus evinced its attachment to the revolution, the flight of the king was viewed in very different lights, according as the different parties felt their particular prejudices affected by the event. At the first of the revolution, two parties only divided the mass of the people; the friends of privileges and aristocracy, and the friends of liberty: but the latter had since divided, and a party more dangerous to the new constitution than even the aristocracy themselves had started up; a party, who, in quest of ideal perfection, are never satisfied with any established form of government; but who are planning Utopian republics, instead of promoting the peace and industry of a people, and the stability of the government, which are the only circumstances that can give greatness or prosperity to a nation.

To the republican party the departure of the king was a matter of triumph: their love of change was now likely to meet at least a present gratification: they enlarged upon the absurdity of a government which enabled an individual to throw the whole state into confusion: they represented the king as a perjured monster, whose patriotism and love for his people would presently be evinced by his entering France at the head of hostile armies, to ravage the country, and to drench it in blood. The loss of authority, they stated, must be ever, to him who once possessed it, a subject of regret; and they exhorted the lovers of liberty, even if the king's flight should be prevented, to make use of the opportunity to get rid of a natural enemy.

The more temperate and sounder thinkers saw the matter in a very different point of view. The majority of them preferred a limited monarchy, as at least the most expedient form of government, and considered it as absurd in a nation enjoying perfect liberty, to dispute about the mode or form in which it should be administered. They considered, that even if the republican form were preferable, custom and habit had inured the French to monarchy, and their strongest prejudices inclined them to support it: that the nation was not in a state to endure the shock of a second revolution. They therefore contemplated it as the happiest event that could occur, should the king by any fortunate chance be restored;

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and, forefaw a train of the moft formidable evils threatening the kingdom and the people, fhould he fall into the hands of their enemies.

Thefe difafters were happily prevented by the patriotifm, vigilance, and good conduct of two obfcure individuals. To favour their efcape, the royal family had obtained a paffport through the medium of the Ruffian ambaffador, in the name of a baronefs de Kortz, with her fuite, as travelling to Frankfort. They travelled in the moft private manner till they found themfelves at a confiderable diftance from the capital, when they were furnifhed by Bouillé with detachments of dragoons, under the pretence of guarding fome treafure for the pay of the foldiers. They proceeded without interruption for 156 miles, and were but a few leagues from the frontiers when they were arrefted. At St. Menehoud, the poft-maffer, a M. Drouet, had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Condé.—He immediately recognifed the queen, and was forcibly attracted by the refemblance of the king to his portrait on the affignat of fifty livres. He was confirmed in his fufpicions, on feeing the detachment of dragoons relieved by a detachment of huffars, and determined to ftop them; but, being alone, was prudent enough not to expofe himfelf to the oppofition of the foldiers. He fuffered the carriage to pafs, but mounted a fwift horfe, and took a crofs-road to Varennes, which was their next ftage. He communicated his fufpicions to the poft-maffer there, who had alfo formerly been a dragoon; and they concluded that the only mode of effecting their purpofe was to barricade the ftreet and bridge over which the carriages muft neceffarily pafs. Fortunately, on the bridge there ftood at the moment a carriage loaded with furniture; they overfet it, and called together the mayor, the procureur de la commune, and the commandant of the national guard, and in a few minutes the number of the patriots was increafed to eight men. The commandant and the procureur approached the principal carriage, and afked the names of the travellers. The queen petulantly anfwered, they were in haffe, and produced the paffport, which was thought a fufficient warrant by feveral perfons; but the poft-maffers combated the opinion, on the ground of its not being counterfigned by the prefident of the national affembly; and afked why a Ruffian baronefs fhould be efcorted by the military of France? It was determined therefore to ftop the travellers; and as they entered the houfe of the procureur, the king throwing off his difguife refumed his dignity.—"I am your king, it is true," faid he; "thefe are my wife and children. I charge you to treat us with that refpect which the French nation have always manifefted towards their fovereign."

The national guard now arrived in confiderable numbers, and at the fame moment the huffars, who endeavoured fword in hand to force the houfe where the king was; but were anfwered by the national guard, that they fhould never carry him off alive. The commandant of the national guard had placed at each end of the ftreet two field-pieces, which however were not charged; but they were fufficient to intimidate the huffars, who, upon the commandant ordering the artillery-men to their poffs with their matches in their hands, relinquifhed their object, and quietly furrendered the king to the cuftody of the national guard.

The news of thefe tranfactions was received by the aflembly with

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inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. The perjured Bouillé was ſuſpended from his functions; and orders were given for arreſting him, and all who appeared to be concerned in the flight of the king: but Bouillé evaded for the preſent the axe of juſtice, by flying the kingdom. The aſſembly next appointed two commiſſioners to examine the inferior agents of the king's flight; and three commiſſioners, Meſſrs. Tronchet, d'André, and Duport, were appointed to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family were eſcorted to Paris by a conſiderable body of the national guard, who increaſed in numbers as they approached the metropolis. Meſſrs. Barnave, Pethion, and Latour Maubourg had been diſpatched to Varennes for the purpoſe of accompanying them back to Paris; and public tranquillity was ſo well preſerved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the 25th without any diſturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey. On the 27th the commiſſioners waited on the king and queen to receive their declarations. The king perſiſted in the aſſertion that he had made from the firſt, "that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, and meant only to fix at Montmedi, which is a fortified town, till the vigour of government ſhould in ſome degree be reſtored, and the conſtitution ſettled. A further reaſon for preferring this as the place of his reſidence, was, he added, that in caſe of any diſturbance on the frontiers he might be ready to preſent himſelf in the poſt of danger, and to prevent inſurrection. His reaſons for quitting Paris, he declared to be, the inſults to which he was liable there, and the inflammatory publications which were daily produced, particularly againſt the queen, which rendered him apprehenſive for her ſafety ſtill more than for his own in the metropolis." The declaration of the queen reſted entirely on the plea, "that as the king had determined to remove himſelf and family, it was impoſſible that ſhe could admit the thought of voluntarily parting from him and her children."

Monſieur and Madame, who had taken a different road, were more ſucceſsful in effecting their eſcape, and arrived ſafe at Bruſſels on the 23d.

The neceſſity of completing the fabric of the conſtitution became now more than ever apparent, and the aſſembly laboured inceſſantly on the municipal code and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preſerve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was paſſed, the ſubſtance of which was, that ſuch of the emigrants as did not return within two months ſhould be ſubjected to triple taxes for the year 1791.

The flight of the king ſeemed indeed the ſignal for the emigrants to commence their hoſtile proceedings. M. Cazalés and ſome others of the violent ariſtocratic party ſent in their reſignations to the national aſſembly; troops were levied on the frontiers in the king's name, and many of the former officers of the royal regiments exerted themſelves to ſeduce the ſoldiers from their allegiance by promiſes of advancement and high rewards: their attempts, however, were in general without ſucceſs; a circumſtance which has not been adverted to by thoſe who ſuppoſe the attachment of the French ſoldiery to the revolution to have been entirely venal. As theſe levies were made in the name of the king, he thought it proper formally to diſavow them,

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which he did in a letter to the national assembly dated the 7th of July.

The return of the king appeared to make little alteration in the designs of the sovereigns who were confederated against France. Spain, indeed, whose political interests are diametrically opposite to a rupture with France, renewed on the occasion its professions of amity. The other courts kept still at a distance, and the German frontier was crowded with troops, and every where engaged in military preparations. He must know little indeed of public affairs, who can suppose that such a circumstance could make any alteration in the intentions of the combined courts. The politics of despots are always selfish; increase of territory is still their favourite pursuit. It would be weak to suppose that compassion for the emigrants, sympathy for the king, or even zeal for the maintenance of royal authority, would be motives strong enough to engage them in the expences and difficulties of war. A stronger incitement must be supposed; and that could be no other than the dismemberment of France, connected most probably with the destruction and annihilation of the petty states of Germany. Victorious, Austria and Prussia may be enriched with the spoils of France; and even disappointed in that object, as the smaller states of Germany will in that case be the chief theatre of war, excuses may be found for placing them under the protection of more powerful empires, and for aggrandizing these at the expence of their weak and indigent neighbours.

France however still continued in too united a state to warrant any immediate enterprise against her. Addresses breathing the strongest professions of loyalty and attachment to the constitution poured in from every quarter. Foreigners resident in France seemed solicitous of the honour of being classed among her citizens. Among these it would be unpardonable not to mention particularly general Luckner. This celebrated veteran, who had renounced his German origin for the privileges of a Frenchman, embraced the opportunity of testifying his wish to conquer or die in the service of liberty and the constitution. The conduct of the assembly was not unworthy the confidence which the nation seemed to place in its virtue and patriotism. Calmness, dignity and moderation characterized its proceedings at this period.—In opposition to the violent republicans, the legislature tenaciously adhered to its constitutional decree concerning the inviolability of the king's person. Even the emigrants were treated with a degree of indulgence: the prince de Condé himself, though professedly in a state of war with his country, did not experience either haste or severity from the assembly. M. Duveyrier was sent as envoy to him and the other princes, to solicit their return to the enjoyment of happiness and security in the bosom of their country; but this ambassador of peace was imprisoned, and insulted in the most barbarous manner.

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the constitution, was however interrupted by a short but disgraceful riot at Paris. Several efforts had been made by ill disposed persons, supposed to be in the pay of the emigrants, or of the hostile princes, to disturb the public tranquillity, by circulating lists of members of the assembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their trust, and other insidious manœuvres. These efforts however all proved abortive till

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till the morning of the 17th of July, when the magiſtrates were alarmed by the report that a large body of ſeditious perſons were about to aſſemble in the Champ de Mars. Two of the magiſtrates were ſent to the ſuburb of St. Antoine, where they had the ſatisfaction to find that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock however intelligence was brought, that in the quarter of Gros-caillou two perſons had been murdered: three municipal officers were therefore diſpatched, at the head of a battalion of national guards, to ſeize the murderers and diſperſe the inſurgents. At the ſame moment information was received of an alarming tumult in the Champ de Confédération. The mob attacked the national guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on M. la Fayette himſelf. The man was ſeized; but M. la Fayette, with a falſe generoſity, permitted him to eſcape. The red flag was now diſplayed, and martial law proclaimed. The national guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not diſperſe till about twelve were killed, and fifty or ſixty wounded. It was aſſerted, with what truth it is difficult to ſay, that foreign emiſſaries were diſcovered among the populace diſtributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

The period now approached, when the conſtituent aſſembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for ſome time employed in compiling and digeſting into a code the conſtitutional decrees, and on the 4th of Auguſt it was read to the aſſembly by M. Thouret, and debated article by article on the following days. On the 3d of September it was preſented to the king. He ſignified his acceptance of it in writing on the 13th; and the following day he appeared at the aſſembly, introduced by a deputation of ſixty members, and ſolemnly conſecrated the aſſent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath "to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ the powers veſted in him for the maintenance of the conſtitution, and the due execution of the law."

While the conſtitutional act was in agitation an additional decree was paſſed, importing that no branch of the royal family could exerciſe any employment in the gift of the people; and on the 30th of September the conſtituent national aſſembly terminated an uninterrupted ſeſſion of two years and four months, and ſpontaneouſly diſſolved itſelf.

In treating of the different acts of the national aſſembly, we have freely criticiſed ſuch parts of the new conſtitution as appeared liable to objection. One general error, and which may ultimately effect its deſtruction, muſt appear on the peruſal of it to moſt readers; and that is, the extreme weakneſs of the executive power. Unleſs the agents of government be protected and ſupported in the execution of their ſeveral duties, their operations muſt neceſſarily be timid, feeble, and ineffective. Perhaps the impeachment of miniſters, which is a moſt ſolemn, a moſt important, and alſo a moſt dangerous branch of legiſlative authority, unleſs exerciſed with great diſcretion, ought to be ſubjected to ſuch formalities as might render it difficult upon frivolous pretences. Perhaps the concurrence of a certain portion of the legiſlative body ought to be required before an impeachment could be brought forward or moved for; ſince it appears that, if a popular harangue from a ſingle demagogue is ſufficient to

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diſplace a miniſter, and even to ſubject him to a criminal proſecution, theſe offices will never be executed by men of ſpirit and character.

Another obſervation will perhaps not be conſidered as impertinent, as relative to the preſent ſtate of France. When the conſtitution was ſettled, it ſhould have been the great object of every friend to his country to labour for the reſtoration of tranquillity, order, and induſtry. Thoſe political aſſociations, under the denomination of Amis de Conſtitution, &c. &c. which might be uſeful at firſt in keeping up the ſpirit of the people, are certainly no longer wanted. It is not a ſupply of politicians, but of mechanics, manufacturers, and huſbandmen, that muſt now give vigour and proſperity to France; and it is better to reſt ſatisfied with even an imperfect form of government, than by a continued purſuit of ideal perfection to retain the country and the government in an unſettled and a divided ſtate. A free government may ſometimes experience injury from too much confidence; but it is certain to be deſtroyed by a ſeries of diſcord, diſorder, and faction.

CHAP. V.

State of Germany. Revolt of the Netherlands. Their Reduction. Turkiſh War. Conference of Reichenbach. Peace between Auſtria and Ruſſia. Peace between Ruſſia and Sweden. Taking of Iſmail. Diſgrace and Death of the Vizir. Taking of Maccin, &c. Mediation of Pruſſia and England. Peace between Ruſſia and the Porte. Poliſh Revolution. Affairs of Liege.

WHILE the empire of France was convulſed with the amazing change which had been effected in its government, the neighbouring countries of Europe were ſcarcely leſs agitated with foreign wars or with inteſtine commotion. No ſovereign could ſucceed to a throne at a more difficult criſis than that in which Leopold II. was inveſted with the imperial purple. By the temerity of his predeceſſor, he found himſelf involved in a diſtant and unprofitable war; while the moſt flouriſhing part of his hereditary dominions appeared for ever alienated from the houſe of Auſtria.

Joſeph II. was the mimic of Frederic, who has been miſnamed the Great; but if his views were leſs ſelfiſh, his conduct was leſs artful than that of the Pruſſian tyrant. Like his great model, he was a votary of the pretended philoſophy of Voltaire, and conſidered every thing as reformation which was oppoſite to eſtabliſhed opinions. No people are more attached to their religion than the Flemings; and the alterations which Joſeph attempted in the church and conſtitution of the Belgic provinces, had kept them in a ſtate of agitation for a conſiderable period. What was effected by violence was enforced by ſeverity. The unrelenting perſecution to which all the opponents of Joſeph were expoſed, had depopulated the country by continued emigrations. The exiles in the mean while preſerved a ſtrict correſpondence with each other; they had their agents in every part of Brabant and Flanders, and

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and it is generally ſuppoſed were not deſtitute of foreign ſupport. On different parts of the Auſtrian frontier they attempted repeatedly to collect their ſcattered forces; but they were as conſtantly diſperſed by applications from the court of Vienna to the ſtates where they preſumed to ſhew themſelves. It was not till the latter end of the year 1789 that they were able to take any effectual meaſures. Then, as if by magic, an army of 40,000 men appeared in an inſtant of time, and over-ran the whole of Auſtrian Flanders. As count Trautmandorf, the head of the Auſtrian adminiſtration, had arreſted ſeveral of their friends at Bruſſels, the inſurgents ſeized in the firſt inſtance the perſon of M. Crumpipen, the chancellor of Brabant, whom they detained as a hoſtage. They ſoon obtained poſſeſſion of the town and citadel of Anvers, of Tournay, and of Ghent. The leaders of the party formed themſelves into a legiſlative body at Breda, where they declared themſelves the lawful ſtates of the provinces. Their proceedings at firſt were marked by an uncommon ſpirit of unanimity, and their ſucceſs was correſpondent. It was not long before the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, the citadel of Antwerp and a few other ſtrong places excepted, was in the hands of the patriots. It was in vain that the emperor Joſeph threatened, in vain he held forth the moſt flattering and conciliatory language, in vain offered to reſtore their ancient conſtitution, and even to endow them with additional privileges. On the 22d of December the ſtates of Brabant aſſembled, and in concert with the deputies of the other provinces proceeded to the appointment of a miniſtry. M. Henry Van-der Noot, a popular advocate, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the emperor, was named prime miniſter; M. Van Euren, grand penitentiary of the cathedral of Anvers, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate; and the baron d'Hore, commiſſary-general for the war department.

About the ſame period the other ſtates, viz. Flanders, Hainault, Tournay, Namur, and Gueldreland, were convened, and formally diſclaimed their allegiance to the emperor. The magiſtrates whom Joſeph had baniſhed were at the ſame time recalled, and the courts of juſtice were opened under the new adminiſtration. General Van der Merſch, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral actions, was appointed to the chief command of the forces; envoys were diſpatched to ſeveral foreign powers, and the ſtates aſſumed all the prerogatives and functions of ſovereign authority.

In the month of January 1790, the outlines of a federal conſtitution, conſiſting of twelve articles, were formed by the Belgic ſtates, for that was the title which the new confederation aſſumed. In theſe articles it was ſtipulated, that each province ſhould retain its own peculiar conſtitution, as well as the right of internal legiſlation; but that a congreſs ſhould be appointed, conſiſting of deputies from each of the provinces, for the conduct of all affairs relative to the federative union, the general defence of the republic, the coining of money, the ratifying of treaties, &c. The Roman catholic religion was eſtabliſhed throughout all the ſtates. The civil and military employments were never to be united in the ſame perſon; nor were the members of the republic to accept of any military order or diſtinction from foreign powers.

Though the Belgic ſtates experienced no direct ſupport from the powers which were friendly to their

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interest, and which were supposed to have encouraged their revolt, yet their armies were respectably increased by a number of foreigners, particularly from England and France, who entered as volunteers into their service, and performed the most gallant actions. That which was termed the Belgic legion in particular was composed chiefly of British, and no body of military ever distinguished themselves by more active courage, or more perfect discipline.

It would be foreign to our purpose minutely to detail the vicissitudes of the war. The spirit of the people, encouraged by their clergy, and the good conduct of their officers, not only enabled them to support an unequal contest, but even inclined the balance of victory in their favour, and soon wrested the whole of the Belgic provinces from the dominion of Austria.

The unanimity which prevailed at the commencement of the revolution, was unfortunately not of long duration. The federal government of the Belgic states appeared to be established on a basis not ill calculated to support the fabric of a confederated empire; but, in the government of the different states, there existed enough of evil to produce discontent, faction, and distrust. The constitutions of these provinces were, like most of the old governments of Europe, founded entirely upon feudal and aristocratical principles. The nobles and the clergy were invested with particular privileges, which like all others were so many infringements on the general rights of the citizens. When Joseph subverted the constitution of these provinces, the privileges of the superior orders were involved in one common ruin with the liberties of the people. All parties, therefore, were at first united in reclaiming the ancient constitution, as more tolerable than the despotism of Austria; but when they had successfully contended, and purchased their liberties at the price of their blood, the enlightened part of the community conceived that, in establishing the new government, such alterations ought to be adopted as were agreeable to the present improved notions of civil policy, and such parts of the old constitution sacrificed as were actually oppressive. But what was their surprize, when they found that, instead of an improved system, the old aristocratical government was re-established by the ruling powers, and even with additional burthens on the people, and additional indulgences to the privileged orders!

So far from indicating any desire for improvement, any genuine affection for the cause of liberty, one of the first steps of the Belgic congress was a public declaration of intolerance; the liberty of the press was totally prohibited, and state inquisitors appointed; arbitrary imprisonment was allowed, and several other unpopular measures were adopted. A general air of mystery covered the proceedings of the congress, which was soon found to be filled with the creatures and immediate connexions of Van der Noot and Van Eupen. Among the persons who professed themselves dissatisfied with the existing arrangements, and who wished that something more might be done for the cause of the people, were some of the highest rank and the most popular character. Of these it is only necessary to mention the prince d'Aremberg, the duc d'Ursel, the viscount Walkiers, and general Van der Mersch. A patriotic committee was formed at Brussels for the purpose of effecting some reform in the

government.

government. The constitution of England was the avowed object of the majority of these reformers, which they wished to see adopted so far as might be consistent with republican government. But these were the views of a comparatively small part of the public: the great mass of the people, the inferior orders, were directed entirely by an implicit devotion to the will of their priests, and in every respect subject to monkish influence. The patriotic committee was scarcely formed, than the most alarming riots were excited in Brussels and other parts; in which the rabble, always governed by the most contemptible prejudices, exclaimed in favour of the existing oligarchy, and seemed unusually industrious in forging fetters for themselves.

Such was the auspicious crisis for Belgic liberty in which Leopold ascended the throne of his forefathers. That crafty prince, less dazzled with false glory, less treated with the rage of innovation, than his unfortunate predecessor, was able clearly to discern that his real interest no longer consisted in reaping barren laurels in the unprofitable contest with the Ottomans, but in conciliating or reducing his revolted subjects, and in attending to the actual prosperity and peace of his extensive hereditary dominions. It was even said that the unfortunate Joseph, when humbled and subdued by the approach of death, expressed the deepest contrition for his imprudent conduct, and recommended to his successor, in the strongest terms, the adoption of pacific measures in treating with his Flemish subjects. One of the first steps therefore of Leopold was to issue a conciliatory proclamation, inviting the revolted provinces to return to their allegiance, pledging himself for the enjoyment of their civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, and promising a complete redress of every grievance. While such were his proceedings in public, he did not neglect to treat in private with the leaders of the two parties. Whether successful or not in gaining them to his interests, one effect was certain to follow this mode of negociation; it was certain to increase that distrust and division which already existed: each party in fact mutually considered and represented the other as sold and devoted to the views of Austria; but there is reason to believe that the monarch was most successful with the pretended patriotic committee.

The king of Hungary however did not entirely trust to the effects of his negociation, nor to the dissension which prevailed in the provinces themselves. He no sooner ascended the throne than he secretly determined upon a peace with the Porte; and he began gradually to withdraw his troops from the Ottoman territories, to employ them upon an object of superior profit and importance. General Bender, an excellent officer, was supplied with an immense reinforcement of choice troops, and prepared to renew the war with fresh activity and vigour.

In such an extremity, a union of parties could scarcely be purchased at too large a price. The Belgic provinces were too weak, without foreign aid, to resist the immense power of the house of Austria, had the most perfect unanimity prevailed. But what must be our astonishment, to find that the distresses which threatened them seemed to increase instead of reconciling their dissensions! Adversity and persecution had made Van der Noot appear more than a man: power and prosperity had converted him into a child! There was nothing adroit and

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and unpopular into which the Belgic congress was not impelled by his advice and authority, and those of Van Eupen. The Vonkists, or patriotic committee (so called from the name of their president Vonk), were every where persecuted. The dungeons were crowded with state prisoners. The most sanguinary and severe code of military laws that perhaps ever was invented, was enacted for the regulation of the armies. If a soldier was heard to murmur, he was put in irons, and chastised with the flat side of a sabre, *ad libitum*. If he threatened his officer, he was shot dead on the spot, without form or process. It was death for a soldier to desert his post, to lose his arms, or fly from the enemy; and even if he were to absent himself from his company for ever so short a time without a pass, he was considered as a deserter, and inevitably punished with death. To complete the impolicy and absurdity of their proceedings, the duke d'Ursel, the viscount de Walkiers, and several of the first nobility were arrested as traitors. The victorious general Van der Mersch was put under arrest, and committed to the castle of Anvers, upon charges which in themselves were frivolous; though it must be confessed that there is some reason to believe that this commander had devoted himself to the views of Austria.

A fact of a less important nature will serve perhaps still better to shew the weakness and inconsistency of this administration. When the national assembly of France sequestered the estates of the monasteries, the Belgic congress, which was composed of monks, or of men devoted to that order, beheld the sacrilege with horror and resentment: and to evince their disapprobation, and to retaliate for such of their countrymen as might have suffered in the general destruction of monastic orders in France, they sequestered themselves the estates of the French monks in the Belgic provinces; and thus to punish this heretical nation for what they had done, they exactly did what the French themselves would have done, had they been in possession of the supreme authority in Brabant.

Baron Schoenfeld, a Prussian, succeeded Van der Mersch in the command, and in the outset of his career evinced himself a fit minister of the decrees of congress. In one day he hanged thirty soldiers who had deserted their post. Without form or ceremony he broke all the officers who were obnoxious to him; M. Lochie, colonel of the Belgic legion, was obliged to resign, and many other foreign officers of great merit quitted the service. Still the congress determined to resist; and such was the detestation of the Austrian yoke, that, amidst all these discouragements, the majority both of soldiers and of the people continued to second them in all their operations, and the war was still carried on with various success. The weight however of power and of discipline was at length felt in several unsuccessful encounters with the Austrians; and, as an expiring effort, the peasantry of Brabant and Flanders was embodied; and M. Van der Noot, who appears to have been more deficient in conduct than either in principle or in courage, determined to put himself at their head. On the 23d of September 1790, this undisciplined multitude, to the amount of 60,000 men, entered the province of Limburgh, which the Austrians had recovered by a series of little advantages. On their approach, the Austrians, to the amount of about 15,000, appointed to retreat before them.

them. But it was a fatal ſtratagem to the Belgic peaſants. In their purſuit of the flying enemy, they ſuffered themſelves to be allured into a narrow paſs between Huy and Liege, where numbers or even valour itſelf could no longer avail. There the Auſtrians fell upon them with all the advantages of generalſhip and of diſcipline; and the unfortunate Van der Noot ſaw his army completely routed. The fugitives were purſued even to the gates of Liege, where the inhabitants ſhut their gates againſt them, and refuſed them an aſylum. The Auſtrian laurels were ſtained with blood. Immenſe multitudes were maſſacred while crying out for quarter, and a number were hanged on the ſpot as rebels, among whom were thirty Capuchins, and eighty ſecular clergy. The loſs of the Flemiſh in this action was eſtimated at from ſeven to ten thouſand.

To complete the misfortunes of the Belgic inſurgents, they found themſelves abandoned by the powers under whoſe expected protection and ſupport they had firſt revolted. The politics of courts are always ſelfiſh; and the moral principles or ſentiments which govern the conduct of individuals in their mutual intercourſe, are ſeldom found to mix in the negociations of ſtates. The new arrangements which had taken place between the king of Pruſſia and the emperor, defeated every hope of ſuccour from that quarter; and even in a congreſs which was held at the Hague between the miniſters of Pruſſia, England, Holland, and Auſtria, they were given to underſtand, that all which the mediating powers could guarantee was the reſtoration of the Belgic conſtitutions as under the adminiſtration of the late empreſs queen Maria Thereſa.

Such was the ſtate of things on the 19th of November, when M. Van Euren entered the hall of congreſs with a large crucifix in his hand, which, with much ſolemnity he depoſited on a velvet cuſhion, and took a ſacred oath, never to agree to any propoſal of accommodation with the tyrant Leopold. He was followed by M. Van der Noot; but, to their unſpeakable ſurpriſe, by no other member of the congreſs. The repreſentatives of Hainault, of Flanders, of Tournay, and Malines, declared even that they were inſtructed by their conſtituents to treat with the emperor. The ſeſſion concluded with the miſſion of four members, one from each of thoſe provinces, to negociate an accommodation through the mediating powers. In the mean time the Auſtrians advanced with a body of 43,000 choſen troops; on the 24th of November Namur ſurrendered, and Bruſſels on the 2d of December. Theſe events were followed by the flight of Meſſrs. Van der Noot and Van Euren, and the baron Schoenfeld. General Van der Merſch was ſet at liberty, and ſoon after reinſtated in all his honours and poſſeſſions by the Auſtrians. The cities and towns of Flanders and Brabant ſucceſſively opened their gates to the conquerors; and, at the commencement of the year 1791, Leopold had the ſatisfaction to ſee himſelf completely maſter of the Auſtrian Netherlands. On the 1ſt of January, Te Deum was ſung at Bruſſels in celebration of their reduction under the dominion of Auſtria; and on the 8th the inhabitants of the Belgic provinces ſent an addreſs to the emperor, expreſſive of their obedience and devotion to his authority.

Several other circumſtances concurred to render Leopold deſirous of peace. The kingdom of Hungary, though

though not in a state of actual rebellion, had yet manifested some unpleasant symptoms of disquietude and dissatisfaction. Wearied and exhausted by the quixotism of Joseph, the Hungarians complained that the war had been entered into without the consent of the states of the kingdom. As Joseph too had not confined his innovations to his Austrian dominions, there existed some causes of complaint on that account. These however Joseph, previous to his death, had promised to redress; nor was there much probability that the pacific Leopold would persist in measures which the obstinate and ambitious Joseph had relinquished as untenable. When, however, the principle of discontent is excited in a people, it is not easily to be stayed. The demands of the Hungarians appeared greatly to exceed the limits of their first professions, and fell little short of arrogating to the assembly of the states the full sovereignty of the nation. The secret of Leopold's government was perhaps venality. The same persuasive eloquence which had penetrated the hearts of the patriotic party in Flanders, probably served gradually to diminish the haughty pretensions of the Hungarian nobles. Two methods, therefore, remained, by which the new monarch might establish his authority.—The one was, to conciliate the malcontents within; and the other, to remove the cause which had reduced the house of Austria to this predicament, by a speedy termination of the war with the Turks.

There was a cause which perhaps lay still nearer to the heart of Leopold, since it was one which affected more strongly his self-love. He had been a little affected with the rage of innovation himself, and his Italian subjects seemed not to receive his alterations with the most passive spirit. His tyrannical regulations concerning the interment of the dead in particular were adopted with horror, and some serious riots had been the consequence of this and some other changes.

But if peace was desirable on these accounts, it was almost rendered necessary by the imposing mediation of Prussia. That imperious and insatiable power, who wished to be the arbitress of Germany, had left nothing unattempted to humble the house of Austria, her only rival. In conjunction with another power, which on the continent of Europe is commonly regarded as under the direction of Prussia in all foreign politics, the court of Berlin was commonly supposed to have been the means of plunging the misguided Ottomans into the unpropitious and distressful contest in which they were engaged. Honour, as far as we may apply that term to the negociations of politicians, forbad the total abandoning of this infatuated people in the extremity of their distress; interest, real or imaginary; also, which is by far the strongest tie, forbad the total destruction of the Ottoman empire. Prussia embraced the opportunity of degrading Austria, and of manifesting its own power; and, however disagreeable or humiliating to Leopold, began soon after his accession to insist on a pacification between Austria and the Turks.

After the reduction of Oczakow, therefore, which happened on the 16th of April 1790, the war was carried on with languor on the part of Austria; and in the month of June a conference was agreed upon at Reichenbach, at which the ministers of Prussia, Austria, England, and the United Provinces assisted, and at which also an envoy from

Poland was occaſionally preſent. After a negociation, which continued till the 17th of Auguſt, it was agreed that a peace ſhould be concluded between the king of Hungary and the Ottoman Porte; that the baſis of this treaty ſhould be a general ſurrender of all the conqueſts made by the former, retaining only Chocsim as a ſecurity till the Porte ſhould accede to the terms of the agreement, when it was alſo to be reſtored. On the other hand, the king of Pruſſia gave up the Belgic provinces, and even promiſed his aſſiſtance in reducing them to the Auſtrian dominion.

The king of Pruſſia was leſs ſucceſsful in his mediation with Ruſſia. Catherine had not, like Leopold, an imperial crown at ſtake, which (unſubſtantial as it is) has always its charms with thoſe who are educated in the habitual adoration of rank and dignities. Her conqueſts alſo on the ſide of Turkey were too important to be eaſily relinquiſhed; and ſhe conſidered her dignity attacked by the inſolent ſtyle of Pruſſian mediation. The ſubſtance of her anſwer to the Pruſſian memorial was therefore, "That the empreſs of Ruſſia would make peace and war with whom ſhe pleaſed, without the interference of any foreign power."

In the mean time, if Catherine found herſelf, by the conference of Reichenbach, deprived of an ally, it was no difficult matter, on the other hand, to diſencumber herſelf of an adverſary. The ſame motives which had rendered Guſtavus for a ſeries of years the devoted inſtrument of France; the ſame motives which had induced him to ſacrifice the lives of his people in the preſent conteſt, might be employed to convert him from the enemy into the ally of Ruſſia. On the 14th of Auguſt 1790, therefore, a convention was ſigned between the courts of Ruſſia and Sweden, and was ratified in ſix days after. The baſis of the convention was, a general treaty of peace and amity, an alliance of the ſtricteſt nature, and an agreement that the boundaries of their reſpective territories ſhould remain the ſame as confirmed by the treaties of Abo and Nyſtadt.

At the cloſe of the year 1790, the empreſs had the ſatisfaction to ſee her conqueſts no longer bounded by the courſe of the Danube. The Turkiſh fleet was almoſt annihilated; and even the raviſh notions of muſſulman policy were ſcarcely ſufficient to repreſs the reſentment of the populace in Conſtantinople, and to prevent their engaging in the moſt alarming inſurrections. The laſt act of this protracted campaign, which was uninterrupted even by the ſeverity of winter, however it might contribute to the advantage, certainly did not redound to the honour of Ruſſia; and evinced, that whatever ſteps may have been taken by the preſent or other ſovereigns of this empire to produce a forced civilization, both the monarch and the people of Ruſſia are ſtill barbarians. The reader will eaſily perceive that the taking of Iſmail is alluded to in this reflection. The progreſs of the Ruſſians during the whole of the war, was indeed marked with blood and cruelty; but all their former executions were exceeded by the horror of their proceedings at Iſmail. This place had been fortified during the late war, and previous to the ſiege had been reinforced by the flower of the Turkiſh army. On the 22d of December 1790 it was taken by ſtorm by general Suwarow; and it is ſaid that the ſiege and the capture did not coſt the Ruſſians leſs than 10,000 men. The moſt ſhocking part of the

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the tranſaction is, that the garriſon (whoſe bravery merited, and would have received from a generous foe, the higheſt honours) were maſſacred in cold blood by the mercileſs Ruſſians to the amount of, by their own account, upwards of 30,000 men; and the place was given up to the unreſtrained fury of the brutal ſoldiery. The moſt horrid outrages were perpetrated on the defenceleſs inhabitants; and the conduct of the conquerors was more that of a horde of cannibals than of a civiliſed people. After this bloody ſcene, the Ruſſians went into winter quarters; the vizir retired towards Conſtantinople, and on his return fell a ſacrifice to the ſanguinary policy which has long diſgraced the Ottoman counſels.

In the mean time, the people of Conſtantinople, the janizaries, the very inmates of the ſeraglio, and particularly the ſultana mother, became clamorous for peace. A congreſs was appointed at Siſthovia, for the purpoſe of reſtoring tranquillity to Europe, at which the miniſters of the belligerent powers aſſiſted, with thoſe of Pruſſia, England, and the United Provinces. The diſpute between Auſtria and the Porte was eaſily adjuſted on the baſis of the convention of Reichenbach; but the demands of Ruſſia could not be ſo eaſily ſatisfied. After ſome months of deliberation, the object of the congreſs appeared as diſtant as ever, and both parties made the moſt vigorous preparations for the continuance of the war. The determined perſeverance of Selim, and the uncommon activity of the new vizir Juſſuf Pacha, ſeemed to aſtoniſh the Ottomans, and to awake them from their lethargy. Notwithſtanding their repeated loſſes, the vizir was enabled to take the field early in the ſpring with an army which was computed to amount to nearly 200,000 men; and magazines well furniſhed with military ſtores were eſtabliſhed in Bulgaria, Romelia, and at Adrianople.

The campaign of 1791 opened on the part of Ruſſia with the taking of Maczin, on the 4th of April, by prince Gallitzin; and in a ſubſequent victory on the 12th, by the ſame general in the neighbourhood of Brailow, the Turks loſt not leſs than 4000 men, and upwards of 100 officers, beſides many pieces of cannon. On the 14th the Ruſſian arms experienced a check, by which they loſt about 700 men, and were obliged to relinquiſh the intention of beſieging Brailow. After reinforcing this place, the vizir proceeded to the banks of the Danube near Siliſtria; and, by means of a bridge which he threw acroſs the river, his advanced poſts were enabled to make incurſions on the oppoſite ſide. The ability of the vizir, and the valour of the Turks, were however exerted in vain againſt the diſcipline and experience of European armies. In the month of June, 15,000 Turks were defeated by a party of cavalry under general Kutuſow. On the 3d of July the fortreſs of Anape was taken by general Gudowitſch, and the garriſon, to the amount of 6,000 men, made priſoners. This event was followed, on the 9th of the ſame month, by a ſignal victory which prince Repnin obtained near Maczin over a body of 70,000, the flower of the Turkiſh army. The Ottomans left upwards of 4000 dead upon the field of battle, and loſt their entire camp equipage, colours, and 30 pieces of cannon. The Ruſſians are ſaid to have loſt only 150 men killed, and between 2 and 300 wounded.

While the war was thus vigorouſly carried on, the mediating powers

powers were not inactive. Great-Britain and Prussia, in particular, declared themselves determined to support the balance of Europe, and to force the empress to peace upon the basis of a *status quo*. Of the interference of Britain in this dispute, there will be occasion to treat more amply in another place. To the first applications of the English minister, the empress answered in nearly the same terms in which she had formerly replied to the memorial of Prussia—"That the British court would not be permitted to dictate the terms of the peace." In the course of the negociation, however, her demands became more moderate; and as the northern powers, and particularly Denmark, began to exert themselves for the prevention of hostilities, she confined her views at length to the possession of Ocazakow, with the district extending from the Bog to the Niester, and even then providing for the free navigation of the latter river. The negociation was protracted to the 11th of August, when, at length, peace was concluded between the Czarina and the Porte nearly upon these terms;—terms, which, considering the ill success of the war, cannot be accounted very disadvantageous to the Porte, who has lost a fortress more useful for the purpose of annoying Russia, than for defending their own territories; but certainly of considerable importance to Russia, which, by this cession, has secured the peaceable enjoyment of the Crimea.

Peace was probably at this period the more desirable to Russia, from an event which, while it enlarged the scale of human happiness and liberty, certainly was calculated to counteract, in no small degree, the unwarrantable usurpations of that ambitious power. Every reader, whose attention has at all been directed to political events, must recollect with indignation the infamous dismemberment of Poland in the year 1773. From that period the republic had been reduced to a most humiliating state of servitude, and dependence upon Russia. It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the first opportunity of emancipating itself from so ignominious a yoke should be eagerly embraced, and that, while the contest with the Porte occupied the attention of Russia, the advances of Prussia should be favourably received by a majority of the nation, and even the shadow of independence embraced, while the views of that intriguing court appeared to be tempered with any share of honour or disinterestedness. The enlightened part of the Polish patriots flattered themselves, however, with no advantages from Prussia which were not to be paid for by sacrificing the best interests of the republic; they determined, therefore, to make a wiser use of the interval of relief from foreign oppression, which they now enjoyed; and they found themselves seconded warmly in their views by the majority of the nation, when it appeared that the cession of Thorne and Dantzic to Prussia was the immediate object with that insatiable court. That state which depends for protection and support upon a foreign power will ever find its prosperity precarious, and its government contemptible. It is within itself that every nation must find its own support, and that support is only in one way to be obtained. It was not industry, it was not valour, that Poland wanted; it was unity, it was a *constitution*, it was an efficient and active government. Happily for Poland, she was at this crisis possessed of some men of the most

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most eminent abilities, and apparently of the most exalted patriotism. The king had indeed been elected by the Ruſſian intereſt, but he has ſhewn that foreign obligations have not been able to eradicate from his breaſt an attachment to his country. During the ſeſſion of the diet many excellent decrees had been paſſed in favour of general liberty, and calculated to attach the citizens to the intereſts of their country. That of the 18th of April 1791 in particular, which ſecured to the freemen the rights which had previouſly been confined to the order of nobles, and which opened the door of nobility to the inferior orders, was a conſiderable advance in favour of human nature, in a nation which had ſo long been devoted to the ſlaviſh principles of the feudal ſyſtem. The minds of the public were alſo prepared for the change, by the apprehenſions which the deſigns of Pruſſia upon Thorne and Dantzic had excited, and by the juſt alarms which agitated the people of a future diviſion of their territory. The new conſtitution, however, was digeſted and prepared with the utmoſt ſecrecy and caution; and but few were entruſted with the projected deſign. On the memorable 3d of May 1791, at three o'clock in the morning, a ſelect body of patriots aſſembled in the royal chamber. There, in the preſence of the king, they ſolemnly engaged never to ſeparate till the intended revolution ſhould be happily accompliſhed.

The galleries of the hall in which the diet was held, were crowded at an early hour, as if in expectation of ſome important event. The ſeſſion was opened by the king in perſon, inſtead of the marſhal; and inſtead of reſorting to the order of the day, which was a report on the finances, his majeſty addreſſed the aſſembly on the general ſtate of the nation.—He obſerved, "that whatever aſſurances foreign powers might amuſe them with, he had undoubted proofs, that the alarming rumours which had been ſpread concerning a freſh diſmemberment of the territories of the republic, reſted upon too ſure a foundation; and that the contending powers were about to terminate their differences at the expence of Poland. That one reſource remained, and but one, to ſecure the poſſeſſions of the republic, and to preſerve the ſtate from ruin; and this was, to give it ſuch a conſtitution as might impart unity to its government, and attach the people to its ſupport. That with this view a conſtitution had been prepared, principally founded on the Engliſh and American conſtitutions, but avoiding the errors of each, and adapted as much as poſſible to the circumſtances of the country; and that this conſtitution, he truſted, they would adopt."

After the reading of the conſtitution a tumultuous debate enſued. The nuncios of Volhynia and Podolia proteſted againſt the proceeding. M. Suchorzowſky, who had been the author of the decree in favour of the citizens, threw himſelf at the foot of the throne, and beſought his majeſty, that he would not perſiſt in his intention of making the crown hereditary. Others referred to the inſtructions of their conſtituents, and entreated that the deliberation ſhould be deferred to a future day; but this propoſal did not meet the ſentiments of the majority. The king then riſing from his ſeat reſpectfully called the biſhop of Cracovia, and took a ſolemn oath to maintain the conſtitution. "He that loves his country," exclaimed his majeſty, "let him follow

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follow me to the church, and repeat this oath at the foot of the altar." The king was attended to the church by all the nuncios, except between thirty and forty; *Te Deum* was sung; all the deputies present took the oath; and the new constitution was announced to the people by the firing of 200 pieces of cannon. It was reported, that on the preceding day a foreign minister had distributed the sum of 50,000 ducats, for the purpose of obstructing the revolution. The attempt was, however, abortive; the most perfect tranquillity prevailed; and nothing was heard throughout Warsaw but exclamations of joy.

Thus without bloodshed, and even without tumult, was effected a revolution honourable to those who projected it, and promising to be essentially conducive to the happiness of the people. By the new Polish constitution a full and free toleration is permitted to all sects and religions; the peasants, who were formerly in a state of the most abject vassalage, or rather slavery, are received under the protection of national law and government, and all contracts between the lords and vassals are declared equally binding.—The sovereignty is declared to reside altogether in the will of the people; and three distinct powers are established in the government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. With respect to the first of these powers, the diet or legislature is to be elected every two years from the order of nobles, and is divided into two houses—the house of nuncios and the senate: the former however enjoys the pre-eminence, and every law which passes in it is immediately to be sent to the senate; which if it accepts, it becomes a law in full force: if suspended, it must be reconsidered at the next diet; and if a second time it passes the house of nuncios, the senate must submit to it.

The crown of Poland is hereditary as to individuals, and elective as to families; and the house of Saxony is the family now chosen for the vacancy. To the king and his council is entrusted the execution of laws. The king's person is inviolable. He may pardon all criminals but state prisoners. He commands the forces, appoints commanders, patentees, officers, bishops, senators, ministers. No minister or senator, however, can sit in the house of nuncios.

The judiciary power is divided into, 1st, Primary courts in each district or palatinate; 2d, Courts of appeal in each of the three provinces. There are some other local, inferior courts, and a comitial tribunal for the trial of crimes against the state.

All citizens may purchase landed estates; and whoever purchases a village or township, paying two hundred florins land-tax, is ennobled. Thirty citizens are also ennobled at every diet. The army, the law, and the church, are all thrown open to the citizens. Perfect and entire liberty is proclaimed to all new settlers, whether foreigners or emigrants returned.

Such is the general outline of the Polish constitution. By some of the ardent friends of liberty it has been considered as too favourable to aristocracy, particularly in confining the rights of active citizens to the equestrian or noble order. Those, however, who conceive of it in this view are but little acquainted with the state of Poland. In that country there are three classes of people: the nobility (most of them without titles), who constitute the great mass of the independent inhabitants; the

peasants, who are certainly too uninformed at present, and too dependent, to exercise the functions of active citizens; and the burgesses, or inhabitants of the free towns, who might indeed have been put upon a footing with the nobles, but who enjoy their peculiar municipal privileges, and whose number is too small to form a solid objection to the new arrangement. The provisions for conducting the legislative and executive departments appear well devised, and promise both stability and energy to the government. The circumstance which appears to have excited the strongest opposition in Poland, is the appointment of an hereditary instead of an elective chief magistrate; but certainly, if we contemplate the history of Poland from the reign of Augustus II. with a politician's eye, we shall be disposed to conclude, that nothing but a blind attachment to ancient prejudices could dispose any friend of his country to prefer the elective form.

The opposition indeed which at first was made to the constitution, chiefly on account of the hereditary succession, soon began to recede. Count Branicki, grand general of the kingdom, who at first had declared against the constitution, acceded to it, and signed it at the diet on the 5th; and the celebrated friend of liberty, Malachowsky, great chancellor to the crown, who on that event had resigned the seals, re-accepted them at the requisition of the diet, and accepted the office of minister of justice, and for the interior department. On the 17th, M. Goltz, charge des affaires from the court of Berlin, announced his Prussian majesty's approbation of the new arrangement, though there has been some reason to suspect that this profession was not accompanied with much sincerity.

The good understanding which was established between the courts of Vienna and Berlin by the conference of Reichenbach, enabled the former in the beginning of 1791 to bring to a termination the unhappy divisions and distractions which pervaded the territory of Liege. There is a veil of mystery still spread over this transaction, which universally baffles the politician from clearly distinguishing its causes and motives. All that is known with certainty is, that during the latter part of the year 1789 the inhabitants of Liege complained vehemently of the oppression which they experienced under the government of their bishop, of an invasion of their rights, and ventured upon a suit upon a regular charter of privileges; to which they asserted they were entitled, not only by the imprescriptible claims of justice and truth, but by their ancient constitution. It is indeed scarcely possible to conceive a worse species of government than an elective sovereignty, where the appointment is confined to an ecclesiastical body, and the people have no share nor influence in the election. A temporary monarch of this nature will act like the governor of a Roman province; and will naturally be disposed to increase the wealth of his family by the plunder of the public. On the other hand, the territory of Liege was too small, and its power too contemptible, to allow the people to flatter themselves with any prospect of success in an opposition to the Germanic body, a part of whose constitution was the existing government of this city. They could therefore be only deluded into insurrection by the hope of foreign support. What that support was to be we are left in ignorance; and it is only certain, that one of the principal persons who promoted the opposition to government

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vernment had been for some time resident at the Prussian court. Be this as it may, as the bishop and chapter did not think proper to comply with the demands of the citizens, the latter had recourse to arms; and the bishop, becoming apprehensive for his personal safety, had recourse to a voluntary exile, and appealed to the imperial chamber of Wetzlaer.

Whatever might be the designs of the king of Prussia with regard to Liege, we only know that he voluntarily undertook the office of mediator upon this occasion; and the offer came from a quarter too powerful not to be accepted. His troops were cantoned in the neighbourhood of the city; but its inhabitants considered them as rather sent to protect than to coerce them. They assumed to themselves the functions of sovereign authority; a noted French prelate submitted to act the part of a pageant on this occasion, as regent in their ecclesiastical affairs; while the actual power was vested in the hands of certain popular magistrates.

In this state matters continued till the latter end of the year 1790, when the reconciliation between the two ruling powers of Germany, and the apprehensions of the extension of the new doctrines in favour of the rights of man, induced the despots of the continent at once to overturn this unsubstantial fabric of liberty. On the 20th of December, the imperial chamber of Wetzlaer issued requisitorial letters, addressed to the government of the Austrian Netherlands, desiring that his imperial majesty's troops would assist those of the serene electoral princes, which were engaged in enforcing the sentences which the imperial chamber had successively pronounced against the insurgents of Liege. Early in January the Austrian troops began to enter the territory of Liege; and the city was almost evacuated by emigrations. The Austrian general, baron Keubll, however, prepared the way for his reception by a conciliatory proclamation, in which he engaged that the strictest discipline should be observed, and no citizen molested except upon direct provocation; and the only condition that he required was, that they should not appear in arms, and that they should carefully divest themselves of their cockades, scarfs, &c. and abstain from all the signals of insurrection. On the 12th of January the Austrian troops entered Liege, and took possession of all the public places, the palace, the hotel de ville, &c. the old magistracy, who had been expelled, were reinstated in their offices; the chapter resumed its functions; and, in the beginning of February, the prince bishop was reinstated in his full authority.

CHAP. VI.

Negociation and Convention with Spain concerning Nootka Sound, &c. War in India with Tippoo Sultan. Dissolution of Parliament. Meeting of the New Parliament. His Majesty's Speech. Address moved and carried. Papers presented relative to the Convention with Spain. Further Communications moved for. Debate on that Subject. On the Convention. Debate on that Subject in the Lords. Ways and Means for the Expences of the Armament. Debate on the Question, Whether Impeachments abate by a Dissolution of Parliament? Debate on a Motion relative to abandoning certain Articles of the Charge against Mr. Hastings. Motion to petition the King against proroguing the Parliament till the Evidence should be closed on the Impeachment. Debate in the Lords on the Impeachment. Debates on the Indian War.

IN our preceding volume we have stated, as fully as circumstances would admit, the grounds of the dispute with Spain relative to Nootka Sound. The first event of importance, therefore, which presents itself in our domestic history, is the pacific adjustment of that dispute in the latter end of the year 1790. In the volume alluded to, we ventured to express our doubts concerning the prudence and good policy of the armament which was voted on that occasion; nor has any thing since occurred to us of sufficient force to exonerate the ministry from the charge of precipitation at least. That the object itself was not worth a contest, nor even the three millions which the armament cost, no person we presume will be inclined to doubt; but what is still more surprising is, that the views of Spain appear from the state papers relative to that transaction to have been from the very first pacific; nor can there be much question, but that if we had only firmly insisted on what we conceived to be our right, we might have obtained it without the expence of an armament. The unanimity indeed which was shewn upon this occasion will appear not a little surprising, unless we take into the account the temper of the nation, and the state of parties at the period in question. A passion for war is, unhappily for the country, too much a characteristic of the English temper; and of all wars a Spanish war has from the reign of Elizabeth been the most popular. In parliament, opposition saw a distant interest in coinciding with the sentiments of the minister on this occasion; and the minister himself, it is commonly supposed, was impelled by stronger motives than any which were subjected to public investigation. Thus all parties agreed in the propriety of lavishing the treasure of the nation; and scarcely an individual was found manly enough to tell the public a salutary truth.

Spain from the first had declared that she was willing to submit the right of trading to that part of America to be determined entirely by the existing treaties; and when Mr. Fitzherbert arrived at Madrid, in the latter end of May, with plenipotentiary powers to adjust the dispute, the first notice he received from the court was a unanimous and decided resolution of the Spanish ministry, to avoid if possible a rupture with Great Britain. Such was not the time of the British ministry.

With

With a haughtiness, which was probably grounded on a knowledge of the inability of their adversaries to pursue hostile measures, they insisted on full satisfaction to the British traders previous to the discussion of the points of right; while the Spaniards pleaded the hostility of attempting the right, under the indemnification demanded by the treaty ought to depend chiefly on the legality of their proceedings. On these principles the negociation was protracted to the latter end of July, when Spain, finding herself in no respect able to resist the requisitions of Great Britain, consented that the satisfaction and indemnification claimed by the English ambassador should be considered as preliminary to the discussion of the question. Such acclamations as these might have been translated as the signal of peace and amity; but however desirable it may appear, Great Britain still continued its armaments with incessant vigour, and the public treasure was lavished with prodigal hands. The negociation was again protracted, wherefore we have never been fully informed, till the 28th of October, when the meeting of parliament approaching, and a different object offering itself to the ambition or the resentment of administration, it was thought proper to terminate the dispute, and a convention was signed, [illegible]

By this convention the restoration of the buildings and vessels, and the reparation of the loss sustained by the British subjects, were secured; the right of navigation and fishery was equally conceded to both nations; illicit commerce with the Spanish settlements was however prohibited, and the British fishing vessels on those were restricted to certain distance from the Spanish coast; those parts of the N.W. coast of America, which are to the north of those now occupied by Spain, were left free, and those to the south of the present Spanish settlements were declared to be the exclusive property of that power.

But though Great Britain was thus happily rescued from the horrors of war in this quarter of the globe, ambition or ambition involved our Indian possessions in contest and in blood. At so remote a distance it is difficult to judge accurately of causes and motives; but as nearly as a diligent enquiry has enabled us to collect the truth, the following appears a fair statement of the leading facts: [illegible]

The usurpation of Hyder Ally, and the military prowess of the son and successor of Hyder Sultan Tippoo, are facts too recent and too well known to require repetition. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo was the most formidable to the British government, and the most hostile to its authority. The peace of Mangalore in 1784 had, it was supposed, secured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the splendid embassy which not long after that event he dispatched to France, afforded much reason to apprehend that some plan was concerted between the old government of the country and the tyrant of Mysore, for the annoyance of Great Britain in its Indian possessions; but this plan was happily defeated by the French revolution.

The increasing power of Tippoo was not less formidable to the Dutch than to the English; and the vicinity of Cochin, their most flourishing settlement on the continent of India, to the territories of that aspiring monarch, made them tremble for its safety. That sagacious people, however, have seldom been without their resources. Besides Cochin, the Dutch

were poſſeſſed of two other forts, which were ſituated between Myſore and their favourite ſettlement; and one of them, Cranganore, had been a place of ſome note while in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe. From the Portugueſe it was conquered by the Dutch, who retained quiet poſſeſſion of it till ſome time in the year 1779, or rather later than it was taken by Hyder Ally and garriſoned; but when the war broke out in 1780, between Hyder and the Engliſh, he was obliged to evacuate the garriſon on the Malabar coaſt, to enable his force in the Carnatic; and Holland and France being ſoon after united with Hyder againſt the Engliſh, the Dutch embraced the opportunity to cautiouſly taking poſſeſſion, after purchaſing the fort; a meaſure which greatly offended Hyder, and of which he loudly complained. By the mediation of the French, it would ſeem, a compromiſe took place, but upon what terms is uncertain.

From the vicinity of Cranganore and Cochin to his boundary, and their ſituation within the territory of an acknowledged tributary to Myſore (the rajah of Cochin), the poſſeſſion of them was a moſt deſirable object with Tippoo: in the month of June 1789, therefore, he marched a formidable force towards Cranganore, with a profeſſed intention of making himſelf maſter of it, upon a claim chiefly founded upon the tranſactions which we have juſt related. Unable therefore to retain the poſſeſſion of the forts themſelves, and fearing for a ſettlement of much ſuperior value, the Dutch readily entered into a negociation with the rajah of Travancore for the purchaſe of them. It is ſaid that Tippoo offered a more conſiderable ſum than they obtained from the rajah; but as the latter was the ally of Great Britain, who was bound by treaty to aſſiſt him, that polite people eaſily ſaw, that by placing them in his hands they checked a moſt powerful enemy, no leſs than the whole force of Britain, againſt the encroachments of their ambitious neighbour upon their ſettlements at Cochin.

The imprudence of the rajah in entering upon ſuch a purchaſe while the title was diſputed, drew down upon him the heavieſt cenſures from the government at Madras; and he was repeatedly cautioned, both by Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Holland, his ſucceſſor in the government, not to proceed in the negociation. Such however was the ardour and temerity of the rajah, in making this acquiſition, that he not only concluded the purchaſe with the Dutch, but even treated with the rajah of Cochin, without the privity of Tippoo, though he was the acknowledged tributary of that prince, for ſome adjacent territory. The bargain was concluded in July 1789, though it was not till the 4th of Auguſt that the rajah informed the Madras government, through their reſident Mr. Powney, that he *was on the point of making the purchaſe*.

It was not probable that Tippoo would remain an indifferent ſpectator of theſe tranſactions. He inſiſted on the claim which he retained over theſe forts, in conſequence of their being conquered by his father, and in conſequence of the ſubſequent compromiſe. He aſſerted that in virtue of the feudal laws, no tranſfer of them could be made without his conſent, as ſovereign of Myſore; and alleging as a further cauſe of complaint againſt the rajah, that he had given protection to a number of his rebel ſubjects, he aſſembled a conſiderable force, and on the 29th of December made a direct attack upon the lines of Travancore. On receiving a remon-

remonstrance from the British government of Fort St. George, however, he desisted, and even apologised by affirming "that the attack was occasioned by the rajah's people having first fired on his troops; that notwithstanding this, he immediately ordered his troops to discontinue the attack, and sent back the people whom they had captured." From the 29th of December to the 1st of March 1790, Tippoo Sultan remained perfectly quiet, still asserting his claims to the feudal sovereignty of the forts; but, it is confidently affirmed, offering to submit the dispute to any impartial arbitration.

On the 1st of March 1790, the rajah's troops made an offensive attack upon Tippoo, who had continued quiet within his lines from the 29th of December. For this extraordinary step, the rajah alleged in excuse the hostile preparations of Tippoo in the erection of batteries, &c. &c. An engagement took place; and war being thus commenced, the British government conceived themselves bound to take an active part. However differently indeed philosophers or statesmen may think of the justice or policy of the war, no period appeared more favourable to humble Tippoo, if that was the object with the British administration. With all the other native powers of India we were not only at peace, but treaties of alliance existed between Great Britain and the two most powerful states of India, the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and both declared themselves in perfect readiness to exert their utmost force to crush the rising power of Mysore. Such was the state of affairs in the East previous to the meeting of parliament; and such were the facts which appeared of sufficient importance to induce the ministry of Great Britain to involve the nation in the expense and calamities of war.

In pursuance of his majesty's intimation at the close of the session, the parliament was dissolved on the 14th of June. The elections in most places proceeded with a degree of languor, and the number of new members was not very considerable. On the 25th of November 1790 the new parliament assembled; but no business was proceeded in except swearing in the members, and electing Mr. Addington speaker. On the following day his majesty opened the session by a speech from the throne. He began with testifying his satisfaction that the differences with the court of Spain had been brought to an amicable termination. He informed parliament, that since the last session a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte, and for putting an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands. He remarked, that a separate peace had taken place between Russia and Sweden; but as the war still continued between the former of these powers and the Porte, he intimated an intention of employing the weight and influence of Great Britain in restoring the general tranquillity. In the conclusion of his speech, his majesty remarked the hostilities which had commenced in India; and called the attention of both houses to the state of the province of Quebec. On the 30th an address was moved by Mr. Mainwaring, and seconded by Mr. R. P. Carew, which was, as usual, an echo to the speech. On this subject Mr. Fox rose—not he said, with a view of opposing the address to his majesty, or of breaking through the unanimity which the mover and the seconder of the address represented as so desirable; but there were different modes of

stating the grounds on which the motion might be supported. The honourable member who moved the address, had declared that he would not have moved it, had he not been convinced of the important advantages which would in all probability be derived from the late convention. Mr. Fox desired to disclaim any such motive, declaring that he should vote for the address without any such conviction; and before he could bring his mind to that length, he must have much better grounds for decision than any that had been submitted to the public. War, he said, ought never to be undertaken to increase dominion, or add to the extent of territory. With respect to the Netherlands, it had been said that this country ought to promote their return to the house of Austria, to prevent their falling into the hands of a neighbouring power. France, he had no doubt, was the power alluded to; but if so, how came France so suddenly a greater object of terror than it formerly was? He had looked into the speech from the throne at the opening of the last session, and no mention was made of the Netherlands. The allusion to the Netherlands had indeed made much noise out of doors, and it had been conceived that some new treaties of a very particular nature had been recently entered into. That passage however of his majesty's speech he conceived might be misinterpreted, and by the word "treaties" might be meant that of Utrecht, and the antecedent treaties, by which this country became guarantee to Austria for the Netherlands; but if this was in reality the meaning of the speech, the same obligation that now subsisted to interfere with the Netherlands, had subsisted in equal force last year. The honourable mover of the address had taken occasion to compliment the ministry on the peace which had been concluded between Sweden and Russia, whereas Mr. Fox observed, that had it depended on the mediation of this country, he apprehended the ministry would have acted very differently from making peace between *those* powers.

On the subject of India, Mr. Fox observed, that it undoubtedly was our duty to defend our allies when attacked; but to extend the principle so far as to make a rupture between two native princes a pretence for carrying on a war in India, with a view to extirpate and destroy any particular prince or nation, for the sake of an acquisition of territory to the East India company, was against the principle of all the acts of parliament which had been passed for the regulation of our territories in that quarter of the globe.

Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Fox, and frankly allowed that voting for the address did not imply any approbation of the convention, which would of itself become a particular object of discussion on a future day. With respect to India, Mr. Pitt declared that in substance he perfectly agreed with Mr. Fox; but though it could neither be just, nor politic to make war in that country merely for the sake of conquest, yet if through ambition or violence any insult should be committed by any native prince, who was a feudatory vassal, or an ally of Great Britain, and we were forced by treaty to enter into hostilities in support of our ally, and the war should terminate fortunately for us, were we not to take the obvious advantage of the event, and make our ally an adequate compensation for the insult or injury he might have sustained, and repay ourselves for the expences in which we had been wantonly

wantonly involved? Mr. Pitt concluded by promiſing to take the earlieſt opportunity of laying before the houſe the expences of the late armament. The addreſs was voted without a diviſion.

On the 3d of December, the chancellor of the exchequer preſented to the houſe a copy of the declaration and counter-declaration, as exchanged at Madrid on the 24th of July 1790, a copy of the convention, with the expences of the armament. But theſe not appearing ſatisfactory to the members in oppoſition, Mr. Grey, on the 13th, moved for the production of ſeveral other papers relative to the negociation, and particularly the requiſitions made by his majeſty's miniſters to the court of Spain. Mr. Grey ſupported his motion by ſhewing the utter impoſſibility of deciding upon the policy of the late meaſures without ſufficient documents, ſince without them it was impoſſible to know whether the late diſputes had been owing to the reſtleſs ambition and unjuſt claims of Spain, or to the raſhneſs, preſumption, or ignorance of his majeſty's miniſters. Without the neceſſary papers, it was difficult to decide, whether we might not have gained all the boaſted advantages of the convention at a much leſs expence than had been incurred. In the caſe of Falkland's iſlands, *all* the papers had been produced. Allowing this convention to be as good as he thought it bad (and he had no ſcruple to ſay, he thought it the worſt that could have been made), it would be contrary to the gravity of the houſe to vote applauſe without inquiry. If it ſhould be found that the meaſure had been *protracted* by the ill conduct of miniſters, were they to praiſe thoſe whom they ought to cenſure, and perhaps impeach? If, on the other hand, the miniſter was conſcious of having done his duty, he had nothing to conceal, and would thank him for having made the motion.

Mr. Pelham, in ſeconding the motion, mentioned, "that it had been the opinion of all Europe that our armaments had not been prepared merely for the affair of Nootka, but had ſome further object; and that opinion was ſtrengthened by the preſent increaſe of our naval eſtabliſhment." Mr. Wilberforce, in controverting the motion, took a new and ſingular ground. He aſſerted, that parliamentary inquiry ought not to be ſet on foot without ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion, or manifeſt blame; and aſked gentlemen, whether they muſt not be convinced, that the quantity of papers which would be produced from a long negociation might probably afford foundation for ſome cenſure? He aſſerted that the miniſtry poſſeſſed, and deſerved the confidence of the people, and appealed to the public approbation which the convention had received from the city of London, which was the firſt in the kingdom. Mr. Wyndham reprobated the fallacy of the poſition, that unleſs there were manifeſt grounds of blame no parliamentary inquiry ought to be inſtituted. It was, he ſaid, a moſt unconſtitutional doctrine in concerns that involved in them nearly four millions of the public money; and contended that it was the duty of parliament to inquire into the wiſdom of the expenditure.

Theſe arguments were ſtill further enforced by Mr. Fox, who obſerved, that if the miniſter had any honourable pride, he could have no ſatisfaction in that praiſe which came from thoſe who knew not the grounds of it, who could neither tell whether

whether the thing could have been done at a less expence, or in less time, he himself, he declared, respected authority, and reverenced that of the city of London: but how did he know what information the city of London was possessed of respecting the convention? It had been said that the exposure of these papers might revive grievances.—But what, he would ask, was to have this serious effect? Why, letting the house of commons know what the courts of Spain and of Great Britain knew full well already!

Mr. Pitt asserted, that it was of no importance to know whether this or that part of the negociation was proper, but whether the whole conduct of government in bringing the late differences with Spain to such a termination deserved praise or censure. He reminded the house, that it was not the right of calling for papers that was now disputed, but the exercise of that right; and that it ought to be exercised only upon grave, solemn, and weighty occasions, when the reason for blame, dissatisfaction, or suspicion appeared upon the face of the treaty; that it would be a loss of time if the house entered upon the detail of every negociation; and added, that Bristol as well as London had approved of the convention. The motion was negatived, Ayes 134, Noes 258. Majority 124.

Much of the debate concerning the convention was anticipated in that relating to the production of papers. It was opened on the 14th of December by Mr. Duncombe; who, after prefacing that the little interruption which the dispute with Spain had occasioned to trade and manufactures was a subject of gratitude to administration, proposed an address to his majesty, "offering their cordial congratulations on so satisfactory an issue of the late negociation," &c. The ministerial party on this occasion expatiated largely on the advantages to be derived from the whale fishery and the fur trade, a new continent, it was said, was opened to the commercial spirit of our countrymen, and a new sea declared free to our navigators. On this subject Mr. Pulteney remarked, that if it was true, as had been stated, that the advantages obtained by the convention had been extorted from Spain, it was by no means improbable that they might again become the subject of dispute. What had been unwillingly granted could not be expected to be satisfactorily or permanently enjoyed. With respect to the whale fishery in the south, he observed, that it was obliged to be supported by a bounty of 10 per cent. upon the whole, and that the Greenland fishery was infinitely more extensive and profitable. Mr. Grey expressed his astonishment to hear that the possessions ceded to this country by the convention, had been obtained contrary to the engagements of former treaties; this was in effect to deny our right to those possessions, as the only criterion of that right must be the former treaties. He observed, that the limits of our right to trade were still left undefined: as to Nootka, the original cause of the dispute, it was not mentioned in the treaty, and even fell expressly under the description of those places that were to be given up to Spain. Mr. Grey concluded with moving, "that the house do now adjourn.", in reply to Mr. Grey, Mr. Dundas contended, that no precise line of demarkation was drawn by the convention; because we were not contending for a few miles, but for a world, and no such line could be drawn without an enormous and unnecessary expence.

Whatever

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Whatever settlements we had at Nootka, he added, every thing was restored according to circumstances, either in land or by a pecuniary compensation.

Mr. Fox lamented the necessity he was under of discussing the merits of the convention without the proper documents. If, for instance, it were true that Spain had offered to disarm immediately after the exchange of the two declarations in July, which there was reason to believe, ought they to pass a vote of thanks to ministry, when, had they disarmed in August, as in that case they might have done, the greater part of the expence, and much of the loss and inconvenience, might have been avoided? It had indeed been insinuated, that the naval war in the Baltic was the reason for keeping up our armament; but if this was the case, he would be glad to hear it from authority. The separation, he insisted, was insufficient, because it was merely verbal; and, having made a settlement at Nootka, that settlement ought to have been restored to us in the same situation as we at first possessed it. It had been said that the advantages of the convention were in a great measure owing to the length of the negociation; "had it then been but sufficiently protracted, it is impossible to say how high the sum of our gains might have risen!" It had been amplified as a great accession of national honour, that we had broken through an unreasonable claim, not only for ourselves, but for all other nations; but would any man seriously defend this romantic doctrine? On this principle his majesty might be attacked for assuming the title of king of France, and the kings of Naples and Sardinia, for styling themselves kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem. After all that had been said of our acquisitions, the truth had at length been stated by a gentleman in administration, (Mr. Ryder)—viz. "that we had in reality acquired nothing, but obtained security for what we possessed before." This however Mr. Fox confessed was an advantage, if it could be proved that we had really retained the valuable part of our possessions; because it was often wise to give up part of an unlimited right, to secure the undisputed possession of the rest. But how miserably were we curtailed in our rights by this convention! Our right before was to settle in any part of South or North West America; not fortified again by previous occupancy, we were now limited to settle in certain places only, and under certain restrictions. Our right of fishing before extended to the whole ocean, it was now confined to certain distances. The line of demarkation which was pretended to be drawn on this occasion was, Mr. Fox remarked, impracticable, since the most skilful navigator could never answer for an implicit obedience to the injunction, not to approach within thirty miles of a coast which he had never seen before. The line of demarkation by land was equally liable to dispute. It was to the north of the Spanish settlements; but suppose we were to meet with one further to the north than we expected, and a dispute was to arise, whether it was new or old; it would be some difficulty to send out builders to decide from the condition of the materials. A treaty conceived in such indecisive terms reminded him, he said, of a lawyer's will, drawn up by himself, with a note in the margin of a particular clause; "This will afford room for an excellent disquisition in the court of chancery." Thus it was evident

dent that the treaty was a treaty of concessions instead of acquisitions, and we had given up what was of infinite value to Spain, and retained what could never be of much to ourselves.

Towards the conclusion of his speech Mr. Fox noticed the lavish expenditure of the public money. He said he had approved of the treaty with the landgrave of Hesse, merely in the hope that it would have enabled us to reduce our standing force at home. It was indeed curious to see a minister, who called himself a minister of economy, increasing our establishments in every department, adding to the ordinary establishment of the navy ten sail of the line, and 100,000l. to the annual expence of the army. On the whole, as he could not yesterday give a vote of blind confidence, so neither could he this day of blind admiration.

Mr. Pitt denied that there was any period in the course of the negociation, when they could have made better terms, or when they could have disarmed with safety. He asserted that the armament was kept up solely on account of the pending negociation with Spain, and without any view whatever to the state of the northern powers. He contended, that wherever we had made a concession in the treaty, a stipulation equally favourable to us had been acceded to by Spain. In reply to Mr. Fox's observations concerning the line of demarkation, he observed, that ten leagues of such extended seas as the Pacific ocean were by no means to be compared with the four leagues distance from our coasts, which foreign vessels by our hovering acts were obliged to observe; and with respect to the limits by land, he endeavoured to shew that they could not as yet be properly defined. On the motion for the adjournment the numbers were, Noes 247, Ayes 123. Majority 124. The main question was then put, and carried.

In the house of lords the convention was opposed by the marquis of Lansdowne with an unparalleled display of diplomatic ability. He took an extensive survey of the politics of Europe from the peace of 1782. He said the basis of our politics at that period was a permanently pacific system for Europe. This principle we had pursued with respect to France, in extinguishing all false ideas of rivalship, in leaving nothing undefined, nothing to commissaries, nothing to foreign interference. With respect to Spain, the view was to give the most of what was conceded to the weaker power; and this was done with the more propriety, as American possessions were no longer the same object with England as formerly. As to Holland, the design was to stipulate in favour of the general freedom and extension of trade, and to counteract that monopoly of commerce which had ever been the aim of that power. In pursuance of this system of politics, the commercial treaty with France had been concluded, as well as the convention with Spain respecting the Spanish American main in 1786. At this period the king of Prussia died, and then commenced an entire new system of English politics. France was again held out as our natural enemy. Every court was to tremble at the name of Britain. Holland was obliged by force, and not upon principle, to return to our alliance. The Turks and Swedes were put in motion to murder the Russians. Denmark was forbidden to interfere; and more work was found for the emperor in the Belgic provinces. To crown the whole, the British triumph

triumph was at last to terminate in Nootka Sound. A few adventurers and men of letters had fitted out ships with fine names; and, under Portuguese colours and papers, prepared to break through a system regarding Spanish America, which had been sanctioned by the policy of Europe for more than 200 years. In consequence, we arm in a manner the most insulting, and summon Spain in terms equally unprecedented. Such was the present system; but we had not even pursued that with consistency and ability. We had neither secured France nor Spain, nor any other power. By the convention the fishery was declared to our disadvantage, being limited to ten leagues from the shore. But to the right of trading, that was asserted even in the time of Elizabeth, by the treaty of 1670, and afterwards acknowledged in 1749.—But this proceeding at Nootka endangered the whole advantages of our commercial treaty with Spain. We were doing, his lordship said, the work of other nations, and of North America in particular. He should vote, he added, for the previous question; 1st, To shew the Spaniards the true temper of the nation, that we were not resolved or insolently as our enemies represent us; 2dly, To preserve our reputation in Europe; and 3dly, To deter future ministers from a similar proceeding.

Immediately connected with the armament, were the ways and means for defraying the expences of it. That business was opened on the 15th of December, by the chancellor of the exchequer, who stated the expence incurred by the late armament to be:

For the Navy	£1,565,000
Army	64,000
Ordnance	151,000
Provisions to the E. and W. Indies	41,000
Making in the whole	1,821,000
To which was added the vote of credit expended	1,000,000
Total expence of the armament	2,821,000
From this, however, 200,000l. might be deducted for naval stores on hand; but this he should avoid, willing to have every expenditure, occasioned in any degree by the armament, stated separately, and separately provided for: upon this principle, he should include the expence of the addition of 6,000 seamen, at	312,000
Left to be provided for	3,133,000

This addition of debt, Mr. Pitt said, he hoped the house, considering the great resources of the country, would meet with energy. They ought not to be content with finding the means to defray the interest, and leave the capital a permanent burden. With this view, he felt it incumbent upon him to produce a plan of ways and means, which would in a short period clear the whole of the debt. The first resource for this purpose, which he should suggest, was the balance of issues of public money, which had accumulated from unpaid dividends in the hands of the bank of England. By the yearly accounts of the bank it appeared that this balance had been increasing from the year 1727, and on the 5th of July 1789 amounted to 547,000l. On the 12th of October there was a floating balance of 600,000l. and there were just grounds to believe that

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that there would still be an increase of income. It was his intention, therefore, to avail himself of this dead balance, till the amount of the sum which he should take for the public use, and 500,000 would then be sufficient for this discharge of arrears.

His next object was, the proposition of such taxes as might serve to discharge the whole of the remainder in the course of four years. The first tax would be upon the article of general consumption, sugar; which was paid 2s. 8d. per cwt. to which he should propose in addition of 2s. 8d. which would raise 400,000l. The second tax would be on spirits, and would consist of the fifth additional tax, which would make on

Home spirits	£86,000
Brandy	87,000
Rum	67,000
Total on spirits	£240,000

A tax on malt of 9d. per bushel he proposed for two years only, which would amount to 322,000l. The next tax was 10 per cent. on all assessed taxes, excepting the commutation and land tax; and lastly, a double tax on game-keepers, and one-third additional on gamblicences. The sums to be raised respectively would then be

Sugar	£441,000
British spirits	86,000
Brandy	87,000
Rum	67,000
Malt	322,000
Assessed taxes	100,000
Gamblicences	25,000
	728,000

To these he proposed to add one permanent tax, which consisted in a further regulation of the tax already existing upon bills of exchange. Should these propositions be carried into effect, the consolidated fund would gain 500,000l. from the bank, and succeed to all the produce of the fifth year, in the sum of 1,300,000l. which sum or more should be raised from it for the year 1792, and as a temporary resource for the remainder, he would propose the issuing of 2,800,000l. in exchequer bills.

Mr. S. Thornton, and some other gentlemen connected with the bank, complained that one-tenth of the deposit at the bank for the unpaid dividends was a measure likely to give a shock to public credit, and to be attended with the most serious consequences. Mr. Sheridan complimented Mr. Pitt on the measures he had just proposed, and only differed from him in one particular, which was, supposing that the country was in such a state as to admit of taxes being taken off after they had been once laid on. He stated that the present income of the country was 15,800,000l. and that the last year's expenditure amounted to 13 millions. He lamented that one great object of resource was entirely overlooked; viz. the reduction of some establishments instead of this, with the strongest alliances, and under the apprehensions of attack, were raised them year by year. He strenuously recommended to the minister to consult the bank directors concerning the appropriation of the 500,000l. which was afterwards more strongly pressed by Mr. Fox and others. Indeed, after much hesitation, and conflict, the minister was obliged to relinquish this part of his plan, and contented himself with accepting from the bank a loan of that sum without interest, as long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of their cashier. The

other

[illegible] arrangements relating to this subject were carried into effect.

A subject of considerable constitutional importance came under the cognisance of parliament in the beginning of this session. The question in debate was, whether in resolutions upon impeachments of the commons before the peers of Great Britain, do or do not abate by the dissolution of parliament; and the motion which gave rise to the debate was introduced by Mr. Burke, on the 19th of December, 1794, viz. "that the house do now resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq." [illegible] Wigston, for a committee was seconded by Mr. Bastard, because, Mr. Bastard wished to make the question decide in first instance, rather than argue an opinion of general import, which he did not approve. If he succeeded in his application, he was unable enough to acquaint the house, that he would after words move that Mr. Hastings's trial should be put off till that day fortnight. The present parliament being a new one, would do well to profit by the proceedings of the former. They would do well to pause before they adopted an unprecedented measure, to which, but from necessity, they ought to be entire strangers. He must look into the journals, and they would find precedents in the resolutions of the last parliament, the resolutions of one day contradicting those of another. When it was resolved to impeach Mr. Hastings, India was represented as a desert. Afterwards, when another object was in view, they had resolved that India was in a most flourishing state. Mr. Bastard acknowledged that he had given a vote for Mr. Hastings's impeachment, but it was under the [illegible] to their calling [illegible] of

[illegible] impeachment was a system of government unlike to those now, and a very different system established in its stead. Hence the necessity, the board of control had effected the old system, and confirmed Mr. Hastings's measures. He could not look at the impeachment, and forget certain constitutional principles. One article of the great charter was, that no Englishman should have excessive fines imposed upon him, nor should any man undergo cruel or unheard of punishments, and a great point was, that every accused person should have the most speedy means afforded him of acquittal or condemnation: these principles had all been grossly violated in the case of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Bastard complained of the unfairness with which the charges had been prepared; voted one day brought in the next, adopted almost without reading, and hurried away to the lords; and what was still more extraordinary, several of them were actually never read to the house. The jury court had undergone changes of no less than three hundred, as mentioned the advantage the prosecutors had in bringing forward their evidence, whereas by the course of nature many of them might drop off before Mr. Hastings could be put in his defence.

Colonel Macleod adopted the same side of the question, and complained that Mr. Burke had most artfully and insidiously avoided bringing forward any arguments for his motion, and consequently had left the opposition to it to be made by anticipation. The colonel agreed that the dissolution of parliament did not abate the prosecution. Such a concession would put it in the power of a bad monarch to impede the course of justice, and put an end to the [illegible] trial

trial of any great state culprit. He mentioned several conversations which he had held with Tippoo Sultan, whose abilities and penetration no man could dispute, and who invariably spoke of Mr. Hastings in the warmest terms of respect, though he described him as the greatest enemy he had in the world, having by his exertions in the Carnatic entirely stopped the progress of his (Tippoo's) arms. He represented the countries under Mr. Hastings's government as in the most flourishing state, and far beyond every other part of India in population, agriculture, happiness, and security; and added, that sir John Macpherson and lord Cornwallis had exactly followed Mr. Hastings's system, under which the country continued in a progressive state of improvement.

Mr. Pitt observed, that there could not be two more distinct questions than the question of right (to proceed with the trial), and the question of discretion—or whether, the right being first resolved, the house were willing to carry it into effect. The first question he begged might be considered as having no connexion with Mr. Hastings, his merits, or his crimes; but as relating to the permanent principles of the constitution. If the speaker was not now to leave the chair, the determination would be no acquittal of Mr. Hastings; but should the question of discretion be negatived, he would be acquitted by the dropping of the impeachment, after they had allowed an opportunity of inquiring into the reasons for proceeding or not.

Lord John Russel and sir W. Young differed entirely from the chancellor of the exchequer; and the latter deprecated above all things the agitation of the abstract question of right. Such abstract declaratory resolutions were, he said, always dangerous; and in the present instance there were yet other objections, such as ought to induce the house to pause, before it put itself in issue on the question. He alluded not merely to the lords' house; but as it was a matter of notorious, that the legal profession was generally of opinion that impeachments did abate by a dissolution of parliament, he feared to push the lords to a resort to the judges: as a friend to the constitution, he feared to commit the house of commons with the judges on a question of law. Mr. Burke's motion was however carried, and the house resolved itself into a committee.

The main question was then opened by Mr. Burke; but amidst an infinite variety of allusion, and the most active playfulness of fancy in reply to the opponents of the impeachment, it will be necessary to the great object of this publication to confine ourselves to such arguments as relate immediately to the subject. He assured the house that he was not going to move an abstract proposition, for he never loved abstract propositions in his life. In the committee, which he considered as a committee of privileges, he meant to move a proposition applicable to a particular case. His intention was not to move any thing that implied a doubt, but a plain assertion of their privileges, as handed down to them by their predecessors, through an uninterrupted succession of five hundred years. In all the convulsions of our government, in all the incidental changes of the functions and powers of the house of commons, this alone had remained immutable:—that an impeachment was never to be defeated by collusion with a minister, or by the power

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of the crown. That an impeachment abated with the diſſolution of parliament, was neither to be found on the journals of the lords nor commons, nor yet on the minutes of conferences between the two houſes. It was as little to be found in any book of authority, or in any good report of law caſes. Without any attempt at unneceſſary refinement in ſeparating the queſtion of right and of expediency, he ſhould therefore take for his model the vote for the impeachment of lord Danby, after a diſſolution of parliament, and move a plain practical reſolution,

"That it appears that an impeachment by this houſe in the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, and of all the commons of Great Britain, againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. late governor-general of Bengal, for ſundry high crimes and miſdemeanors, is now depending."

Mr. Erſkine roſe, he ſaid, at this early ſtage of the diſcuſſion, to ſuggeſt the propriety of deferring the deciſion, and appointing a committee to ſearch for precedents on the ſubject. It was the invariable practice, he added, of both houſes to ſearch for precedents, on all ſubjects of deliberation where the reſolutions of either houſe might be expected to guide or influence the deciſion. He was farther prompted to this meaſure by the language of the right hon. gentleman who moved the reſolution; for though he did not detail the principles or precedents on which his reſolution was founded, yet he informed the houſe that he had ſought its foundation in every extant record and hiſtory. Mr. Erſkine intimated that he had examined ſome precedents on the ſubject, which he ſhould ſubmit to the houſe, only to ſhew the neceſſity of examining for themſelves, as they ought not to take them merely on his repreſentation, and as they could not be ſure that many others did not remain behind unexamined.

From this topic he adverted to a great preliminary queſtion:—By what rule or upon what principles the ſubject was to be inveſtigated; or, to ſpeak more plainly, was it a queſtion of privilege to be decided by expediency, or a queſtion of law to be decided by rule? It appeared to him to be a pure queſtion of law. It was to give to all the ſubjects of England, under the fixed ſtandard of law, the poſſeſſion of life, property, freedom, and reputation; and God forbid that, after theſe rights and liberties had been glorioufly fought for by our patriot anceſtors in that place, they ſhould be at once ſet looſe again by the houſe, in the meridian of its authority, giving law to a court of juſtice, and dictating the ſtate of its own proſecution to thoſe judges appointed by the conſtitution to decide it. The reſolution appeared to him to be judicial; and the commons ought rather by the weight of their privileges to uphold the courſe of law, and to ſupport the balance of the ſtate, than to exert them againſt the one or the other.

Conſidering the queſtion in this light, that is, as a queſtion of law, it was to be determined by the houſe of lords, which, according to the principles of the conſtitution, was as much a court of law as the king's bench. By the magna charta it was enacted that no man ſhould be taken, impriſoned, deprived of any property or privilege, but by the judgment of his equals, or the law of the land. A jury of equals muſt decide in all caſes, except where there were exceptions by immemorial cuſtom, or by a poſitive ſtatute; in other words, by the law of the land.

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The trial by impeachment, he added, was one of those exceptions, and its only foundation must be the English law: consequently the course of proceeding under it could never be changed by a resolution of the house of commons, but must be changed alone by the entire legislature of the kingdom. Considering an impeachment as a legal prosecution, on the accusation of the commons, before the house of lords, could it be any longer a question, by which of the two houses every matter in which the accused had a direct interest for his own preservation should be adjudged? If the commons therefore should have reason to think, on an examination of the subject, that, consistently with a series of former judgments of the lords in similar cases, a person impeached had a legal right to be dismissed from the impeachment by a dissolution of parliament, they ought studiously to forbear, by an exercise of their own authority, to place such a person in a worse situation than he might stand in without such interference; and rather repair the defect of law by a prospective statute, than deprive an individual of the protection of it by an *ex post facto* resolution.

If the decision then was with the lords, where were the rules of decision to be found but in the journals of the lords? Having thus laid the foundation of his argument, and having discussed the abatement of writs of error in parliament by the common law before 1673, Mr. Erskine was proceeding to state the precedents; when being suddenly taken ill, he was obliged to conclude.

Mr. Erskine was followed by the speaker, who remarked, that after having examined with all the attention in his power such precedents as were analogous to the case, he felt himself warranted in pronouncing that they went decidedly in favour of the impeachment remaining *in statu quo*. He produced various instances of writs of error not abating prior to 1673; and observed, that the report and resolution of 1678, respecting the continuance of an impeachment after a dissolution, were grounded on the report of the lords in 1673. He added, that when the earl of Danby applied to the court of king's bench to be bailed after the dissolution of parliament, the court recognized the doctrine, that the impeachment did not fall to the ground on a dissolution. On the precedent of 1685, by which this resolution, as far as regarded impeachments, was reversed, its authority was of no avail, the commons having been corruptly chosen, and the principal evidence for the prosecution, Titus Oates, convicted of perjury. From the cases of lords Salisbury and Peterborough in 1690, it was understood to be the law of parliament, that impeachments do not abate with dissolution; and even the case of the earl of Oxford in 1717, would as far as it proceeded warrant a similar resolution.

Mr. Hardinge professed himself an earnest advocate for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings; and regarded it as a political evil much to be deprecated, if a king, by a dissolution, can terminate this mode of trial aimed by the public spirit of the kingdom at a favourite minister. Yet he would embrace the calamity in both these views, before he would buy them off at the expence of those rights and liberties which he could never separate from a government by law. When the parliament was at an end, he contended, that all their controul was equally at an end. If the commons imprisoned for contempt,

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tempt, the door of the prison was opened when those who imprisoned were no more. If the commons framed a bill, and their messenger was carrying it up to the lords when the king dissolved the parliament, no future house could proceed upon that stage of the bill. If such a bill was in the nature of a public charge against a culprit of state, as an attainder, or a bill of penalty, the same rule attached upon it. Even in the present case he would ask if any lawyer would assert that Mr. Hastings and his bail could, upon impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, be touched between parliament and parliament by an order from the house of lords.

Upon the topic of precedents, the first fact that struck him was, that from the time that impeachments began, down to 1678, not one instance was to be found of an impeachment continued by the next parliament; and instances occur within the reigns of Charles I. and II. where impeachments in fact, if not in law, were at an end when the parliament was dissolved before judgment. Of these cases he would mention two; one was of the duke of Buckingham in the 2d year of Charles I. when the king evidently dissolved the parliament on purpose to screen his favourite. In 1665 another instance occurred of Drake impeached for a libel; when the lords directed, that in case of a dissolution he should be prosecuted in the king's bench by the attorney general.—Mr. Hardinge proceeded to remark on the celebrated case of the earl of Danby in 1678, and on several other succeeding cases; from all which he expressed a very serious doubt, whether impeachments could be taken up *in statu quo* by a new parliament.

Mr. Anstruther protested against searching for precedents relative to the privileges of the commons in the journals of the lords. He said the house had proceeded in this impeachment from session to session, from prorogation to prorogation; and in principle and in law there was no difference between dissolution and prorogation, between a new session and a new parliament. He denied the analogy between bills of attainder and impeachments, since bills of attainder, like all other legislative proceedings, ended in a session, and were destroyed equally by a prorogation as by a dissolution. He quoted the authority of lord Nottingham, as decisive that impeachments do not abate by dissolution; and several cases which favoured the opinion that such was the doctrine of the courts of law. The same person, he added, who had been impeached as earl of Danby, was in 1695 impeached as duke of Leeds. He lay under this impeachment for five years, and through several parliaments. After five years and three dissolutions, the lords took up his case; but they did not declare that it had long been at an end, but acted upon it as a pending proceeding, and dismissed it—"the commons not prosecuting." This argument Mr. Anstruther further strengthened by the opinions of lord Holt and judge Foster; and brought some instances to prove that writs of error did not regularly abate by dissolution previous to 1673.

On the motion of Mr. Pitt, the question was adjourned to the 22d; and the debate was resumed by Mr. Erskine, who observed, that the turn which the discussion had taken, strengthened his argument for the necessity of searching precedents, as not only volumes of precedents had been resorted to, but even common law-judgments adduced as the criterions by which the question was to be determined. The speaker had

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admitted that no precedent was to be found previous to 1678 of an impeachment surviving a dissolution. With respect to the order of that year, it was established on no antecedent custom of parliament, but grounded entirely on a resolution of 1673, which regarded only writs of error. He next proceeded to notice the barbarous use which was made of that order in the trial and execution of viscount Stafford. Lord Nottingham, whose authority had been quoted on this occasion, was speaker at that trial, and kindly consented that lord Stafford should have counsel, provided they did not stand near enough to prompt him; so that the aged and infirm prisoner was refused the right of arguing, whether his impeachment had not abated. This order however of 1678 was completely annihilated by the subsequent order of 1685, the words of which were—"Resolved, that the order of the 19th of March 1678 shall be reversed, and annulled as to impeachments." The question therefore was now, whether this order of 1685 was still in force? And the fact was, that it stood on the lords' journals from the time it passed, and no impeachment had continued from parliament to parliament.

The next precedent was of the lords Salisbury and Peterborough in 1689. Parliament was dissolved in 1690; and these lords petitioned to be discharged, alleging the dissolution and a free and general pardon. The operation of the pardon was referred to the judges, and was determined in the negative; but they were discharged wholly on the search for precedents, and on the order of 1685. About the same time sir Adam Blair, Mole, Gray and Elliot were liberated precisely on the same principle.

The duke of Leeds's case also in 1701, which had been adduced against him, made directly in his favour; since the resolution ran, "that in the *former parliament* the duke of Leeds had been impeached, &c.; but the commons not prosecuting he was discharged." The words *not prosecuting*, he argued, must apply to the *former parliament*; for if the impeachment had continued to the new one, a new message must have been sent to the commons, before the articles could be dismissed for want of prosecution. He then noticed the cases of lords Somers, Oxford, and Halifax, where the entries were similar to that concerning the duke of Leeds.

But the precedent of the earl of Oxford in 1717, Mr. Erskine said, established beyond all question his position. It was absurd to believe that lord Oxford could be advised to build a petition to be discharged on a prorogation only, if even a dissolution had been taken to be ineffectual. He next adverted to the cases of common law. The case on which lord Holt's opinion was given was that of lord Salisbury, who was told by the king's bench, "that being impeached for high treason, his case was not within the habeas corpus act."

Mr. Pitt asserted, that cases might be found in the early pages of our history, where impeachments did not abate with a dissolution of parliament. He would only mention the case of the duke of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI. which indisputably proved that impeachments continued from one parliament to another. The resolution of 1673, he contended, did virtually include impeachments; for the report of the committee expressly stated, "that writs of error, petitions of appeal, and *other businesses* of a *judicial nature*, ought not to be narrowed in their discussion, but extend

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extend from parliament to parliament. In the order of 1678, impeachments are expreſsly mentioned in common with writs of error; &c. He aſſerted that the reverſal of this order in 1685 was done in ſuſpicious times; and that lords Saliſbury and Peterborough were liberated in conſequence of a general pardon; and ſir Adam Blair, &c. through a failure of the proſecution; and the ſame concluſion was deducible from the caſe of lord Danby, &c.

The maſter of the rolls obſerved, that the caſe of the duke of Suffolk, as mentioned by Mr. Pitt, was not at all applicable. The noble duke had been baniſhed, and his enemies not conſidering that as a ſufficient puniſhment, moved an impeachment; but it was not true that a trial had begun in one parliament, and continued in the next; nor till 1678 had it entered into the mind of man, that a diſſolution did not put an end to every parliamentary proceeding.

Mr. Yorke, Mr. Pybus, and Mr. Adam, ſpoke in favour of the continuance of the impeachment, and the attorney-general and Mr. Serjeant Watſon in favour of the abatement: but as the arguments of theſe gentlemen were chiefly in reply, they contained little relative to the main point that has not been anticipated. The debate was adjourned to the 23d, when Mr. Burke roſe in reply to thoſe gentlemen of the law who had oppoſed his favourite object. He acknowledged the reſpect which was due to precedents; but to render them of full authority in law, he aſſerted that they ought to be—1ſt, numerous, and not ſcattered here and there—2d, concurrent, and not contradictory—3d, made in good conſtitutional times—4th, not to ſerve an occaſion—5th, to be agreeable to the general tenor of legal principles, which over-rule precedents and are not to be over-ruled by them. He was concerned to find his expectations from the gentlemen of the law diſappointed. Not one ray of legal light had been thrown upon the queſtion from that quarter. The reaſon he deduced from the confeſſion of an honourable gentleman who ſat near him, that he did not *feel himſelf ſo much at home*. They were only ſojourners at that houſe; they only perched in their flight to a higher region. They exerciſed themſelves there in light ſkirmiſhes with the rights of the commons, with which in the other houſe they meant to carry on a war. He ridiculed the precedent of ſir Adam Blair, as totally inapplicable. Among other arguments of the gentlemen of the law, one of them had complained of the tediouſneſs of the impeachment. What rendered the complaint ſingular was, that the honourable gentleman had been an eminent practitioner, and was now a judge in the court of *chancery*. In the ſame ſtrain, written evidence had been objected to, while it was well known that no other evidence was admitted in the court of chancery. The propoſition which all theſe objections tended to eſtabliſh, was, that impeachments terminate with the diſſolution of parliament, and conſequently at the will of the crown. But the law of parliament, he contended, knew of no ſuch ſhameful and monſtrous defect, as that by which a ſtate criminal might free himſelf, by his own act, and at his own pleaſure, from the purſuit of his country.

Mr. Powell recommended the eſtabliſhing the continuance of impeachment by a ſpecial act of parliament, founded upon the particular caſe.

Colonel Simcoe, Mr. L. Grant, Mr. Mitford, and ſir John Scott, argued for the abatement; and Mr.

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Dundas and sir Charles Gould against it. Mr. Fox took a most able and comprehensive review of the arguments; but as his speech consisted chiefly of recapitulation and illustration, it appears scarcely necessary to present our readers with any abstract of it. On the committee dividing, the numbers were, for Mr. Erskine's motion to search for precedents, Ayes 30, Noes 143. Mr. Burke's original motion was then put, and carried without a division.

This decision concerning the continuance of impeachments was followed, immediately after the recess, by a notice from Mr. Burke, that he would on the 14th of February make a motion relative to the impeachment of Mr. Hastings.

On the appointed day Mr. Burke introduced his motion, by congratulating the house on the decision of the 23d of December, and shewing that it was their duty to proceed in the prosecution. He proved that the length of a trial ought to be no bar to its proceeding; because, should such a principle be admitted, by artfully protracting a trial, a door would be opened to any criminal to escape. He agreed that a trial of three years was a hardship upon an individual, but it was upon an individual largely salaried to bear the responsibility annexed to a high situation. Even this hardship might be salutary, as it might teach persons in office to shun not only guilt, but suspicion. The complaint, he observed, had chiefly proceeded from the gentlemen of the law, who measured by the standard of the comparatively meaner transactions in which they were immediately conversant. The rabbit, which breeds six times a year, is unable to comprehend the time of gestation proper for the elephant. An action *quare clausum fregit*, or *de parco fracto*, furnished no standard for a trial for breaking down the fences of general property, and desolating whole provinces. He complained that the length of the trial had been increased by obstructions thrown in the way of the managers by their opponents, among the chief of which might be numbered the prevalence of the Indian interest. Indian influence now extended from the Needles to Johnny Groat's house: it was to be found in the house of commons itself. Well it might seem for the people of India, that they had so many to plead their cause; but it was to be doubted, whether gentlemen that had made their fortunes in India were proper representatives of that people: they were, in his opinion, the antichrist of representation. It was to be feared they were the representatives of tyranny and oppression, and would naturally wish to suppress all enquiry which would strike at their own opulence and greatness. Mr. Hastings had declared, that with all the arbitrary authority he had exercised, he found it impossible to correct certain corruptions, because the sons of great families came to the country, for the express purpose of acquiring immense premature fortunes.

But the greatest obstruction of all proceeded from the body of the law, and the *esprit de corps* by which that body was actuated. Hence arose their enmity to impeachments, by which they, who on every occasion called others to account, were themselves rendered liable to a similar responsibility. In their evidence, in the forms of the tribunal, and in every step of their progress, the lawyers had endeavoured to throw embarrassments in their way.

As however the length of the impeachment had been made an objection, though he solemnly protested

teſted that the committee could prove the whole of the articles, yet the object of the preſent motion was a limitation of the impeachment. In the fixed and unalterable courſe of human affairs, it has pleaſed God to decree that injuſtice ſhould be rapid, and juſtice ſlow: he therefore concluded with moving, "that, in conſideration of the length of time which has already elapſed ſince carrying up the impeachment now depending againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. it appears to this houſe to be proper, for the purpoſe of obtaining ſubſtantial juſtice with as little delay as poſſible, to proceed to no other parts of the ſaid impeachment than thoſe on which the managers have already cloſed their evidence, excepting only ſuch parts as relate to contracts, penſions, and allowances."

Mr. Erſkine ſincerely commiſerated the condition of Mr. Haſtings, which he ſaid was unparalleled in the annals of even parliamentary juſtice. Yet as the houſe was committed to the continuance of the proſecution, he ſhould, without meaning any diſreſpect to the houſe, decline taking any ſhare in the deciſion, till he ſaw by the judgment of the houſe of lords that the proſecution ſtill had exiſtence.

Mr. Baſtard ſaid that Mr. Haſtings was impeached for a breach of treaty, and that lord Cornwallis and general Meadows had preciſely done the ſame, in ſeizing the country of the nabob of Arcot: if therefore certain papers relative to that tranſaction were before the houſe, he was perſuaded the impeachment would not be proceeded in.

In reply to this obſervation of Mr. Baſtard's, Mr. Fox aſſerted, that if lord Cornwallis and general Meadows had violated the line of conduct laid down for them, it was the ſtrongeſt poſſible reaſon to perſevere in the depending impeachment.

In a long and able ſpeech Mr. Wigley contended againſt the impeachment in general. He ſaid, that before this houſe of commons took up an impeachment voted by the laſt houſe, they ſhould examine the grounds and evidence on which the impeachment had been voted; and on the evidence he could find, he could not make up his mind to proceed. The only evidence regularly before the houſe were the articles and charges on the journals, and the anſwers of Mr. Haſtings. Perhaps it would be ſaid that he might reſort to the minutes of the evidence before the houſe of lords. Gentlemen would however recollect, that the evidence was ordered to be printed for the uſe of the lords *only*. It might again be ſaid, that he might have heard the evidence at the trial. He was not in the former parliament till near the cloſe of it; but he had frequently attended, and had heard no evidence to convict Mr. Haſtings. Evidence irrelevant to the articles he often heard offered; and when it was rejected, he heard the managers complain of the hardſhip of their ſituation, and aſſert, that if ſuch evidence was not received, they could not proceed, for they had no other to offer. He might perhaps be directed to the evidence given at that bar. It was not reported in the journals, but was in a book publiſhed without authority, and containing nothing but hearſay evidence, or what was worſe, the evidence of thoſe who were actuated by private malice and reſentment againſt Mr. Haſtings, and who wreaked their vengeance on him under the maſk of public juſtice. Thoſe who had attended the trial would alſo recollect how little of the evidence given at

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the bar, where no oath was required, had been confirmed *on oath* at the bar of the houſe of lords. The charge againſt Mr. Haſtings accuſed him of cruelty, oppreſſion, &c. by which the country was ruined and depopulated: but the journals of the houſe denied the fact, and ſtated the country to be flouriſhing. Not a ſingle complaint from that country had reached the houſe: on the contrary, repreſentations in favour of Mr. Haſtings had been ſent from every part of India under his government; and theſe might be termed addreſſes or petitions to the houſe in his favour, and he had a right to appeal to them.

With reſpect to the length of the trial—had it been neceſſarily long, and not unneceſſarily delayed, the length, Mr. Wigley ſaid, would be of no weight in his mind to put an end to it. If the charges againſt Mr. Haſtings required a long trial, it muſt be ſubmitted to: but this had been unneceſſarily protracted. The right hon. mover had ſaid, that in former impeachments each article had contained a ſingle charge; but in this each article was ſufficient for an impeachment, for each contained ſeveral diſtinct accuſations. On this very ground Mr. Wigley objected to them. It was an unfair way of bringing them before the houſe. If an article contained a ſingle fact, a majority of the houſe muſt believe the evidence brought to prove it, or it would be rejected: but if there were one hundred members preſent, and an article containing one hundred facts ſhould be preſented, if each believed but one ſingle fact, and thought Mr. Haſtings ought to be impeached on that ſeparately, the impeachment would be voted unanimouſly; when, if each fact was voted ſeparately, there would be a majority of ninety-nine to one againſt the impeachment.

Mr. Wigley concluded by obſerving, that when the firſt abilities in the kingdom had been employed ten years to find out the crimes of Mr. Haſtings without effect; when ſo much time had been ſpent on the trial, and ſo little had been done; when he found ſo much in Mr. Haſtings's conduct to praiſe, and ſo very little, if any thing, to diſapprove—he could not vote for the continuance of the impeachment.

Mr. Wigley had no ſooner concluded than Mr. Ryder roſe for the expreſs purpoſe of ſubmitting to the houſe an amendment, the object of which was ſtill more to ſhorten the proceedings. He ſaid that it was five years ſince the firſt charge had been brought forward againſt Mr. Haſtings, and three ſince the trial commenced. The object was to prove, to opulent guilt and ſucceſsful oppreſſion, that no power would be able to evade the puniſhment due to ſuch crimes. Three of the charges were now gone through, and theſe three were ſtated to contain fifty facts: ſurely then ſufficient progreſs had been made for the purpoſe of example; and the having been on his trial for three years was of itſelf a very ſevere puniſhment. He recommended therefore to ſtop where they were, and to call for immediate judgment; and moved, that in the latter part of the motion the exception be left out.

The amendment of Mr. Ryder was oppoſed by Mr. Dundas and others, chiefly on the ground, that the managers were the only proper judges of what was neceſſary to ſubſtantiate the main object of the impeachment. Colonel Phipps ſaid he had originally voted for the impeachment, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction

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ſtion that the houſe had aſſerted its rights on the ſubject of the abatement, but deprecated the proceeding any further in the proſecution than merely to call for judgment.

Mr. Pitt contended that the houſe ought to proceed to the charge reſpecting contracts, &c. becauſe the evidence on that charge might be intimately connected with the former articles, and that it might invalidate the plea of ſtate neceſſity on which Mr. Haſtings reſted his defence on the charge of oppreſſion, by ſhewing that the treaſures of the company were profuſely laviſhed. Mr. Stanley, on the other hand, complained that the original motion was too complex; and wiſhed to take the ſenſe of the houſe on the plain queſtion of the expediency of proceeding at all in the trial. Mr. Stanley's obſervations produced a motion from Mr. Jekyl, to inſert after the words Warren Haſtings, "that theſe proceedings be continued no longer;" and Mr. Ryder's motion was for the preſent withdrawn to make room for the other.

Major Scott complained that he roſe under conſiderable embarraſſment, as he had conceived the queſtion this day would ſimply regard the expediency of proceeding or not. He complained of the unfair manner in which the articles had been brought forward, particularly that of Benares. Mr. Burke had ſaid that infamy muſt reſt ſomewhere—if the charges were true, upon Mr. Haſtings; if falſe, elſewhere. With regard to many, and all that were material of the articles, the major affirmed they were falſe, notoriouſly and palpably falſe. If the charges were true, it muſt be allowed that Mr. Dundas had for four years ſucceſſively preſented *falſe* accounts to the houſe, as it appeared evidently from them that, contrary to the aſſertion of the charges, the country was in a moſt flouriſhing ſituation, owing to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Mr. Haſtings; and that this fact had alſo been confirmed by the teſtimony of Mr. Shore, and other reſpectable evidences. Theſe contradictions the houſe could never have been induced to countenance, but for the notorious abſurdity of paſſing thirteen of twenty articles, without having read a line of them. One of the charges againſt Mr. Haſtings was, the wanton waſte of the public money for private purpoſes: whereas if the preſent peace eſtabliſhment of Bengal, under the direction of the board of controul, be compared with that of the gentleman under impeachment, it would be found to exceed Mr. Haſtings's expenditure in the enormous ſum of *one million* ſterling per annum. Even the preſent bullock contract was 15 per cent. higher than that of Mr. Haſtings, which had been ſo much reprobated. Mr. Luſhington, chairman of the India company, confirmed all that the major had advanced concerning the flouriſhing ſtate of Bengal; but on dividing, the numbers appeared—For Mr. Jekyl's amendment, Ayes 26, Noes 231; and on Mr. Ryder's amendment, Ayes 79, Noes 161. The original queſtion was then put and carried, alſo another for the appointment of managers.

In order to give a connected view of all that paſſed in the houſe of commons relative to the impeachment, we ſhall tranſgreſs a little the chronological order of the parliamentary proceedings, and carry our readers forward at once to a motion which was made on the 27th of May, by Mr. Loveden, on this ſubject.

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The hon. member prefaced his motion by remarking the unprecedented hardſhip reſulting to Mr. Haſtings, from the trial being continued from parliament to parliament, and from prorogation to prorogation.—"Nulli deferemus judicium," was one of the ſacred maxims of *magna charta*; and in this inſtance the public would gain very little by the deciſion, that impeachments did not abate upon diſſolution, if the trial was to continue for another ſeſſion; as Mr. Haſtings would then have a right to ſay that the principles of the conſtitution were broken to oppreſs and injure him. The motion of Mr. Loveden was in ſubſtance, "That his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue the ſeſſion until the evidence on the part of the proſecution has been cloſed, and Mr. Haſtings's defence heard, and judgment finally given."

Mr. Dundas oppoſed the motion, on the ground that its effect would be to abrogate the king's prerogative, and to delegate it to the managers of the proſecution. He added, that if ſuch were to be the deciſion, inſtead of the cauſe being tried by the peers in general, there would be very few who would conſent to ſtay in town to wait the iſſue of the trial. The preſence of the judges alſo he conſidered as eſſential to the trial, and yet it was abſolutely neceſſary that the adminiſtration of juſtice in the country ſhould not be neglected, or the judges prevented proceeding on the circuits.

Major Scott inſiſted that every principle, not only of magna charta, but of the whole conſtitution, was violated by this trial. As to its unprecedented length, he affirmed the principal cauſe was the nature of the articles themſelves, which were ſuch as never had been before preſented. He ſaid it was an act of the moſt grievous oppreſſion to Mr. Haſtings, and of the groſſeſt injuſtice to the country, that the expences amounted already to 45,000l.

Mr. Burke, as well as Mr. Fox, declared that the conſtitution or the conſtitutional prerogative of the crown could not poſſibly be violated by the houſe of commons interpoſing its advice upon great or important occaſions; and the latter propoſed an amendment to the motion, by requeſting his majeſty "not to prorogue the parliament before ſuch further progreſs was made in the trial, as ſhould afford reaſonable grounds of expectation that it might be brought to a concluſion early in the next ſeſſion." For this amendment the numbers were 61, againſt it 144. The original motion was then negatived without a diviſion.

Though the houſe of commons had ſo ſpeedily determined the queſtion relative to the abatement of impeachments by a diſſolution of parliament, the lords were leſs precipitate in their proceedings. In fact the appointment of a committee to ſearch for precedents, and to frame a report upon the ſubject, delayed the conſideration of the impeachment almoſt to the concluſion of the ſeſſion.

On the 16th of May the attention of the houſe was drawn to this object by a motion of lord Portcheſter, "That a meſſage be ſent to the commons, to inform them, that they (the lords) were ready to proceed on the trial of Warren Haſtings, Eſq."

The lord chancellor avowed that he had no knowledge of the ſubject, except what he derived from the report of the committee. If, however, that report was fairly and hiſtorically

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tonically extracted, it would amount, he ſaid, almoſt to demonſtration that there never had been ſuch a proceeding as the continuance of an impeachment after a diſſolution. The report however was very defective, and particularly with regard to writs of error. His lordſhip concluded with recommending to refer the matter to a committee, and that a committee ſhould come to certain reſolutions.

Lord Abingdon remarked the ſingularity of circumſtances, by which he ſaw at this time a man who by his enterpriſe and exertions had *preſerved* a great country to the Britiſh empire, and who had acted to the entire ſatisfaction of his employers, made the object of impeachment; and another man, who, by worſe means, it was ſaid, than the *want* of enterpriſe and exertion, had *loſt* a great country to the Britiſh empire, coaleſcing with his own accuſers, and becoming an accuſer of this man, in whom if there was guilt, he was himſelf *particeps criminis*, by continuing him in power. The inference he drew from this view of the impeachment was, that it was a proceeding not founded in national juſtice nor in national honour, but in malice and revenge, and kept up by the fuel of animoſity and invective.

Lord Mulgrave and lord Radnor were of opinion, that the proceedings of that houſe were not to be guided ſo much by precedents, as by their own diſcretion; that there was a wide difference between that houſe and the courts below; that the inferior courts ſhould be confined ſtrictly to poſitive rules of law; but that this reaſoning ought not to apply to that court which was formed for great and extraordinary occaſions. Lord Radnor concluded with a motion for referring to the judges the following queſtion: "Whether, by his recognizance, Mr. Haſtings is ſtill bound to appear before the lords in parliament when called on?"

Lord Stormont, on the contrary, did not agree with thoſe lords who thought that little or no ſtreſs was to be laid on precedents; and if there were only one ſeries of precedents, or no precedents at all, he ſaid, he ſhould have no doubt on the occaſion. On the whole, however, conſidering how dangerous it was to inveſt the crown with a power of abating an impeachment by diſſolving the parliament, he was diſpoſed to vote for the queſtion.

Lord Loughborough ſupported the doctrine, that the commons of England were a permanent body, though the houſe of commons were not ſo. The impeachment, he ſaid, was brought in the name and on the behalf of all the people of England. He warned their lordſhips not to act incautiouſly with regard to the popular part of the conſtitution—Let them look about them, and be warned—let them not deny that the people were *any thing*, leſt they compelled them to think they were *every thing*. He went through the precedents in point in nearly the ſame manner in which they were ſtated in the commons. In the courſe of his ſpeech he pointed out the fallacies of ſir George Jeffries and other court ſycophants, and reſted his argument on the authority of Hale, Clarendon, Holt, and Foſter, the laſt of whom was, he ſaid, the beſt conſtitutional lawyer that had ever written on the ſubject, and from whom he read an extract in confirmation of his poſition.

Lord Kenyon took the oppoſite ground. The whole of the queſtion, he ſaid, appeared to lie between two reſolu-

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resolutions, that of 1678, and that of 1685. One of these, he observed, had been made upon the spur of the occasion, which was a bad feature; and what was worse, that resolution was meant, as it afterwards proved to be calculated, to countenance the assassination of an individual under the colour of the law. The trial and conviction of lord Stafford he called a *legal murder*. He said that judge Foster in one part of his writings had supported the abatement on a dissolution; and he was sure that learned judge never would countenance so dangerous an idea, as that of suffering it to be insinuated that they were to consider the law *as it ought to be*, and not *as it was*.

The marquis of Lansdowne pointed out many instances of absurdity in our laws, such as that of landed property always *descending*, and personal property *ascending*; adding, that this furnished no argument for our departing from the strict tenor of the law *as it was*, since that was the only safe mode of proceeding, however objectionable the law might be in some instances. The authority of lord Nottingham had been appealed to on this occasion: this lordship was happy to have it in his power to produce the words of lord Nottingham himself, and read from a curious, and apparently well authenticated manuscript, a part of a letter written by lord Nottingham on the earl of Danby's case in 1683, the year before his death; in which that great lawyer says of the resolution of 1678, that it was a mistake to suppose that an impeachment went on from parliament to parliaments; it could not be, &c.—and declaring that the resolution in question must be revised and corrected; and what his lordship predicted actually happened, for the resolution was corrected in 1685.

Lord Loughborough said, he had it in command from the lord president of the council, to do that for him which the strictness of the hour did not permit him to do for himself, viz. to state that noble lord's opinion as coinciding with his own; and he had left with him an opinion of Selden, that the new parliament, in the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham, did hold, that they might, if they had chosen it, have called upon their lordships for judgment against the duke. Lord Loughborough said, he had also to quote the testimony of a learned and venerable earl, who had authorised him to say, that if the present question was carried, it would be perfectly conformable to the law of parliament, and consistent with precedent.

Such were the principal arguments and opinions urged in both houses on this important question, in the stating of which we are not conscious of having omitted any thing immediately connected with the object of enquiry. The motion for proceeding in the impeachment was carried in the lords by a majority of 48; and this being agreeable to the previous decision of the commons, the impeachment, contrary to the expectations of several persons, who were apprehensive of a difference and dispute between the two houses, proceeded. This, however, the lords decided so late in the session, little progress was made in the trial.

On a candid review of the arguments, we cannot help observing, that it would have been dangerous, if not fatal to the constitution, to admit the principle that an impeachment abates by a dissolution of parliament. On the other hand, we are apprehensive that the balance of precedent was really in favour of that side of the question. In that

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that the difficulty would perhaps have been avoided in a more constitutional manner, by a particular act of parliament, declaratory of the principle that impeachments do not abate.

The next important business that engaged the attention of the British legislature, was the INDIAN WAR, the causes and circumstances of which we have already noticed.

Mr. Con. Hippesley, member for Sudbury in Suffolk, a gentleman whose knowledge of India politics qualified him in a peculiar manner for the task, undertook to evince to the house of commons the injustice and evil policy of a measure which he conceived ruinous to the finances, and indeed to all the best interests of his country.

On the 22d of December Mr. Hippesley rose to propose a preliminary motion, the object of which was merely to desire that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore should be laid before the house. Mr. Hippesley supported his motion by a statement of the particulars as far as he had been able to inform himself of the transaction, and insisted principally on the ancient feudal claim of the sultans of Myfore to the forts of Cranganore, &c.; on the pacific intentions of Tippoo; and on the report of his offer to submit the dispute to an equitable arbitration. He considered the purchase of the fort by the rajah of Travancore as the effect only of an unwarrantable ambition, and as a fair cause of uneasiness and complaint to the neighbouring powers. Travancore he allowed to be the ally of Great Britain, who had certainly guaranteed all her lawful possessions: but he asserted that it was a most mischievous principle, that we were bound to protect her in every ambitious scheme for the extension of dominion, whether by purchase or otherwise. Such, he said, were his doubts as to the justice of the war; but his doubts as to its policy were not less formidable.

The native powers, he asserted, neither were, nor could be, radically friendly to the English. Little dependence was to be placed upon the Nizam or the Mahrattas: both these powers were notorious for their perfidy. However flourishing our force in India, there was reason to believe that Tippoo had kept equal pace with our improvement. He had a force of 150,000 men, a large corps of Europeans well officered, an admirable artillery well served. He had a revenue of five millions sterling, and a treasury of eight or nine millions. To these resources we had to oppose an exhausted treasury, and a tottering credit. Mr. Hippesley deprecated a war in India, and entered into a forcible detail of the difficulties and miseries which would attend it in that part of the world; declaring himself altogether of Mr. Grey's opinion, as given on another occasion—"that war was the chief of political evils; and that any peace which was consistent with the honour of the nation, was better than the most successful war."

Mr. Francis supported Mr. Hippesley's reasoning, by shewing that it had been considered by all good statesmen, and by the British legislature, that to increase our territories in India was a destructive policy to this country. He enforced his argument by another observation of equal authority—That it was the policy of this nation to avoid all alliances with the native powers of India, as they only tended to lead us into dangerous and expensive connections.

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nections. Between the Nizam and Tippoo there subsisted a mutual jealousy, by means of which they might be prevented employing their power to the prejudice of our settlements. The Mahrattas again were the most formidable power in India; and on this account it would be dangerous to extirpate Tippoo, even were it in our power, as he served particularly to maintain the balance of India. With regard to the character of Tippoo, it was by no means unusual to exaggerate accounts of characters; and even if these accounts were true, it remained for them to consider whether they would expose their subjects and allies to the consequences of that tyranny and cruelty which had been depicted in such formidable colours.

Mr. Dundas asserted, that if the rajah had justice on his side, it was obvious we were bound to support our ally. The claim of Tippoo Sultan to the feudal sovereignty of the forts in question was recent, and founded on the province to which they belonged having been over-run and conquered by the Mysorean power about twenty years before. The Dutch, on the other hand, had held them by right of conquest from the Portuguese for more than a century. But there were proofs of a still more unequivocal nature, that Tippoo had engaged in the dispute, not from any notion of right, but from motives of ambition. In 1788 he had advanced with a formidable army to the frontiers of Travancore, without any provocation or pretence. The rajah applied to the government of Madras; and, on receiving an intimation from sir Archibald Campbell, that he would consider any act of hostility as a declaration of war against Great Britain, he withdrew. If Travancore was to fall into Tippoo's hands, Mr. Dundas asserted that the whole of our territories would be laid open. It was therefore necessary to watch his motions with a jealous eye. If he had made no other attempt, his conduct at Tellicherry would be sufficient proof of his intentions. At the time when he advanced in force to attack Travancore, he surrounded Tellicherry, and seized a boat loaded with provisions. When complaint was made, and restitution demanded, he not only returned the letter unopened, but told the messenger, that if any other was sent, the bearer should leave his head with it. Mr. Dundas added, he had some reasons for disbelieving the report that Tippoo offered to submit the dispute to arbitration. In speaking of our resources, Mr. Dundas said, we had as fine an army in that quarter, and as well appointed, as ever had appeared in India; and instead of having a war to support against the French, the Dutch, the Mahrattas, and all the European and native powers of India, we had only to contend with one of them. He had no objection to producing the papers.

Mr. Fox conceived that we were to be made the dupes of the Dutch upon this occasion, and were likely to be led into a war unnecessarily, if not unjustly. It was confessed that the rajah of Travancore making a purchase of Cranganore was a subject of jealousy to Tippoo Sultan. Ought it not, then, to have been the wisdom of government to prevent our ally from making a purchase likely to stir up the jealousy of a watchful and suspicious neighbour? By such looseness of conduct we might be incessantly involved with the country powers. It had been further allowed by the opposite side, that Tippoo manifested an indisposition to the transfer of those forts,

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forts, when first proposed in 1788; and that sir Archibald Campbell prudently preventing the transfer, he was perfectly satisfied, and had remained so till the transfer was actually made in 1790. *A war for conquest, he hoped, never would be undertaken by England, either in India or elsewhere.* The extirpation of Tippoo would not be a politic measure: however we might detest his vices, with the Myforean country we ought to be friendly, inasmuch as it was a strong barrier between the most powerful states of India and our settlements.

Mr. Pitt, Mr. D. Scott, and colonel Macleod, supported the necessity of the war, and represented Tippoo as a mercileſs tyrant. The question was however carried in favour of the production of the papers.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Hippesley followed up his former motion on the Indian war; but his ill state of health only permitted him to move the reading of the acts of parliament and resolutions of the house of commons, which prohibit the British governors in India from entering into *offensive war*. The reading of these was followed by that of several extracts from the correspondence of the government and council of Fort St. George, tending to establish the ill policy of such measures, and particularly with Tippoo Sultan. After the reading of these papers, Mr. Francis rose at the request of Mr. Hippesley, and in a very able speech explained the causes of the war, which he entirely attributed to the policy of the Dutch, and the ambition and imprudence of the rajah of Travancore. He said it was a mistake to suppose that a war in India did not affect the best interests of Great Britain; for India did not possess the means of supporting the war for a single hour, but by incurring debts which must be paid by England. Compared with this, he added, if extended to any length, a war with Spain would be a blessing; a war in Germany, or even in America, would hardly be a calamity. He urged the necessity of adhering to that system established by law, which positively forbade the servants of government, or the India company, engaging in offensive wars. He censured the appointment of a military officer over the immense civil as well as military government of Bengal, observing, that the preservation of peace could not be the predominant passion of men educated in a camp. From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government, the gradations are easy, and the progress rapid. The same facts which counteract principles to-day, will be precedents to-morrow, and principles the day after.

He requested the attention of the house to a paper on the table, the treaty of alliance *offensive* and defensive concluded lately with the Nizam. That war and conquest should be the object of an *offensive* alliance, was not extraordinary; but it was indeed extraordinary, after what they had just heard read to them, that a British governor should profess that the acquisition of territory was his object in making war, that he should propose or think of making a new partition of dominion, or even accept of an extension of territory, if it were offered him. Mr. Francis remarked some other singularities in the treaty; such as, that the rajah's name was never mentioned in it; that the pay of the cavalry was not specified, &c.

In speaking of the expences of the war, Mr. Francis produced several authentic documents, to prove that the

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the resources of India were utterly inadequate to them. He endeavoured to shew that the rajah was the aggressor, in making what Mr. Francis termed a *collusive* purchase from the Dutch: the aggressor, he said, should alone be answerable for his aggression; and as to the forts themselves, they were on all hands allowed to be of no use or importance, and ought in fact to be demolished. In the single article of bullocks we incurred an expence of above 700,000 l. per annum; and general Meadows very freely declares, that *we must be undone* by procrastination. He pressed the necessity of preserving the balance of power in India, by keeping Tippoo as a counterpoise to the Mahrattas; and quoted, in support of his opinion, the authority of Mr. Dupré, Mr. Hastings, lord Clive, and several others. Mr. Francis concluded with a series of motions, the object of which was to censure the origin, and prevent the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Dundas, in reply to Mr. Francis, admitted that the war in India was a seriously expensive war, but contended for the justice of it. The claims of Tippoo on the forts of Cranganore and Acottah, he said, were not the actual cause of the war; for Tippoo had marched 150,000 men to the lines of Travancore, previous to any complaint of the rajah's conduct. The forts he held to be essential to the preservation of Travancore, as they were the key to that country; and his bargain with the Dutch was a legal contract. Tippoo's claim to the forts rested on his own assertion; and he could have no object in obtaining them, but to over-run the territory of the rajah. The Mahrattas were no longer formidable, as they were no longer a united body: Tippoo was the only formidable native power, as he was the first both in troops and in revenue; and with respect to the amicable intention of that prince, Mr. Dundas observed, that he had three times attacked the lines of Travancore, while he was making professions of peace.

Major Maitland observed, that the cause of the war was the great object of inquiry, because upon that depended every consideration. The war had been occasioned, he said, by the ambition of the rajah, and not of Tippoo Sultan. The alliances which we had formed in India he styled "alliances of division, and treaties of ruin!" There were four great powers in India, the British, the Mahratta, the Mysorean, and the Nizam. It was our business to balance these powers. We had less to fear from Tippoo than from any other, as he could only come down upon us through six narrow passes easy to defend (the Ghauts): whereas, if we had a quarrel with the Mahrattas, all our frontier would be exposed. A long and a successful war, he said, was a contradiction in terms; for what was the acquisition of a dirty province, weighed against the expence of three or four millions?

Mr. Fox remarked, that lord Cornwallis had originally taken up the matter in the proper point of view; he had condemned the purchase of the forts in the strongest terms; but had afterwards unfortunately altered his opinion—why he could not conceive. With respect to the hostile preparations of Tippoo, it was an argument that scarcely deserved an answer. He reprobated the treaties which had been entered into with the Nizam and the Mahrattas for the extirpation of Tippoo: at a time when the enlightened policy of all Europe led them to renounce their offensive alliances, we were

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were purſuing that diſgraceful ſyſtem in India. The rajah, he aſſerted, was the aggreſſor even to us, by purchaſing the forts contrary to our advice. But ſuppoſing Tippoo to have been the aggreſſor, what right had we to aſk for more than adequate ſatisfaction? We cenſured his conduct, but did not look at the injuſtice of our own. He profeſſed to have a claim upon Cranganore, and aimed at recovering his right.—But what do we? We carry the war into the centre of his dominions, extirpate him, and divide his territories.

The arguments of Mr. Dundas were powerfully ſupported by Mr. Pitt; but he advanced little new reſpecting the cauſe of the war. He agreed with Mr. Fox, that any propoſal of amicable adjuſtment was preferable to war; but aſſerted, that while we had named commiſſioners for the termination of the diſpute, Tippoo Sultan had refuſed to name any; but, with a view of placing the Britiſh government in a ſtate of humiliation in the eyes of all India, he had inſiſted on our ſending an ambaſſador to his court, and, even while the negociation was pending, had committed an act of hoſtility. Mr. Pitt denied that the treaties with the Nizam and the Mahrattas were grounded on any ſuch principles as that of extirpating Tippoo, and dividing his dominions. He ridiculed the idea of favouring Tippoo, who was at preſent our enemy, in order to balance him againſt the Mahrattas, who were at preſent our friends; and profeſſed that this was a ſort of policy, which he, for one, did not underſtand.

Mr. Wilberforce, lord Fielding, and the ſolicitor-general, ſupported the conduct of adminiſtration, and Mr. Francis's motions were negatived. Not ſatisfied, however, with this triumph, Mr. Dundas, on the 2d of March following, moved three reſolutions, approving of the Indian war and of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, which were carried without a diviſion. But as the ſubject was ſo much exhauſted in the two preceding debates, it would be treading beaten ground to report the arguments.

The expediency of the war was debated upon nearly ſimilar principles in the houſe of lords, on the 11th of April; but the debate ended only in the triumph of miniſters; as lord Grenville, before the houſe broke up, moved three reſolutions, ſimilar to thoſe which had been moved in the commons, approving of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, &c. which were carried by a great majority.

CHAP. VII.

Bill for the Relief of Proteſting Catholics. Libel Bill. Slave Trade. Reflections on that Subject. Eſtabliſhment of a Colony at Sierra Leona. Bill for the Diviſion of Canada into Upper and Lower, and for the Regulation of thoſe Provinces. Altercation between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox concerning the Affairs of France.

THE cauſe of toleration received this year an acceſſion, which muſt be peculiarly grateful to the friends of freedom. It is remarkable,

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markable, that, notwithstanding the radical freedom of our constitution, no nation in Europe has been more jealous of their religious establishment; and scarcely have the Roman catholic states themselves loaded with a more oppressive weight of civil penalties those who dissented in religious opinion. It has for almost half a century been the task of the legislature, to root out, gradually and cautiously, from the code of our laws those disgraceful statutes which groundless apprehension in many instances, and perhaps actual necessity in a few, had caused to be enacted: they are not yet entirely removed; but in proportion as the peaceful influence of philosophy shall extend over the minds of men, we have little doubt but all parties will see the absurdity of sacrificing the cardinal virtue, charity at the shrine of vain speculation: and as the fears and jealousies of mankind shall subside, in the course of a few years every trace of persecution will fade away. As the Romish church was the grand object of terror in the first ages of reformation, it was scarcely matter of surprise that our statute-book should be loaded with the most rigorous and sanguinary edicts directed against the professors of that obnoxious faith; and though in the year 1780 some of these were removed, yet in the year 1791, in a well-known book, Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, not less than seventy pages were to be found, entirely occupied with the bare enumeration of the penal statutes in force against the Roman catholics. Among these were some of the most sanguinary nature—It was high treason and death to make a convert to the Roman catholic faith—Severe penalties were enacted on papists for hearing mass, by some statutes; and by others they were compelled to attend the established worship, however contrary to their consciences. That such laws should have been framed in times of difficulty and danger, in times when the church of Rome flourished in all the vigour of temporal power, and urged her authority by all the rigours of persecution, and all the artifices of bigotry, is not surprising; it is only surprising that they should have been suffered to remain in force for centuries of peace and tranquillity, when the power of the pope is annihilated even in countries professing his religion, and when all the obnoxious principles of that religion are disavowed by its professors. A reform in the penal statutes became the more necessary, since, in the course of the year 1790, a large body of catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the pope, against his assumed authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths.

It was upon these principles, and supported by these arguments, that Mr. Mitford moved on the 21st of February for a committee of the whole house, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called protesting catholic dissenters, from certain penalties and disabilities, to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject." This bill, Mr. Mitford added, would be similar to that which had passed in Ireland some years since; and as no ill consequences had resulted in a country where the Roman catholics were so much more numerous than in this, he should hope the house would see no impropriety in the proposition.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wyndham.

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Wyndham. He obſerved, that there were two principles upon which coercion and penalty, with reſpect to religious opinion, were ſupported. The one was the ground, that the opinions were falſe, and of ill conſequence to the ſalvation of ſuch as profeſſed them; the other was, that their religious principles were calculated to make them bad citizens, and dangerous ſubjects. In the former of theſe caſes, coercion, he added, might properly be termed perſecution, and, as ſuch, might be conſidered as totally exploded. Reaſoning on the other principle, it had been long the language that ſuch laws were neceſſary to guard againſt the dangerous practices of the Roman catholics for the ſubverſion of the government: but though much had been ſaid upon this ſubject, Mr. Wyndham was not of opinion that the truth of hiſtory would ſupport the fact. With reſpect to the principle, that religious opinion ought not to exclude men from civil offices, Mr. Wyndham remarked, that he was not one of thoſe who thought it no part of the duty of government to look to the religious prejudices of the ſubject; but he thought that no more could be juſtified againſt the Roman catholics, than the ſafety of the ſtate abſolutely required, nor did he ſee the difference between them and diſſenters of other deſcriptions. They did not aſk to be admitted to places of power and truſt, but to live in a free and enlightened country, exempted from the ſevere penalties impoſed by the laws, which were by connivance evaded, and for that reaſon ought not to be ſuffered to diſgrace the ſtatute-book. Much had been ſaid formerly relative to the power of the pope to grant a diſpenſation from oaths; but the folly and falſacy of this opinion Mr. Wyndham evinced, from the caſe of a Roman catholic peer omitting to take his ſeat in the houſe of lords, becauſe he would not take the oaths; and alſo mentioned ſeveral inſtances in which a Roman catholic was believed upon his oath.

Mr. Stanley, member for Lancaſhire, confirmed the good report of the Roman catholics, as good and loyal ſubjects: and Mr. Fox roſe to object to the propoſed bill, not for what it did go to, but for what it did not go to; for in his opinion it by no means went far enough. He aſſerted his opinion, as formerly ſtated to the houſe, "that the ſtate had no right to enquire into the opinions of people, either political or religious; in his mind they had a right only to take cognizance of their actions." He urged the neceſſity of repealing thoſe ſanguinary laws which had been mentioned, not to any perſons excluſively, but to the Roman catholics of every deſcription, let them proteſt or not. He entreated that the bill might be made general; ſince there was no ſet of men who, on account of their religious principles, ought to be tried for high treaſon, and to incur the penalty of death. Mr. Fox mentioned the extenſion of religious liberty in Pruſſia, Holland, France, &c. and ſaid he ſhould move to leave the word *proteſting* out of the title of the bill, when it came to the committee. Mr. Mitford's motion paſſed unanimouſly.

On the 1ſt of March, agreeably to the orders of the houſe, which require that no queſtion be put affecting the religion of the country before it has been referred to a committee of the whole houſe, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on Mr. Mitford's propoſal relative to the Roman catholics. On this occaſion no further difference of opi-

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mon existed than that which we already noticed. Mr. Fox, in renewing his objection to the exclusive nature of the bill, adverted to his own opinion concerning tests, which, he observed, was too well known to require any recapitulation. He had been most strong against the test and corporation acts; yet he admitted that there was a great and material difference between the considerations that ought to weigh with the legislature on that occasion, and the considerations that ought to weigh with them on this. Where Roman catholics did not solicit an admission to any place of trust, but only asked leave to worship God in their own way, they ought in justice, in reason and humanity, to be allowed this liberty, without being subjected to the operation of sanguinary laws. Mr. Fox remarked upon the good conduct of the catholics for a series of years, and insisted upon it that they were entitled to ample relief, and ample relief he foresaw must in a few years be conceded to them.—"There is, said he, but one plain road to pursue. Keep in, if you please, all the statutes for the establishment: even the test and corporation acts, if you like; but let the statute book be looked over, and strike out all which attach penalties to mere opinions." Impressed with these sentiments, Mr. Fox said he should move his amendment for extending the benefit of the act to all catholics; but, rather than impede the present measure, he would withdraw it, if he found the sense of the house not likely to be with him.

Mr. Burke said he would second the motion of Mr. Fox, but agreed that it would not be wise to persist in the amendment if it did not appear satisfactory. The surest way of remedying grievances, he said, was to proceed moderately, and do away a little at a time, rather than attempt to cure them all at once. He could not agree with his right hon. friend—"That the state had no authority over opinions." Opinions influenced the passions, and the passions governed the man; and so long as such was the case, it was the duty of government to attend to them; but in this case the proceedings of government should be guided by virtue and wisdom, by candour and temperance. Mr. Burke remarked, that in the preamble to the 27th of Elizabeth, the danger of the state was the plea made use of; and, instead of any religious or moral purpose being assigned as the ground-work of the statute, it declared that the act was passed solely for the suppression of a dangerous faction in the state. Were the preamble true, and the plea founded, he said, he should have voted for it, as the state must be preserved for the good of the whole. At present, he added, there was no danger from the pope. He had neither absolved the Americans from their allegiance, nor, by his interference, caused any of the late revolutions in Europe. Such laws as those, for the repeal of which they were now pleading, Mr. Burke observed, enabled men to oppress their neighbours, and to rob them of their goods: they were calculated to make a man not love his neighbour; and he who loved not his neighbour, would not love his state. It was the duty of every government to make the people happy; but such points can never be accomplished, when every justice of the peace is made an inquisitor, and a man who worships God in his own way condemned for high treason.

The chancellor of the exchequer recommended to Mr. Fox to withdraw his amendment, since it might

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be more properly urged at a ſubſequent ſtage of the bill, if that ſhould appear moſt expedient, or the relief might be produced by another bill; and it amounted to the ſame, whether the object were effected by two bills or by one. Upon this recommendation the amendment was withdrawn by Mr. Fox, and the bill proceeded through its ſeveral ſtages without oppoſition.

The cauſe of liberty was leſs ſucceſsful in another inſtance. The rights of juries had been long in an indefinite and indeterminate ſtate, particularly in the caſe of libels; and diſputes diſgraceful in themſelves, and injurious to the adminiſtration of juſtice, had frequently ariſen between the court and the jury, between the judges and the counſel; even among the profeſſors of the law a difference of opinion had long exiſted. While the herd of mere technical practitioners earneſtly ſupported the indefeaſible authority of the bench, that oracle of conſtitutional juriſprudence, lord Camden, Mr. Erſkine, and many others of the greateſt eminence, held the rights of an Engliſh jury in too ſacred a light to ſuffer the great conſtitutional principle on which that inſtitution was founded to be undermined by the fallacious doctrine of precedents. To aſcertain and ſettle the law in this point, and in another, which appeared equally defective, on the 21ſt of February Mr. Fox gave notice, that, at ſome time in the courſe of the ſeſſion, he would move for a grand committee of juſtice to conſider of two important law queſtions; the one concerning the conduct of the court of king's bench in matters of libel, and the other relative to informations in the nature of *quo warrantos*. As Mr. Fox was deſirous of conciliating the gentlemen of the law to his propoſals, and as a number of them were neceſſarily abſent upon the circuits, it was the 20th of May before a convenient opportunity preſented itſelf for agitating the ſubject in the houſe of commons. Mr. Fox prefaced his motion by declaring, that he was perfectly convinced that every gentleman who heard him was ſo well acquainted with the duties of the houſe, and its peculiar function to watch with care every part of the executive government, that it was unneceſſary to uſe any words to ſhew that he was not bringing under the conſideration of the houſe any thing that did not fall within the province of its duty. The moſt important part of the executive government was the adminiſtration of juſtice. He would not, he ſaid, engroſs the time of the houſe by declamations on the ſubject of the preſs. Whoever ſaw what the world was now, and compared it with what it had formerly been, muſt be ſenſible that we had greatly improved in the ſcience of government; and that improvement was entirely owing to the liberty of the preſs. If even the juſt liberty of the preſs were tranſgreſſed, he owned, he ſhould be an enemy to a ſevere puniſhment after the crime was committed; he was alſo an enemy to all previous reſtraints, becauſe ſuch have always operated only to reſtrain the juſt liberty of the people, and not to prevent the licentiouſneſs of the preſs. He acknowledged the abuſes of that ſacred engine of liberty; but if perſons were to argue, from the circumſtance of there being ſo much licence, that there was liberty enough, in his apprehenſion they would argue very inconcluſively. There was no difficulty in this country for any man to libel another; but no man ought to libel with impunity, and public characters had as much a

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right to be defended as thoſe who never engaged in public affairs. Any man could indeed libel with impunity any character public or private: but, on the other hand, he much doubted whether any man could really diſcuſs the actions of government in the way which it was the right of every man to diſcuſs them, without a greater riſk to his perſon and property than prudent men would chooſe to hazard.

As an inſtance of what he now ſtated, gentlemen would recollect that in the courſe of laſt year, when the Spaniſh armament was raiſed, a conſiderable degree of diſcuſſion had taken place among the people with regard to the objects of the armament, and the conduct of parliament in granting the ſupplies. On that occaſion there had appeared in a newſpaper ſome ſtrictures on the conduct of the miniſters; and that paper, to the aſtoniſhment of moſt people, was proſecuted. The printer pleaded guilty, or ſuffered judgment to go by default, and a judgment moſt inordinately ſevere was given againſt him. He could hardly have thought, that the mere ſtating, "that the oſtenſible purpoſe of the armament might poſſibly not be the real purpoſe; that the object of Nootka Sound was too minute to juſtify ſo great a hazard; and therefore it might be connected in ſome way with our Pruſſian alliance"—he could hardly have thought, he ſaid, that ſuch a paragraph would have been attended with a ſevere puniſhment; for, in his humble opinion, it was no libel at all.

Mr. Fox contended, that the filling up the innuendoes in an information on a libel was entirely the province of the jury. He fully acquitted the king's bench of acting, in the caſe alluded to, from any motives of direct corruption, or even from party motives; what they had done was from error, and from the difficulty of their ſituation as the law now ſtood with reſpect to libels.

Mr. Fox mentioned it as the general opinion of the king's bench, that in caſes of libels the jury were to find the publication and the innuendoes, and that the queſtion of intention was afterwards completely left to the court; the court were to conſider it in the nature of a ſpecial verdict. On the contrary, he was of opinion that many of the things ſtated were not matters of law, but matters of fact; but whether they were matters of law or of fact, where the general iſſue was joined, the jury muſt conſider ſuch general iſſue, and give a verdict compounded of fact and of law. This he ſaid was not a new opinion, and inſtanced it in the trial of John Lilburn for a libel, ſhortly after the beheading of Charles I. With regard to his acquittal or condemnation, Lilburn declared the jury were every thing, and the judges mere cyphers: the reply of judge Jermyn, who preſided on that occaſion, was a curious ſpecimen of the temper and manners of thoſe times.—He ſaid, "It was a damnable and blaſphemous hereſy to call the judges cyphers." Lilburn was however acquitted, in ſpite of the anger of the judge, and the influence of Cromwell. For a long period after this, Mr. Fox added, the buſineſs had been conſidered in the way he conſidered it. He remarked further, that it had been admitted by almoſt every judge, by lord Raymond, Mr. juſtice Lee, lord Manſfield, Mr. juſtice Buller, from many of whom he differed, that the jury had a *power* to find not guilty.

With reſpect to the pretended diſtinction between law and fact, Mr.

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Mr. Fox obſerved, that when a man was accuſed of murder, a crime conſiſting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty; and this was alſo the caſe in felony, high treaſon, and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the ſingle anomaly. He contended, that if the jury had no juriſdiction over libels, the counſel were libellers for ſpeaking before a tribunal which had no juriſdiction. When a jury was in a court of juſtice, and they did not enquire into the criminality at all, but only into the fact of publication, the counſel addreſſing them on either ſide as to the criminality was a ſarcaſm. There was another part of the doctrine of libels which appeared unaccountable—It was admitted, that if a part of the writing were libellous, and another part not libellous, they had a right to bring the whole before the jury in evidence. Mr. Fox aſked, on what principle the jury were to look at the whole, but that they might know whether the paper was libellous or not? In 1731, in the time of lord Raymond, the preſent doctrine of libels was introduced; but he hoped that no man would contend that it ought to be law. It was a ſyſtem ſo vicious and untenable, that in the practice of this reign, and of lord Mansfield himſelf, it was not adhered to. In the caſe of the king againſt Horne, lord Mansfield had ſaid, "that it was a matter for the judgment of the jury, and that they were to decide on the criminality."

Mr. Fox ſaid he had hitherto conſidered the ſubject as relating to libels, and to libels only. He meant to ſtate it with regard to a matter of ſtill higher importance, with regard to high treaſon. He believed it was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of treaſon. In this caſe, if the court of king's bench were to ſay to the jury—"Conſider only whether the criminal publiſhed the paper; do not conſider the nature of it; do not conſider whether it be treaſonable or not:" would Engliſhmen endure that death ſhould be inflicted without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their ſentiments, whether the individual was or was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged?—Mr. Fox wiſhed to know whether the modern doctrine of libels did or did not extend to high treaſon? Having ſhewn that the law of libels was contrary to the original principles of law, Mr. Fox ſaid, when he would ſuggeſt a remedy for theſe evils, he found himſelf incapable of doing it without the aſſiſtance of the houſe. If the committee were clear as to the law on the ſubject, their wiſeſt and moſt proper meaſure would be to enact a declaratory law reſpecting it: but if they were of opinion that high authorities on the other ſide made the law doubtful, they might ſettle the law for the future without any reference to what it had been in times paſt.

Having finiſhed the ſubject of libels, Mr. Fox wiſhed to call the attention of the houſe to another ſubject of great importance. By a ſtatute of queen Anne, for regulating proceedings by *quo warranto*, every corporator might inform himſelf of the corporate ſituation of any burgeſs of the ſame borough. Any private man might make his application; and, according to a late opinion, the court has a diſcretionary power of granting or refuſing it. According to another opinion, the court had no ſuch diſcretion; but the former opinion was the beſt. The court of king's bench had endeavoured to frame a rule to guide their diſcre-

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tion, and lord Mansfield had laid down twenty years as the space of time after which no application should be made to disturb men in their franchises: but about two terms ago the king's bench had greatly shortened the period within which people might apply for such informations, and determined that, after six years a man should never be called in question on the subject.

There was, however, another serious view in which this matter might be taken into consideration. The attorney-general could of authority move for such informations; and though private persons were confined within six years, the king's attorney-general was subject to no such inconvenience, being wholly unlimited in point of time. It always happened that the king's ministers were more or less concerned in elections; and consequently the attorney-general might move for a great many informations against those who were not friendly to him or his associates. This, Mr. Fox said, was an immense additional weight to the prerogative of the crown, and might prove extremely dangerous to the liberty of the people. The remedy he meant to propose appeared perfectly unexceptionable. He thought there ought to be a statute regulating the conduct of the king's bench with regard to the granting of such informations, and giving double costs in cases of frivolous applications.

Reverting to the case of libels, Mr. Fox said there was one great and popular topic, which he had purposely omitted—viz. the doctrine, "that truth was not only not a justification, but a libel was more a libel because it was true." With respect to this question, he should not meddle with it, because he conceived it to be a most difficult question. To say that truth was not sometimes a justification, would be very extraordinary indeed; and yet there were some cases in which it might be even an aggravation. Suppose a man, for instance, had any personal defect or misfortune, any thing disagreeable about his body, or was unfortunate in any of his relations, and that these evils were repeatedly brought forward with the malicious intent of exposing him to the ridicule of the world—would any man tell him that in cases of that sort truth was not rather an aggravation? On the other hand, in questions relating to public men, verity with respect to public measures ought to be held a complete justification of the libel, if a libel it could be called, in that situation. He conceived, therefore, that the best way would be to permit every defendant to prove the truth of a libel, if he thought proper; and then to consider what effect it ought to have, whether it amounted to a justification or otherwise, and to let it affect the judgment either way and in proportion.

There were two or three great springs, Mr. Fox said, upon which the constitution turned. He thought he saw, among many minuter pieces of political mechanism, the two most important or main springs of the constitution; viz. the representation of the people through the medium of that house, and the juridical power of the people through the medium of juries: and it appeared to him, that if even the other parts of the system fell into disorder, yet if these main springs were preserved in full vigour, the rest might be repaired; but if these gave way, all the rest must fall completely to destruction. The right of the trial by jury could not be complete, unless, in every criminal case where the law and fact were mixed, the jury were to be the judges;

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judges, and unless the intention was to be decided by the jury, and not by men who could only judge by means of books, and many subtleties and distinctions, but could never find out the heart of man, and distinguish between his actions.

Such were the most important general arguments urged by Mr. Fox upon this occasion; and they were ably seconded by Mr. Erskine. Among a variety of legal and political arguments stated by this gentleman, he divided libels into three classes—1st, those which were subjects of civil action; as those which affected lives, property, or liberty, or which occasioned any actual damage—2dly, those which were punishable by indictment, which included all that might in any way disturb the public peace—and, 3dly, those which had a tendency to sow sedition. The law of libels by civil actions was as ancient as the law itself—Reputation ought to be secured by law. The constitution, he observed, had made a difference between civil and criminal cases. A learned judge had asserted, that they were to apply the same rules in both cases. But in order to shew the power that was given to the judges in a civil case, it was entered upon the record; and they afterwards were entitled, if it should not meet with their approbation, to set aside the verdict of the jury. But in a criminal case, though it was stated upon the record, it was necessary to ask leave of the people; and the jury, if they pleased, might throw out the bill. Law and fact, Mr. Erskine said, were kept as much asunder by our constitution, as night and day in the system of nature: matters of property were wisely deemed too intricate for the decision of a jury; but crimes, whose guilt consisted in their intention, were peculiarly fitted for their consideration, and could only properly be ascertained by their verdict. In cases of property, a new trial might be moved for; but if the jury should acquit a criminal, not even the king could afterwards attaint him.

Mr. Erskine stated, that by the present system of things, by merely entering the word *literatim* upon the record, a man might be hanged by the attorney-general for high treason. In such an extension of authority as this, he said, there was an end of the protection of juries. In the present way of treating libels, the judge says to the jury—If you find the publication, you are bound to find him guilty; if you find him not guilty of a libel, there may then be an arrest of judgment. But should he, as counsel for the defendant, move an arrest of judgment upon the plea that there was no libel, the judges would answer, "that the jury had already found the malicious intention."—In an enlightened age, the absurdity of the case was astonishing. In the instance of a duel, where the alternative was that the individual should be banished from society, or expose himself to the hazard of taking away the life of another at an equal risk of his own, the crime was murder; yet, during the course of his experience, in such an instance, murder had never been found. It was however in the power of the attorney-general to render it murder, by putting *literatim* on the record. If the defendant shall appear guilty of all those facts by the verdict, he must be found guilty; but if there shall be afterwards discovered to have existed no malicious intention, judgment might be arrested.

The attorney-general and the chancellor of the exchequer perfectly coincided with the principle of

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of what Mr. Fox and Mr. Erſkine had ſtated; but objected to a committee of juſtice, as it might ſeem to convey an undeſerved cenſure on the exiſting courts. On their recommendation, therefore, Mr. Fox conſented to withdraw his motion, and to ſubſtitute in its place a motion for leave to bring in two bills, one "to remove all doubts reſpecting the right and functions of juries in criminal caſes," and the other "to explain and amend the act of the ninth year of queen Anne, c. 20, relative to *quo warrantos*."

On the 25th of May, Mr. Fox introduced his bill concerning the rights of juries, and, with a ſlight oppoſition from the legal profeſſion, it completed its progreſs through the houſe of commons, with the loſs of its preamble. In the houſe of lords, however, where the influence of the law is more predominant, it experienced a very different reception. It was on the 8th of June that the ſecond reading was moved for in that houſe, when it met with a warm oppoſition from the lord chancellor, who alleged that the purpoſe of thoſe who had introduced the bill was not anſwered by it as fully as they wiſhed; and ſaid, that, conſidering the ſtate of the ſeſſion, and the great importance of the bill, he ſhould move that the bill ſhould be read a ſecond time on that day month.

So extraordinary a motion, unſupported by any ſingle objection againſt the bill, excited the aſtoniſhment of earl Stanhope. His lordſhip ſaid, it was incumbent on that houſe to protect the people of this country from ſuch arrogance, ſuch uſurpation as had been frequently exerciſed by judges in their conduct towards juries. The queſtion, he added, was neither more nor leſs than this—Whether they were to have a trial by jury, or a juriſdiction as deteſtable as the ſtar-chamber itſelf? Four points, he ſaid, ought to be decided by the jury—1ſt, the fact of publication—2d, the ſenſe of the thing publiſhed—3d, the law which made it criminal—and, 4th, the criminal intention. Criminal intention, he obſerved, conſiſted of two parts—1ſt, the intention of publiſhing a thing—and, 2dly, the criminality of the thing publiſhed; and it appeared to his lordſhip, that the leaving theſe points to be decided by a jury, was what conſtituted the difference between this country now, and at the period when it was governed by a ſtar-chamber; between this country in its preſent ſtate, and thoſe countries where tyranny was exerciſed, and deſpotiſm prevailed.

Lord Camden defended the principle of the bill with a noble fund of conſtitutional doctrine. He ſaid, after the bill was paſſed, the law of the land would ſtand juſt where it did before. A jury, he aſſerted, had a right, in deciding on a libel, to judge whether it was criminal or not; and juries not only poſſeſſed that right, but had exerciſed it in various inſtances. With regard to thoſe papers called ſeditious libels, there had been various opinions; but he conceived that the principal cauſe of complaint reſpecting libels had been owing to the directions of ſome judges, who had told the jury that "they had nothing to try but the publication and the innuendoes:" and this, he ſaid, he had always thought contrary to the law of the land. If their lordſhips meant to bring in a bill to ſay that the caſe of libels ſhould not reſt with the jury, they ought to ſpeak out, and declare that it ought to reſt with the judges. It muſt remain either with the judges or the jury; at preſent he conceived it was the province

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of the jury. The licentiouſneſs of the preſs, his lordſhip ſaid, was an abomination; they felt it daily, and could not repreſs it; but the reaſon was, becauſe the law was not well underſtood.

Lord Loughborough declared himſelf alſo friendly to the principle of the bill; but, for the ſatisfaction of others, was willing to give way to the propoſed poſtponement of it to another ſeſſion.

Lord Grenville concurred with lord Loughborough, in what he had ſaid relative to the propriety of poſtponing the bill; but proteſted againſt the idea going forth that adminiſtration were hoſtile to it, or unfriendly to the rights of juries.

The bill was defended in a very able manner by the marquis of Lanſdowne. His lordſhip obſerved, that upwards of twenty years ago, a bill of the ſame nature was introduced, which was negatived, merely on the ground that the law then ſtood exactly as the bill meant to eſtabliſh it, and therefore the bill was unneceſſary. He remembered, he ſaid, a time when proſecutions of the preſs were extremely frequent, and yet public animadverſion had never enjoyed a fuller ſcope than at that period. The marquis conceived it highly juſtifiable to canvas, in every form, public meaſures and public men; but confeſſed that the licentiouſneſs of the preſs had been carried to a moſt ſcandalous exceſs in attacking private character. To his certain knowledge too, public negociations had more than once ſuffered from publications meddling with ſubjects of which the authors were completely ignorant; or, what was worſe, were ſet on by mercantile men, for mercantile purpoſes. He himſelf, he ſaid, had never condeſcended to commence a proſecution for a libel. He declared he never wiſhed to ſee the liberty of the preſs curtailed, but only its licentiouſneſs; and on this principle was a friend to the bill, becauſe it would give them a diſtinct trial by jury. If the whole power was lodged in a jury, and if the proſecutor could expect no favour from the great man on the bench, a proſecution for a libel, inſtead of being conſidered as mean, would be accounted honourable, when the greateſt and firſt men in the country ſubmitted themſelves to the judgment of a jury. It is almoſt unneceſſary, after what we have premiſed, to add that the lord chancellor's motion was carried, and the bill conſequently poſtponed to a future ſeſſion.

In our preceding volume we noticed the progreſs which had been made in the important queſtion relative to the abolition of the ſlave trade. Early in the ſeſſion of 1791, Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of an intended motion for appointing a committee for receiving and examining evidence on that ſubject; and on the 4th of February he ſubmitted a motion to that effect, which was oppoſed by colonel Tarleton and others, on the frivolous ground that there were many other objects on which we might exerciſe our philanthropy; and which was ably ſupported by Mr. Burke, on the principle that the argument was abſurd; that, becauſe there were ſeveral acts of charity to be performed, we ought to neglect the one in hand; and, that, on the contrary, the beſt mode of getting through the acts of charity neceſſary to be performed, was to bring that firſt to an end which was begun.—After a ſhort debate, the motion of Mr. Wilberforce for a committee above ſtairs was put and carried.

It was not however till the 18th of April, that the buſineſs was in ſuch

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such a degree of forwardness as to enable Mr. Wilberforce to press for the abolition. On that day he opened the debate with a most copious display of the leading arguments in favour of that measure. The first point to which he directed the attention of the committee, was the manner in which slaves were obtained on the coast of Africa. This vast country, he observed, was divided into districts of different sizes, some governed by kings, and others, and those the greater part, by elders. The state of civilization was in general very imperfect, their notions of morality extremely rude. It was natural, therefore, that when the kings or chieftains were tempted by the pressing solicitations of appetite to acts of injustice and oppression, they would not be slow in the commission of them. This maxim, founded on the principles of human nature, accorded with the most authentic accounts. To begin with the river Senegal: captain Wilson and captain Hills of the navy, and Mr. Dalrymple of the land service, being at Goree, had an opportunity of making observations in that quarter. On the arrival of the slave ships, armed parties were regularly sent out in the evening, who scoured the country, and brought in their prey in the night: these wretched victims were to be seen, bound back to back, in the huts on the shore; whence they were conveyed, tied hand and foot, on board the slave ships. The object of these depredations was confirmed, beyond all doubt, by the fact, that when the slave trade was stopped, these expeditions also ceased. This representation, he observed, was confirmed by several other witnesses; who added, that these ravages, excited by presents of brandy, gunpowder, &c. were not only carried on by one community against another, but the kings were stimulated to commit them, in their own territories, on their own subjects. Individuals also were kidnapped whilst in their fields and in their gardens. There was a universal sentiment of distrust and apprehension.

On the windward coast, by the evidence of lieutenant Story and Mr. Brewman, they would find all the fore-mentioned evils existing, if possible, in a still higher degree. They would see the remains of villages which had been burnt, whilst the fields of corn were still standing beside them. Here an agent was sent to establish a settlement in the interior country; and his instructions from his employers were, "to encourage the chieftains, by brandy and gunpowder, to go to war, and make slaves." Mr. How, a botanist in the service of government, gave in evidence, that, on the arrival of an order for slaves from Cape Coast Castle, the native chief immediately sent forth his armed parties, who in the night brought in a supply of all descriptions. When captain Hills was in the river Gambia, happening to mention to the black pilot that he wanted a cabin-boy, the pilot told him he might soon obtain one; and accordingly, some youths being on the shore with vegetables to sell, he beckoned them on board, and at the same time intimated that he might then take his choice. When captain Hills rejected the proposal with indignation, the pilot seemed perfectly at a loss to account for his warmth, and dryly observed, that slave captains would not have been so scrupulous. When general Rooke commanded at Goree, a number of the natives, about a hundred and fifty, men, women, and children, came to pay him a friendly visit. All was gaiety and merriment. It was a scene to gladden

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the hardest, and soften the hardest heart. But a slave captain is not to soon put off his guard. Three English barbarians of this description preferred it as their joint request to general Rooke, to seize the whole unsuspecting multitude; alleging the precedent of a former governor, who in a similar case had consented!

The usual proportion of children, he said, on board the slave ships, was one third of the whole cargo, scarcely ever less than one fourth. The only legal way in which children could be brought into that situation, was by whole families being sold, when the principals were condemned for witchcraft: but this, by the evidence of their opponents, was not often the case; and, consequently, the majority of them were obtained by kidnapping, which was indeed confirmed by the testimony of respectable witnesses. On the slave coast, even the administration of justice was converted into an engine of cruelty. Crimes were fabricated, false accusations resorted to, and men employed to seduce unwary persons into the commission of crimes, with a view to the conviction and sale of the culprit.

Another effect of this trade was, that it corrupted the moral principle of those who carried it on. Every possible fraud was employed to deceive the ignorance of the natives, by false weights and measures, adulterated commodities, &c. Such indeed was the opinion the natives entertained of the slave ships, that it had been given in evidence by many respectable commanders in the navy, that when the ships of war appeared off the coast of Africa, the people were so apprehensive of being kidnapped, that they could not be persuaded to come on board, till they were convinced that the vessels were not of the former description.

"But," continued Mr. Wilberforce, "let us withdraw from this disgraceful scene, and, in the words of an emphatical writer, *turn our eyes for relief to some ordinary wickedness*. But, alas! no such relief is yet to be enjoyed—a still more dreadful scene is to succeed. Let us represent to ourselves a vessel, in a sultry climate, heaped to the very brim with these unhappy people, torn from their homes in the manner I have described, and ignorant whither they are going."—He proceeded to state, that even in the year 1788, when the friends of humanity were agitating the subject within those walls, all the misery, all the compulsion, all the despair, all the insanity which on a former occasion he had brought into their view, were actually going forward in the slave ships; and it appeared upon the evidence, that several of these wretches voluntarily threw themselves into the sea, and, before they expired, shewed signs of exultation that they had escaped. A vessel of a hundred and twenty tons, commanded by captain Knox, carried two hundred and ninety slaves, and forty-three other persons: the slaves had not room to lie on their backs, and yet captain Knox had declared, "they slept *tolerably* comfortable!" Another vessel of a hundred and eight tons carried four hundred and fifty slaves; and a third, of a hundred and fifty tons, six hundred. He next adverted to the instance of an African captain; who, on a slave refusing to eat, had ordered *hot coals* to be held to his mouth, till he consented to take food. Mr. Wilberforce spoke of the favourable character which many creditable witnesses had given of the natives of Africa;

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Africa; of their ingenuity, tractableneſs, cheerfulneſs, hoſpitality, and every quality that evinced them to be fitted for civilized life. To ſuppoſe them an inferior ſpecies, and the peculiar objects of the divine vengeance, he termed a groſs and impious blaſphemy.

Conſidering the trade in this one light, as entailing ſuch complicated miſery on the continent of Africa, no petty, dubious intereſt could be ſtated as a ſufficient plea to reſiſt the abolition. He however had little doubt but he ſhould be able to prove, that, inſtead of being ultimately injurious to the Weſt India iſlands, the abolition of the trade would in reality be beneficial to them. He would not detain the committee with arguing againſt the bringing of new lands into cultivation, by freſh importations of African ſlaves, ſince, apart from every conſideration of juſtice and humanity, the impolicy of the meaſure was ſufficiently clear. If they but attended to the evidence of Mr. Woolrich, and conſidered the dreadful mortality that attended the opening of new lands, they would be convinced of the difference between the ſlow but ſure progreſs of cultivation carried on in the natural way, and the attempt to force improvements. He might even appeal to the enormous ſum, ſaid by the Weſt Indians themſelves to amount to more than 20,000,000l. owing to the people of this country.

The grand baſis on which were reſted all the arguments of thoſe who apprehended that the abolition might prove injurious to the Weſt India iſlands, he apprehended to be, that the ſtock of ſlaves now in the iſlands could not be kept up by propagation. In direct refutation of this poſition, he ſhould prove—1ſt, that, in the condition and treatment of the negroes, there were cauſes ſufficient to afford us reaſon to expect a conſiderable decreaſe—2dly, that this decreaſe, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages alluded to, was not ſo great in fact as might be expected: nay, he might now almoſt venture to ſay, that in moſt parts it had actually ceaſed. He wiſhed to treat the gentlemen of the Weſt India iſlands with all poſſible candour: but there were ſome evils neceſſarily connected with a ſyſtem of ſlavery. Above all, the ſtate of degradation to which they were reduced, deſerved to be noticed, ſince it produced an utter inattention to them as moral agents. They were kept to work under the whip like cattle, left totally ignorant of both religion and morality, without any regular ſyſtem of marriage among them; and, conſequently, promiſcuous intercourſe, early proſtitution, and exceſſive drinking, proved material cauſes of their decreaſe.

Whatever might have been ſaid to the contrary, Mr. Wilberforce obſerved, that it was plain from the evidence that the ſlaves had not been under the protection of the law. Colonial ſtatutes had indeed been paſſed, but they were a mere dead letter; ſince, however ill treated, the ſlaves had not been conſidered as having a right to any redreſs. An inſtance of aſtoniſhing cruelty appeared in the teſtimony of Mr. Roſs, as committed by a Jew; but, though a matter of notoriety, it does not ſeem to have entered into the contemplation of any perſon to call him to a legal account. Some inſtances had indeed occurred *very lately*, of convictions; one of which was, for a maſter having cut the mouth of a child from ear to ear: when the verdict of the jury evinced, that

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that the doctrine of calling masters to account was entirely novel, as it only pronounced him "Guilty—subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a slave by his master be a crime indictable." The court determined in the affirmative; and, for this horrid act of cruelty, the master was fined twenty-five shillings!

In point of medical care, the slaves were but in a bad situation; and, from positive evidence, it appeared that they were in general underfed. They were usually supported partly by their own ground, partly by an allowance from their master of flour or grain. In one island, where provision ground does not answer one year in three, the allowance was from five to nine pints of grain a week: in Dominica, from six to seven quarts: and in St. Christopher's, where there was no provision ground, the allowance was but eleven pints. The capital cause of the decrease of the negroes was, however, the non-residence of the planters: sir George Young, and many others, had seen the slaves treated in such a manner as they were sure their owners would have resented, had it been known to them. The fact was, that managers sought to establish their characters, by producing large crops, not considering how far the slaves might suffer from ill treatment and excessive labour. He observed, that in some islands the fine for the wilful murder of a slave was 180l. and in Barbadoes, only 15l.

Against the argument, that the condition of slaves was much preferable to that of free negroes, in the West Indies, Mr. Wilberforce stated the well-known fact, that when a slave, by hard labour, and the indulgence of a kind master, had saved a sum of money, the first use that he made of it was, to purchase the release from this situation of superior happiness, by the sacrifice of his last shilling. The greatest boon too with which a master rewarded the long and faithful services of a slave, was *freedom*. He would not so calumniate the West Indians, as to suppose that they only meant to mock these poor people with a real evil, for an imaginary good. Captain Wilson, he remarked, assures us, that the funerals, which in Africa are attended with lamentations, in the West Indies are accompanied with every mark of exultation and joy. Thus, he trusted, he had made good his first proposition, that the causes of decrease were so many and so great, that a very considerable decrease might be expected.

He would now proceed to fulfil his second proposition, and bring forth such facts as would serve to prove, that in case of the abolition, a very considerable increase might be expected. The testimony of his opponents, he said, furnished him with sufficient examples to prove that wherever the slaves were well treated, there was uniformly an increase in numbers: this he instanced by referring to the evidence for a number of facts, and shewed that in America, in Bencoolen, in St. Vincent and Jamaica, they had always very rapidly increased under tolerably favourable circumstances.

Mr. Wilberforce next proceeded to remark on the apprehended consequences of the abolition, in other views. With respect to the loss of seamen which the nation sustained by this pernicious trade—it appeared, by the Liverpool and Bristol muster-rolls, that in 350 slave ships, having on board 12,263 persons, 2,643 were lost in twelve months; whereas,

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whereas in 452 West-Indiamen, having on board 7,646 persons, 918 only were lost. He remarked the ill effects of the slave-trade as to both the physical and moral habits of the seamen, who, after they had served on board a slave-ship, were seldom thought fit for any other service. He related a fact as a case stranded on the Mosquito Keys, near Jamaica. The crew saved themselves in the boats, and left the unhappy negroes in irons; but afterwards, when the poor slaves had freed themselves from their fetters, and swam upon rafts, &c. to the island where the whites were, these latter, apprehensive of their consuming their provisions, &c. murdered them as they landed, to the number of four hundred. He noticed also the well-known account of captain Collingwood; and the treatment of what are called refuse slaves, that is, those who were sick, and who are sometimes sold as low as a dollar. He adverted to the numbers who lost their lives on the coast of Africa, in the most shocking manner: so that in one year, no less than six ships were cut off, and the crews massacred by the natives; and concluded, that "the history of this commerce was written in characters of blood."

With respect to the effects of the abolition on the commerce of certain places, he remarked, that the slave-trade constituted only a thirtieth of the commerce of Liverpool; and the delegates from that place had declared at the bar, that they could not carry on the trade under the restrictions of the late bill proportioning the numbers to the tonnage. Of the commerce of Bristol, the slave-trade constituted a still smaller proportion. The trade, he said, was a lottery, profitable indeed to some individuals, but a losing trade on the whole. The natural factories established on the coast of Africa, and annually visited by ships from England, were valuable, and about 400,000*l.* of British manufactures were annually exported to Africa. This trade, he considered as the best title. [illegible] The abolition of the slave-trade, he proceeded to shew, was the only means of applying the [illegible] and conviction of the [illegible] mind. Any mode of [illegible] treatment by positive laws [illegible] of the slaves, he considered as only an [illegible]; the [illegible] negroes were to acquiesce in the [illegible] of [illegible] agents, they would [illegible] that they had [illegible] to give them a power of appealing to laws, would awaken them to a sense of the dignity of their nature, the [illegible] of human life, a [illegible] is commonly [illegible], [illegible] at once to the party himself, and to all around him; [illegible] in the case of slaves, he feared might be the consequence of the [illegible] communication of the consciousness of [illegible] rights. It was therefore [illegible] to render it indispensably necessary, that the planters do take care of their slaves, and to provide for their [illegible] by good treatment.

Mr. Wilberforce concluded with noticing the beneficial effects that might result from a fair and open commerce with Africa, which he was capable of producing the most desirable consequences. The slave-trade did not deserve the name of commerce. He said, let the fate of his motion be what it might, he was satisfied of one thing, which was, that "the public had already abolished the slave-trade." Supported by this consideration, he should continue to persevere, and he should never abandon the object till he had accomplished it. He concluded with moving—"That the chairman be instructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further

further importation of African negroes into the British colonies."

Among the most able opposers of the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, were sir William Young and lord Sheffield. It was also resisted by colonel Tarleton, alderman Watson, Mr. Drake, colonel Phipps, and others. The arguments of these gentlemen chiefly consisted in denying or depreciating the evidence which had been offered in favour of the abolition, which they asserted was in part fallacious, and in part exaggerated. The nations of Africa they represented as in a state of barbarism, and endeavoured to prove that the slave trade rather prevented than promoted the loss of human life, since these nations were all in habits of putting to death their prisoners of war. They remarked that the strong and prevailing principle of self-interest bound the planters to take care of their slaves. They urged the faith of parliament so frequently pledged to the West India planters and traders; pleaded the immensity of their debts, and the danger that a precipitate abolition might draw their creditors upon them. Many facts and statements were adduced, to prove that the decrease of slaves in the West Indies was such as to require a constant supply from the coast of Africa; and even the resolutions proposed by Mr. Wilberforce on a former occasion were referred to, to shew that such had formerly been his opinion. The slave trade, it was urged, employed a number of seamen, who were ready to supply on occasion the necessities of the navy. The loss of seamen in this trade seldom exceeded five out of a hundred, whereas the loss in regiments sent to the West Indies and America generally amounted to more than ten out of a hundred.

The exports to Africa were estimated by the supporters of the trade at 800,000l. per annum; and to this we might add the West India trade, which they asserted must suffer by the abolition, the exports and imports of which amounted to upwards of six millions per annum. All this they conceived to be at stake on the question of abolition, and our Newfoundland trade must also suffer.

It was asserted, that if the vote of that evening were to pass, we should only abandon the trade, we should not abolish it. Every nation in Europe, and even the states of America, were endeavouring to form a trade with Africa. The report of M. Barnave, in the national assembly of France, which we noticed in a preceding chapter, was referred to, and was considered as a sanction from that body to the trade. The opening of a free trade with Africa was considered as a visionary project, and never likely to be profitable.

Even the right of Great Britain to bind the colonies by such an act as that which was proposed was doubted. It was insinuated that we might for ever offend, and perhaps alienate the West India islands. The least consequences that could be apprehended were insurrections among the negroes in the islands. The stigma which such a vote would fix on the traffic, would, it was asserted, render the slaves in the plantations dissatisfied with a state of slavery itself; and a late insurrection in Dominica was attributed wholly to the agitation of the question in England.

The measure, it was alleged, was not likely to answer the very end which was proposed by the advocates for the abolition, since the want of hands, which the stoppage of the importation would occasion, would be an inducement to the

planter to work those who remained proportionably harder; and this labour increased from year to year must finally prove the destruction of the negroes, and consequently of the planter himself.

In reply to these arguments, the cause of the abolition was very ably supported by Mr. Francis, Mr. W. Smith, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Fox. Several well-authenticated instances of the most shocking cruelties were stated. It was evinced, that in the West India islands there was no law to the blacks; that the punishments inflicted upon them were of the most horrid kind, such as flogging to death, and *gibbeting alive*; but that the most atrocious murders by the whites escaped unpunished. That so little attention was paid to population, that even when children were produced, the planters would rather give them away than be at the trouble of rearing them! That so little care was taken of infants, that the women slaves deemed it a misfortune to have children; and that it was a maxim among the overseers, "that it was cheaper to buy African slaves than to breed, as they lost so much of the mother's work during infancy."

Mr. Pitt observed, that the present was not a mere question of feeling; it was not for the purpose of exercising humanity, that the abolition was pressed upon the committee. The main argument was, that the slave trade was founded in *injustice*. "It is therefore," said he, "such a trade as it is impossible for me to support, unless gentlemen will in the first place prove that there are no laws of morality binding upon nations, and that it is no duty of a legislature to restrain its subjects from invading the happiness of other countries, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice."

He took a very ample view of the probable consequences of the abolition to the West India islands;—though he trusted "that no small or temporary disadvantage to the plantations, no slight degree of expediency, no trifling balance of profit, would determine any gentleman in the present question. The slave trade was an evil of such magnitude, that there must be one common wish in the committee at once to put an end to it, if there was no very great and serious obstacle."

Taking the island of Jamaica as the standard of his calculations, as it in reality contained more than half of the slaves in the whole West Indies, he proceeded to shew that the population might be sufficiently supported without fresh importations from Africa. He observed, that in the twenty years ending in 1788, the annual loss of slaves (that is, the excess of deaths above the births) was in Jamaica about *one* in a hundred. In preceding periods this loss was greater, and had gradually diminished. A peculiar calamity had during that period swept away 15,000 at once; and of the mortality which now took place, an immense proportion consisted of the new negroes who died in seasoning. From these premises therefore it was fair to conclude, as the decrease every year grew less and less, that in future, should the abolition take place, it would be very trifling indeed. Added to these reasons, it was evident, that when the importation ceased, that disproportion between the sexes (the males imported being much more numerous than the females), which was one of the chief obstacles to population, would be removed; and the planters finding

finding so mean and urgent an interest in promoting population, every means to that end would be employed, and a new system of happiness and prosperity would be established in the islands.

After these remarks, Mr. Pitt proceeded to take a view of the other islands. In Barbadoes, he said, the population appeared rather on the increase. In St. Kitts the decrease for fourteen years had not been one per cent. In Antigua, but for a particular calamity, the decrease would have been almost nothing. In Nevis and Montserrat there was little or no disproportion of sexes. In Dominica there was an increase of the births above the deaths. From all this he concluded, that there was no serious ground of alarm to the West Indies from the immediate abolition of the trade.

The reasonings of the chancellor of the exchequer were strongly enforced by the energetic eloquence of Mr. Fox. He said, that having received evidence, having had the facts undeniably established, knowing in short what the slave trade was, if they did not by the vote of that night mark their abhorrence of a practice so enormous, so repugnant to all laws human and divine, it would be more scandalous and more defaming in the eyes of the world than any were the house of commons had ever given. It would in fact be giving a parliamentary sanction to rapine, robbery, and murder.

If the population of the islands was not on the increase, he proved it much entirely arise from the errors and negligence of the planters themselves. The climate was declared to be remarkably congenial to the negroes, so much so, that this circumstance had been actually pleaded in favour of the slave trade. Why then should they not breed? It was merely because the West India planters thought it more convenient, or more cheap, to buy them. What then was the purpose for which this accursed and horrid trade was kept up? The purpose was this—to give the planters an opportunity of destroying the negroes on their plantations as fast as they pleased.

Mr. Fox adverted to the means of obtaining slaves, and particularly that mode in which the slave dealers wished us to believe they were usually obtained, viz. by the banishment of criminals. The slave trade in this view, he observed, was kept up by us on a sort of friendly principle, and as a necessary part of the police of Africa. The chief crimes which produced convictions were alleged to be adultery and witchcraft. Was adultery then a crime, that we need to go to Africa to punish? Or, in the case of witchcraft, was it the part of an enlightened nation, instead of endeavouring to dispel the ignorance of these poor people, to lend themselves to their superstition, and become the instruments of their blind vengeance?

To the instances of barbarity narrated by Mr. Smith, Mr. Fox added two others. In one of the French islands a poor negro had run away; to prevent his repeating the offence, and as a common punishment for such offences, the planter ordered the surgeon to amputate his leg: but the surgeon, who had more humanity than his master, refused. "You refuse," said the planter; "then what you decline as an act of friendship to me, I will force you to do as an act of duty," and immediately broke the poor wretch's leg in a barbarous manner. The other instance occurred in an English island. As one of the evidences, Mr. Ross, was walking along, he heard the

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most dreadful shrieks proceeding from a barn or outhouse. On looking in, he perceived a young female tied up to a beam by her wrists, entirely naked, writhing and wringing about, while the author of her torture was applying a lighted torch to different parts of her body as it approached him.

Mr. Fox added, that it was one of the most glorious triumphs of the christian religion, that it produced the almost immediate abolition of domestic slavery, and this it did by inculcating this important truth, That in the sight of heaven all mankind were equal.

Such was the impression which the speeches of Mr. Fox, and the other members who supported the abolition, made on the understanding and the feelings of their hearers, that Mr. Stanley declared, that he had come to the house for the express purpose of voting against the abolition, but, what he had heard had convinced him that the entire abolition of the slave trade was equally called for by sound policy and justice. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was notwithstanding negatived by a majority of

To those who have perused with an impartial eye the evidence on the debate on the slave trade, it may appear at first extraordinary that the motion of Mr. Wilberforce should not at once have met with an unanimous concurrence. We are, however, to remember that the proposal had many prejudices to encounter. Man is by nature a timid animal, and is with difficulty persuaded to enter upon any innovation, the direct consequences of which are not exceedingly clear. In this business, the interests of two considerable bodies were either really or apparently involved, the West India planters and merchants, and the slave dealers and all connected with the trade. To the former description of persons every possible tenderness and attention from the British legislature is undoubtedly due. To men who have embarked their capitals and exposed their persons in a tropical climate, and whose labours all ultimately tend to the enriching of the mother country, too much favour, as far as is consistent with the principles of justice, can scarcely be shewn; and if it could be proved that they would be materially injured by the measure, then Mr. Pitt's proposition would be strongly argued for the abolition, and the slave trade would be condemned only on account of the gross and manifest injustice which it radically involves, and which none has presumed to deny. Many of the West India planters and merchants are persons of the highest respectability, and on account of their utility to the state, as the supporters of a lucrative and important commerce, have a further claim on the attention of the legislature. The slave dealers and those immediately concerned in that trade have not this claim upon the public. They are chiefly desperate adventurers, who have, with a true gambling spirit, embarked in this precarious, but sometimes profitable traffic. We cannot indeed help suspecting, that the gentlemen who are possessed of West India estates, or are engaged in that trade, have in this business been made the dupes of the slave dealers in part, and in part of their own managers, who, on many accounts are interested in the support of the African trade. Upon the broad principles of human nature, it is impossible to doubt but that, with proper management, a very considerable increase might be produced in the population of the West Indies, nor can we hesitate to believe that

that this would be the most profitable and advantageous mode of cultivation for the planters. But whatever their motives, as friends to the West Indians, we cannot but lament the opposition which they have given to the proposal for abolishing the slave trade. One immediate consequence, which must in the end prove materially injurious to the interests of the West India islands, was the establishment of a company for the express purpose of cultivating West India and other tropical productions at Sierra Leona, on the coast of Africa, the bill for chartering whom was introduced on the 28th of March by Mr. Thornton. Another circumstance, which, trifling as it may appear, will ultimately prove not to be in their favour, is the number of persons whom their opposition has impelled to the disuse of sugar, a considerable majority of whom will certainly not return to the use of it in every mode. Supposing even for a moment, that the interests of the West Indies should be in some degree affected by the abolition; in that case, had the gentlemen connected with the islands come liberally forward on the first agitation of the question, declared their abhorrence of the trade, but pleaded their apprehensions from the immediate abolition, there is little doubt but they might have obtained better terms than they are now likely to obtain; we mean, a more distant period might have been fixed for the annihilation of the trade than is now likely to be fixed; since the truth is, that the more the slave trade has been investigated, the more has the indignation of the public been excited against it.

It has been already intimated, that one of the main objects recommended in his majesty's speech was, that the house would consider of such regulations for the government of the province of Quebec, as the present circumstances of the province should appear to require. Early in the session the matter was brought more in detail before the house, by a message from the king, importing that it appeared to his majesty, that it would be for the benefit of the inhabitants of the province, that the same should be divided into two separate provinces, to be called the Upper and Lower Canada. He further recommended to the house to consider of such provisions as might enable his majesty to make a permanent appropriation of lands within the said provinces, for the maintenance of a protestant clergy within the same, &c.

On the 4th of March, in pursuance of this message, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain provisions of the fourteenth of his majesty respecting the government of Canada, and to make such further provisions, &c.

Mr. Pitt stated, that the division of the province into an Upper and Lower Canada, he hoped, would put an end to the competition between the old French inhabitants, and the new settlers from Britain and the British colonies: this division, he trusted, would be made in such a manner as to give each a great majority in their own particular part, although it could not be expected to draw a complete line of separation. Any inconveniences, however, to be apprehended from ancient Canadians being included in the one, or British settlers in the other, would be averted by a local legislature to be established in each.

In imitation of the constitution of the mother country, he should propose a council and house of assembly for each; the assembl

be constituted in the usual manner, and the members of the council to be members for life; reserving power to his majesty to annex to certain honours an hereditary right of sitting in the council. All laws and ordinances of the province were to remain in force till altered by the new legislature. The habeas corpus act was already law by an ordinance of the province, and was to be continued as a fundamental principle of the constitution.

It was further meant to make a provision for a protestant clergy in both divisions, by an allotment of lands in proportion to those already granted; and as in one of them the majority of the inhabitants would be catholics, it was meant to provide, that it should not be lawful for his majesty to assent to future grants for this purpose without first submitting them to the consideration of the British parliament. The tenures were to be settled in Lower Canada by the local legislature; in Upper Canada, the settlers being chiefly British, the tenures were to be soccage tenures. To prevent any such dispute as that which separated the thirteen states from the mother country, it was provided that the British parliament should impose no taxes but such as might be necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and to guard against the abuse of this power, such taxes were to be levied and disposed of by the legislature of each division.

In its progress through the house the bill was warmly opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Hussey, lord Sheffield, and some other gentlemen. They objected in the first place to the division of the province. It had been urged, Mr. Fox said, that by such means we could separate the English and the French inhabitants; but, was this to be desired? Was it agreeable to general and political expediency? The most desirable circumstance was, that the French and English inhabitants of Canada should coalesce into one body, and that the different distinctions of people might be extinguished for ever. If this had been the object in view, the English laws might soon have prevailed universally throughout Canada—not from force, but from choice, and conviction of their superiority.

The proposed representation was also a strong ground of objection. The great object (it was observed by the same great statesman) of all popular assemblies was, that the people should be fully and fairly represented; and that the representative body should have all the virtues and the vices incident to such assemblies: but when the assembly of one province was to consist of only sixteen, and the other of thirty persons, they deluded the people by a mockery of representation; they seemed to give them a free constitution, when in fact they withheld it: and it was on the whole so great a fallacy, that he hoped it never would be said that we gave Canada even a sketch of the British constitution. Such an assembly might be a wise assembly, a virtuous assembly, an enterprising assembly, but it never could be called a popular assembly.

The period of election was considered by the opposition as equally inconsistent with freedom. In England, it was acknowledged, we had a septennial bill, but the goodness of it had been doubted even by many of those who took the lead in the present bill. One reason assigned for the propriety of such a bill was, that general elections in this country were attended with great and innumerable inconveniences; but in a coun-

country so differently circumstanced as Canada, why not make the elections annual, or triennial at most? A septennial bill indeed was peculiarly ill calculated for that country, where many of the most respectable persons might be persons in trade, and, if chosen representatives for seven years, might not be in a situation to attend during the whole of that period; though they might be able to give their attendance for one or even three years, without danger or inconvenience to their commercial concerns; and thus, by a septennial bill, the country of Canada might be deprived of more than half of the few representatives which were allowed it by the present arrangement.

The legislative councils were considered as peculiarly liable to objection. In the first place, they were unlimited as to numbers by any thing but the will of the government. Instead of being, as in some of the West India colonies, hereditary councils, or councils chosen by electors, they were compounded of both. As to the points of hereditary honours and hereditary powers, Mr. Fox observed, to say that they were good or they were not good, as a general proposition, was not easy to decide; but he saw nothing so good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known, and by such means to distinguish Canada from all the colonies in the West Indies. In countries where they made a part of the constitution, he did not think it wise to destroy them; but to create them where they did not exist, he considered as exceedingly unwise. He could not account for it, unless it was, that Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry, which had fallen into so much disgrace in a neighbouring country.

The provision for the clergy was considered as being too large, particularly in those parts where the inhabitants were almost all Roman catholics. The bill was also exceptionable so far as related to the regulation of appeals at law. Suitors were first to apply to the courts in Canada, thence to appeal to the governor and council, thence to the king in council, and lastly to the house of lords. Now if the house of lords was a better court than the king in council, why not apply to the house of lords at once? The trial by jury, as well as the habeas corpus act, it was urged, ought to have been made integrant parts of the present bill, and not left to an ordinance of the province.

The bill was defended by Mr. Pitt on the principle of expediency. He alleged that the representation bore a proportion to the population of the country, as that of the upper province amounted to only 10,000 inhabitants, and of the lower to not more than 100,000. The assemblies undoubtedly ought to extend with the growing population of Canada. A septennial legislature appeared the most convenient; but if found to be otherwise, there was nothing to hinder the legislature of Great Britain from correcting at a future period any part of the present bill. Mr. Pitt defended the hereditary part of the legislative council by saying, that an aristocratical principle being one part of our mixed government, he thought it proper there should be such a council as that provided for in the bill. As to the provision for the clergy, one tenth of the produce was evidently a much greater

preſſion that long ſubſiſted in the land. Dividing the province he conſidered to the beſt mode of conſulting the French inhabitants, as they would by this means be made ſenſible that there was no intention to force the Britiſh law upon them. It would alſo prevent diſputes that might take place if there were but one houſe of aſſembly.

During the diſcuſſion of this bill, a moſt extraordinary diſpute took place between two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the oppoſition. In our preceding volume we noticed the difference between Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan, ſimilar to that which now obſerved between the former of thoſe gentlemen and Mr. Fox. Though, however, the diſcuſſion of the Quebec bill was the apparent occaſion which produced this clash of ſentiment, yet there is much reaſon to believe that the ſeeds of diſcord had long been ſown. The well known irritability of Mr. Burke upon the ſubject of the French politics had eſtranged from him in ſome degree his former friends who differed from him on that ſubject; and even in the debate to which we allude he complained that Mr. Fox's viſits had been leſs frequent than they had formerly been. Poſſibly the alluſion of Mr. Fox, which we noticed in the preceding page, to the times of chivalry, might ſerve in ſome degree to irritate Mr. Burke, and to call forth his animadverſions on the preſent occaſion. But as ſome account of the difference between theſe illuſtrious characters may be more intereſting as a point of hiſtory than conjectures concerning its motives, we ſhall proceed to lay a ſhort ſtatement of the facts before our readers.

On the conſtitution for the Quebec bill, on the 6th of May, ſoon after the chairman had put the queſtion, that the clauſes of the bill be read paragraph by paragraph, Mr. Burke roſe. He ſaid, to ſpeak to the general principle of the bill. He enlarged upon the importance of the ſubject which they were now about to perform, viz. to appoint a legiſlature for a diſtant people. The firſt conſideration was the competency of the houſe to ſuch an act. A body of rights, commonly called the *rights of man*, had been lately impoſed from a neighbouring kingdom. The principle of that new code was, That all men are by nature free, and equal in reſpect to rights, &c. If this code, that ſovereign aſſembly admitted, the power of the houſe could not extend no further than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to chooſe a conſtitution for themſelves. Rejecting this code, however, which was never practiſed by any, but without miſchief, he would aſſume the principle, that this country had acquired the right of legiſlating for Canada by right of conqueſt. The next queſtion then was, what model was to be followed in inſtituting a government for Canada? He proceeded to mention the three great modern examples, the conſtitutions of America, of France, and of Great Britain. With reſpect to America, as a conſiderable portion of the inhabitants of Canada had emigrated from that country, as they had fled from the bleſſings of American government, there was no danger of their being ſo much ſhocked with the intrinſic baſeneſs of the Britiſh conſtitution as to aſſent to it. He next noticed the French conſtitution, which he condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms. He ſaid the practical effects of this conſtitution might be ſeen in St. Domingo, and the other

other French ministers they were thoroughly and happily still employed in the rights of man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Paradise was complete: with every [illegible] formed the fly, degenerated [illegible] and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the country. Ought this example to induce us to send to our colonies a code of the rights of man? An idea would be sent them as bale of [illegible] cotton from Manchester. The [illegible] of France, in consequence of this constitution, the representative of [illegible] was [illegible] a king who was everything in name, and nothing in reality; a count [illegible] Fayette, the chief jailor of Paris, mounted guard, as a state prisoner, and, when being desirous of a little fresh air, obtained a day to go five miles from Paris, but was stopped by one of his faithful [illegible] presenting a bayonet to his breast.

At this part of his speech, Mr. Dundas called Mr. Burke to order; and a long altercation ensued, [illegible] the decency and propriety of travelling and strolling foreign governments, when the question before the house merely respected the government of Quebec. In the course of the dispute, Mr. Burke intimated, that there was a design formed in this country, by certain persons, against the constitution. Mr. Sheridan moved, "that dissertations on the French constitution were not to the purpose on the question, that the clauses of the Quebec bill be read and decided upon paragraph by paragraph."

Mr. Dundas seconded the motion. In the course of his speech, Mr. Fox observed, that if Mr. Burke's intention had been to debate the Quebec bill, he would have objected it clause by clause, treating on the established practice of the house. If his objection had been to prevent the apprehended danger to the British constitution, he would have given notice of a particular day for that particular purpose; or would have taken any other occasion for doing it, rather than this, on which his honest and decent friend had been misrepresented and traduced. But that the object which his right honourable friend had taken was such [illegible] to consume the [illegible] against him, of having maintained republican principles, [illegible] applicable to the British constitution, as [illegible] debate on the bill. He defended his former sentiments, relating to the French revolution. He repeated "that he thought it was the whole one of the most glorious æras in the history of mankind." In this assertion, however, he spoke of the *revolution*, and not of the *constitution*, the latter remained to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumstances. Mr. Fox said, that if the committee should decide that his right honourable friend should pursue his argument on the French constitution, he would leave the house still in a state of [illegible]. He said, however, that on a proper occasion he should have no objection to maintain his sentiments; and would undertake to prove, that the *rights of man*, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as nonsense, were the basis of the British constitution, as our statutes bear evidence in recognizing the original inherent rights of the people in men, which no prescription should supersede, nor accidents remove nor obliterate. If such principles were dangerous to this constitution, then

were the principles of his right honourable friend, from whom he had learned them. His right honourable friend had said, with equal energy and emphasis, "that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people." Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he could not help rejoicing ever since the French constitution could boast the same foundation with the British, the rights of man. Mr. Fox declared that he had said more than he intended; but if his sentiments could serve the other side of the house, which had commenced the discussion apparently with a view to get at them, they had taken unnecessary pains. They might be sure of him and his sentiments on every subject, without forcing any thing like a difference between him and his right honourable friend.

Mr. Burke began his reply with reminding the house, that he had calmly heard to the end one of the most disorderly speeches ever made in that assembly. He complained that Mr. Fox had treated him unfairly; and had made a direct personal attack on all he had said, on all he had written, on every thing that passed in their public and private intercourse. He said, Mr. Fox was no stranger to his sentiments on the Quebec bill; they had walked down to the house together, talking all the way upon the subject. He asserted again that dangerous doctrines were encouraged in this country. It was become the practice to extol, in the highest strain, the French constitution; and those who disapproved of the anarchy and confusion which prevailed in France, were stigmatized as the enemies of liberty. He insisted, that the discussion of the Quebec bill was a proper opportunity to put the country on its guard against those dangerous doctrines, as it afforded an occasion of entering upon a true and minute comparison of the French constitution with that of England. He had been accused, he said, of having provoked this discussion, to give an advantage to the enemies of Mr. Fox on a principle which he utterly disclaimed, and never thought that any fair or candid man would have laid to his charge. He could have produced unexceptionable authorities for all that he should have advanced concerning France, had he been permitted. He could have shown that the people of that country had gained nothing by the revolution, but that, computing evil with evil, much respecting the liberty of the subject, his happiness, and the preservation of his property, they were much worse off now than under the old government. He charged Mr. Fox with having treated him not only with harshness, but malignity; after having harassed him with his light troops in the skirmishes of order, he brought the heavy artillery of his own great abilities to bear upon him. Mr. Burke denied the charge of inconsistency, and said his opinions on government had ever been the same. As he proceeded to treat, in a luminous manner, of the discipline which Mr. Fox maintained among his troops in that house, he was called to order by Mr. Grey; but refusing to apologize, he proceeded, and urged his majesty's ministers to look with a vigilant eye to the plots to which he had alluded. He adverted to the riots of 1780: had he at that time come forward, and cautioned the house to beware of the protestant association, he supposed he would have

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have experienced the ſame treatment as now. He obſerved, that he had differed on many occaſions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loſs of friendſhip between them; but there was ſomething in the *curſed* French conſtitution that envenomed every thing. Mr. Fox whiſpered that there was no loſs of friendſhip. Mr. Burke replied: There was—he knew the price of his conduct: he had done his duty, and their friendſhip was at an end. Mr. Burke earneſtly urged the right honourable gentlemen, who were the great rivals in that houſe, that whether they ſhould move in the political hemiſphere, as two blazing ſtars in oppoſite orbits, or walk together as brethren, they would preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution, and guard it againſt innovation. He concluded with moving an amendment on lord Sheffield's motion—That the words of the motion, after "diſſertations on the French conſtitution," be omitted, and the following inſerted in their room—"tending to ſhew that examples may be drawn therefrom; and to prove that they are inſufficient for any good purpoſes, and that they may lead to anarchy and confuſion, and are conſequently unfit to be introduced into ſchemes of government, are improper to be referred to, &c."

Mr. Fox roſe to reply; but the agitation of his mind was ſo great, as to deprive him for ſome time of utterance.—He ſaid, however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, ſtill he muſt ſo call him; becauſe, grating as it was to any man to be unkindly treated by thoſe on whom he had beſtowed obligations, it was ſtill more grating to meet with ſuch treatment from thoſe by whom he had been highly obliged, and whom, notwithſtanding their harſhneſs and ſeverity, he muſt ſtill love and eſteem. Almoſt from a boy he had been in the habit of receiving favours from his right honourable friend, and they had lived on the moſt intimate terms for twenty-five years. He hoped, therefore, that notwithſtanding what had happened, the right honourable gentleman would think on paſt times; and, whatever imprudent or intemperate expreſſions of his might have offended him, would at leaſt believe that ſuch was not his intention. He repeated his reaſons why Mr. Burke's introducing the French revolution, in a debate on which he had been charged with republican principles, appeared to be done with an intention to injure him. It was the firſt time, he ſaid, that he had ever heard from a philoſopher, that the beſt way of praiſing the Britiſh conſtitution, was by abuſing every other. For his part, he had ever thought that the Britiſh conſtitution, in theory, was imperfect and defective; but that in practice it was excellently adapted to this country. He had often ſaid, that becauſe he admired the Britiſh conſtitution, was it to be concluded that there was no other part of the conſtitution of other countries worth praiſing, or that the Britiſh conſtitution was not ſtill capable of improvement? As a proof that it had not been thought quite perfect, he reminded the houſe of the two late projects of reform; that propoſed by Mr. Pitt for the reform of parliament, and that of his right honourable friend for the reform of the civil liſt. Mr. Fox alluded to the expreſſion Mr. Burke had made uſe of, *diſciplined* troops; and added, that if this was meant to convey an inſinuation that any improper influence was exerciſed on the minds of gentlemen, ſuch an imputation he utterly diſclaimed. To ſhew further

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that the British constitution was not perfect, Mr. Fox mentioned the vote of the year 1780, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." To this vote his right honourable friend had assented; and in 1783, when his majesty, on the loss of America, lamented in his speech the fate of the provinces, in being deprived of the advantages resulting from monarchy, Mr. Burke had ridiculed the idea, and compared it to a man's opening the door, after he had left the room, and saying, "At our parting, pray let me recommend a monarchy to you." He said, if we did not wish a monopoly of that liberty which we prized so highly, we must rejoice in the emancipation of France. Feeling the present temper of Mr. Burke's mind, he said, he should keep out of his way till time and reflection had fitted him to think differently of the subject; and then if their friends did not endeavour to re-unite them, they would not act as he had a right to expect.

The concessions of Mr. Fox made but little impression on Mr. Burke. He said, that the tenderness displayed in the beginning and end of his speech, had been completely counterbalanced by what occurred in the middle of it; and complained loudly of Mr. Fox taking advantage even of his jokes and most careless expressions, to prove him guilty of inconsistency. It had been said that in some points the British constitution might be amended; but had he ever said that that or any other human constitution might not? It had been said, that, in order to praise the British, he had thought proper to abuse every other constitution; but had he ever displayed any such spirit? He would not even have brought forward the French constitution, had not attempts been made to introduce the monster into this country. Libels, he said, had been circulated against the constitution, by societies calling themselves constitutional. He said, when he saw the new French constitution, he wept; it was the work of Goths and Vandals, where every thing was out of place, disjointed and inverted. He mentioned many of the enormities which were committed in France, and particularly the religious persecution to which the non-juring clergy had been subjected; and which, he justly observed, was a cruel violation of the principles of toleration. His opinion of the American revolution did not militate against his opinion of the French, as the Americans had some reason for the conduct which they had pursued.

The chancellor of the exchequer explained that part of his former speech, which Mr. Fox had considered as charging him with republican principles. He said, that when that gentleman proposed an elective instead of an hereditary council, he conceived that he (Mr. Fox) was inclined to think that a larger infusion of the republican principle than at present subsisted in the British constitution, was best adapted to the new government of Canada; but that this was a sentiment to which he (Mr. Pitt) could not possibly agree. With this explanation Mr. Fox declared himself satisfied, and concluded this unnatural debate with intimating, that at a future day he had no doubt of exculpating himself from every charge of republicanism.

The debate which followed on the same bill, on the 11th of May, took a milder and more temperate course. Mr. Fox declared himself an advocate for the British constitution,

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tution, and for hereditary honours, such as existed in this country, which were frequently incentives to patriotism and virtue: he granted, however, that his principles were so far republican, that he wished to give the crown less power, and the people more, in every government, old or new; and added, that he was decidedly of opinion, that the constitution of this country was more liable to be ruined by an increase of the power of the crown than of the people. Mr. Burke denied that he had ever imputed democratic principles to Mr. Fox, with a view to hurt him; and if he had pushed him to a declaration of his principles, the speech which they had just heard from him would prove how far he was likely to have attained his end. He considered himself as forsaken by his party; but he had done his duty to his country, in warning it against the pernicious French principles, at a time when there was not merely a plot, but open and avowed attempts to subvert the constitution.

Thus concluded an altercation, which has produced a schism still evident in the politics of the opposition party. How far the later proceedings in France may tend to abate the ardour of contention, which the French revolution first excited in this country, it is difficult to say. To us it appears that they are too likely to unite all sensible and well disposed persons in a condemnation of the present measures of the popular party there, however they may have differed as to the principle of the Gallic revolution.

CHAP. VIII.

Message from his Majesty. Dispute with Russia. Armament voted. Debates on the State of the Nation, and on the Probability of a War with Russia. Debates in the Lords on these Subjects. Committee of Finance. Budget. Debate on the Report of the Committee of Finance. Finances of India. Debate on the Repeal of the Test Act, as far as regards the Church of Scotland. Scottish Burghs. Prorogation of Parliament. Riots at Birmingham.

WHILE several of the topics which we have just noticed remained in agitation before the British senate, the attention of that body was called to another object, not less important to the interests and welfare of the nation. On the 28th of March a message was delivered from his majesty, importing that the endeavours which he had used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification, not having proved successful, his majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force.

As soon as Mr. Pitt had moved "that the message be taken into consideration on the morrow," Mr. Fox rose, and deplored the circumstance of their having fallen into a situation so unfortunate and so unexpected. Reserving himself for the consideration of the message, he asked the chancellor of the exche-

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quer, whether he meant only to move a ſimple addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the communication, or whether he meant to include in the vote an approbation of the meaſure? If the latter were to be the caſe, he hoped the doctrine of confidence had not yet proceeded ſo far, that they would haſtily profeſs themſelves ready to ſupport the king's expences, without having before them any grounds of information whatever. Mr. Pitt anſwered, that it had not been uſual to delay the conſideration of a meſſage from his majeſty longer than a day; and in the preſent caſe, there were many reaſons why the buſineſs ought not to be deferred. He intimated alſo, that a vote of ſupplies would be included in the anſwer to the meſſage.

The debate on the 29th was opened by Mr. Pitt, who lamented that his majeſty's endeavours to reſtore peace to Europe had proved ineffectual; yet while they felt the advantage of that ſyſtem of defenſive alliance, which had been ſo generally countenanced, he truſted they would admit that a temporary expence might be wiſely and judiciouſly incurred, to prevent any alteration taking place in the relative condition of the affairs of Europe. With a view to the ſtate of theſe affairs, he ſaid, an additional force had been kept up after the late armament; and a further addition was now neceſſary. He ſtated, that if defenſive alliances were to be maintained, it was our duty to adhere to thoſe alliances. The influence of the Turkiſh empire, he ſaid, was of great effect in the general ſcale of European powers; and its preſent ſituation was ſuch, as to afford juſt cauſe of apprehenſion to all the other powers, whoſe intereſts were at all liable to be affected by a diminution of that influence; and to Pruſſia in particular it muſt be highly injurious, to ſuffer the Turkiſh empire to be diminiſhed in force and conſequence. He therefore moved an addreſs, to thank his majeſty for the communication, and to aſſure him that the houſe would make good the expences, &c.

Lord Wycombe obſerved, that, on firſt hearing this report, he had met it with a poſitive diſbelief. In a commercial view, there were no benefits to be hoped for from the meaſure, in any degree equivalent to the miſchief attending hoſtilities. In a political view, he could not think a diſpute concerning the frontiers of Turkey was a ſufficient motive to engage this country in a war. At all events, he ſhould reſiſt the meaſure, till he was poſſeſſed of a more adequate ſhare of information on the ſubject.

On the ſame grounds the motion was oppoſed by Mr. Coke, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Martin, Mr. Vyner, and others; and it was ſupported by Mr. Steele.

Mr. Fox declared, that he was not againſt a neceſſary ſhare of confidence in miniſtry; but he obſerved, at the ſame time, that *neceſſary* confidence was only a neceſſary evil; and ought, therefore, to be always the leaſt that the nature of things would permit. To admit ſimply that the king, by the advice of his miniſters, had ordered an armament, and that the houſe muſt pay the expence, was not in all the gradations of rational confidence; and the houſe of commons which entertained the propoſition, betrayed its duty and inſulted its conſtituents. The right honourable gentleman who moved the addreſs had enveloped himſelf in myſtery and importance, but explained nothing. Where the balance

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of power was mentioned as a reason for arming, it ought to be shown how it was endangered. When supplies are called for to prevent the aggrandisement of Russia, it ought to be stated whom she meant to attack. He mentioned it as a general opinion, that Russia was attacked by the Porte, at the instigation of Great Britain and Prussia. If this was not so, why did we not prevent the war, if we thought we had any concern in its issue? Would sir Robert Ainslie say, that he had been instructed to divert the Porte from attacking Russia? In all his majesty's former speeches, he had regretted the war on principles of humanity; but always added an assurance, that no danger was to be apprehended from it to us. What then had since happened to involve us? The dispute between the empress and us he believed to be this: She offered to cede all her conquests between the Niester and the Danube, and proposed to retain only those between the Niester and the Don; while we insisted that she should surrender all her conquests without exception. Such was the proposition which we held out to Russia; while in India, in our own case, we insisted that, should we be successful against Tippoo Sultaun, he should not only make reparation, but also surrender as much as we could conquer of his territories, as a fine for having made the first attack. Our whole ground of quarrel with Russia was, therefore, the tract of territory he had mentioned; unprofitable and worthless to any power, except for a single place contained in it, and this place was Oczakow. Now had Oczakow been taken in the present year, it might have been said to have produced a change of circumstances; but it was taken in 1788, and in 1789 his majesty again assured parliament, that the situation of affairs was such as promised a continuance of peace.

Whatever confidence, he observed, might be claimed by ministers, none could be due where they had betrayed incapacity; and this the present ministers had done in their continental connexions. In the negociations at Reichenbach, when they found the emperor disposed to peace, they had neglected the opportunity of engaging the empress by the same arguments which induced him to consent, and which were then in their power. They had stimulated Sweden to attack Russia; prevented Denmark from assisting her; and then neglected Sweden. If the armament in the Spanish dispute was equipped with any view to Russia, deceit and falsehood were practised upon the house. After the termination of the dispute, why did we disarm, if we knew that we had still occasion for an armament? Accidental causes, and particularly the state of France, had contributed to our prosperity. But how miserably had we abused these advantages! By the absurd pride of interfering in the affairs of every foreign state, we had involved ourselves in expence, and obtained only the hazard of war. Neither had we been successful in any but the instance of Holland. We had not lowered Russia; we had not raised Sweden; and between the emperor and his Belgic subjects our interference had been ridiculous. The allied powers had made certain stipulations with the emperor in behalf of the provinces; and when marshal Bender was about to enter the Netherlands with an armed force, their ministers at the Hague wrote him, that he must *stop* till certain preliminaries were adjusted. His answer

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was a peremptory refusal. They then said, "You must take the consequence, we wash our hands of the business." If our allies were attacked, we had then indeed a right to interfere; but we had no alliance with Turkey, and were only called on to gratify the pride of our own ministers, and second the ill-judged policy of Prussia. How far ministers were pledged to support that policy he knew not, but he knew the country was not bound to support it.

Mr. Pitt in reply observed, that as Mr. Fox had admitted, that to interfere occasionally in the politics of the continent made a part of that defensive system which he had always thought it right to support, the present question was simply, "whether the present was an occasion on which we ought to interfere?" Now if it were true that Prussia, by the aggrandisement of Russia, must be endangered, and consequently our defensive system impaired, then the circumstances actually called for our interference. It had been insinuated that ministers were bound by engagements to Prussia, with which the country had nothing to do. He begged leave to assure the house that the insinuation was unfounded, and that ministers were bound by no engagements to Prussia but such as had received the sanction of parliament. Admitting, for the sake of argument, what he would not admit in fact, that we ought to have interposed sooner on the present occasion, that was no reason against interposing now. But had the necessity been so pressing at any former period, or were such consequences to be apprehended without a speedy interference? It was next said, that we had lost the opportunity of bringing Russia to terms, when the emperor was prevailed on to treat—But when the emperor manifested a favourable disposition, would it have been wise to suspend the negociations with him, at the risk of their being broken off, in order to wait for the consequences of Russia? Pending our dispute with Spain, we were neither so free to act as now, nor was the necessity then so urgent. But why, it was asked, did we dismiss our armament after that dispute was concluded? We had not dismissed our armament, for we had kept up a considerable addition of force; but as the season of the year made it impossible to act for several months we had not kept up a force of fifty ships of the line, because it would have been to no purpose, and the expence would have exceeded that of the present armament.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the predominance of Russia would probably effect an alteration in the state of Europe in other respects disadvantageous to this country, with respect to *Poland* in particular. We had a commercial interest in cultivating a trade with Poland, and preventing Russia from obtaining such a decided command of the articles we wanted, as to give or withhold them at her pleasure.

Mr. Burke said, that as it might be the last time that he should have an opportunity of delivering his sentiments on a similar question, he could not refrain from offering a few remarks to the house. His idea, it was extremely novel, and contrary to all the politics with which he was acquainted, to bring the Turkish empire into the consideration of the balance of power in Europe. The question, he said, was not, whether the empress of Russia should or should not dismember Turkey? it was simply, whether she should possess Oczakow or [illegible] the empress had [illegible]

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which she seemed willing to make, she had given up more than any other victorious prince would have done in her situation. To carry to this length the Prussian alliance, he contended, was in fact establishing an anti-crusade; it was offending the empress without an adequate cause, who might at some future period direct her vengeance against us, when another armament might be required to avert the effects of her resentment. The question was carried in favour of the address by 228 votes against 135.

The attention of the house was again called to this important subject on the 27th of April by Mr. Grey, who said that he had intended to introduce a motion for a committee on the state of the nation; but having been given to understand from high authority, that an objection would be taken against such a committee, he was induced to wave that object, and to come before the house directly with certain propositions. He said there were certain principles upon which mankind were generally agreed: among these might be reckoned the just causes for going to war; and of this nature also were those maxims of policy which ought to govern this country with respect to its connections with foreign powers. The only just cause of war originated in the principle of self-defence; the cases, therefore, where a war was just, might be reduced to three heads; 1st, when it was undertaken to recover a right forcibly withholden, and to which we had an undoubted claim; 2d, in providing for future safety; and the last, a right of repelling an unjust attack, under which might be included a case when an ally had been unjustly attacked. He proceeded to shew that not one of these cases applied to the present instance. The Prussian treaty engaged us no further than that, if that country should be attacked, we were bound to furnish them with a certain number of troops, or a certain sum of money. Suppose, at the time when the Prussian treaty was laid before the house, that it had been a condition in it, that whenever Russia should possess herself of Oczakow, Great Britain should go to war with Russia, would any man in that house have assented to it? Perhaps, he would be told, that he had admitted that a country was bound, for its own safety, to guard against the dangerous aggrandisement of any one power. This was certainly true; but he must be understood to suppose that that aggrandisement was aimed at by unjust and violent means; and that the danger accruing from it was not remote, but near and imminent to this country. He considered the balance of power in Europe as an object of great concern; and if they could shew him that it was in the least danger, he should certainly give his vote to rescue it from that danger. But who would undertake to prove that the possession of the town of Oczakow was such a circumstance as could materially affect the interest of this country, and would endanger the balance of power in Europe?

Mr. Grey next stated the reasons why the possession of that fortress was an object of importance to the empress of Russia, though it could be none to any other European power. The country between the Bog and the Niester was known by the name of desert plains, and therefore of no value. But although the country was barren, it afforded shelter to some hordes of Tartars who plundered the dominions of the

empress, and she therefore wanted Oczakow as a place of defence for her own territory. He next mentioned the importance of our trade with Russia, and observed that lord Chatham had refused, when pressed by the king of Prussia, to send a fleet into the Baltic, for fear of interrupting that commerce. He did not wish to alarm the country with respect to its resources; but he was sure that every additional burthen, in its present situation, must be severely felt. Mr. Grey concluded his remarks with proposing the following resolutions; which we insert at large, as they exhibit the substance of the arguments of opposition on the Russian armament in a peculiarly clear and condensed state:

I. "That it is at all times, and particularly under the present circumstances, the interest of this country to preserve peace."

II. "That it is neither reasonable or just to take up arms for the purpose of dictating terms of peace between two nations engaged in hostilities, without any reference either to the cause of the disputes, or the circumstances of the war."

III. "That the refusal of an offer of mediation is no just cause of war."

IV. "That during the progress of the war between Russia and the Porte, and since the taking of Oczakow, this house has received repeated assurances from the throne, that *the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.*"

V. "That, convinced of the truth of the assurances which we have received from the throne, this house has hitherto considered the interests of Great Britain as "not likely to be affected by the "progress of the Russian arms on "the borders of the Black Sea."

VI. "That we are not bound "by any treaty to furnish assistance to any of our allies, except in the case of an attack upon "them."

VII. "That none of the possessions of this country, or any of "its allies, appear to be threatened "with an hostile attack from any "foreign nation."

VIII. "That the expence of "an armament must be burthensome to the country, and is, "under the present circumstances, "as far as this house is informed, "highly inexpedient and unnecessary."

The resolutions of Mr. Grey were opposed by lord Belgrave, Mr. Pybus, Mr. Ryder, Mr. J. H. Stanley, sir William Young, and Mr. Dundas; and supported by major Maitland, lord North, Mr. Powys, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan. On the side of the ministry a degree of confidence was claimed, not on vague or indefinite ground, but on the unequivocal and sure one of their former merits. Peace, it was said, was certainly preferable to war; but even war was preferable to dishonourable tranquillity. Oczakow was represented as a place of little importance; but it should be remembered that it was the key of Constantinople, and thence led to the acquisition of the lower Egypt and Alexandria, &c. It was acknowledged that we were not bound by treaty to assist Prussia on the present occasion, and that it would be even imprudent in this country to promote the designs of the court of Berlin in any plan of national aggrandisement or conquest. But though

though our interference might not be expressly called for by treaty, it might be essentially necessary to the welfare of Europe, and our own safety: such was the case with respect to Holland, where we were under an federal necessity of becoming parties; but the balance of power required that that country should be prevented from falling under the direction of France. Setting aside every idea of the intrinsic importance of the Turkish empire, the unprecedented aggrandisement of Russia was a most alarming circumstance. If she were suffered to realize her obvious schemes of conquest and dominion, she would certainly hereafter do us more harm than her friendship could do us good. Her ambition extended to the annihilation of all the powers of the north, of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland; with the latter of which our interests were materially connected. The hemp which we received through Russia, was chiefly the growth of Poland; and if it could not be exported through Riga, there were other ports to which our merchantmen could have access, viz. Memel, Dantzick, &c. But if the empress was suffered to proceed in her scheme of universal empire in the north, she would have it effectually in her power to withhold our naval supplies whenever she might think proper. Circumstanced as she was at present, it was urged, a war would be less disadvantageous in a commercial view to us than to her. The balance of trade in favour of Russia was stated to be 1,500,000l. The ingnitous transactions of the court of Petersbourgh, in attempting to unite the powers of the Baltic against us, in the time of our distress, in wresting the Crimea from the Porte, and above all, in dismembering the unhappy kingdom of Poland, were stated in glowing colours. Our trade with Turkey was noticed as being far from contemptible, as it was a rising trade; and, in the last year, the exports amounted to 800,000 l.

In addition to the former arguments of opposition, it was now contended that ministers had professed that the late armament was to ensure *permanent* tranquillity to the country. It was further said, that if even the interests of an ally were concerned, that was no reason why we should not attend a little to our own. This was a favourable opportunity for reducing our establishment, and turning our attention to the cultivation of peace. The aggrandisement of Russia was acknowledged to be a formidable circumstance to this country; but how could it be proved that Oczakow in the hands of the czarina could hurt either the interests of Prussia or this country? It was even suggested, that Oczakow was held out to the world as the *pretence* for this armament, when in fact its object was the aggrandisement of the king of Prussia; and that the acquisition of Thorn and Dantzick, which were guaranteed to Poland by us, was the object with that ambitious monarch.

Mr. Sheridan in particular, in a happy vein of irony, ridiculed the silence of ministry, the doctrine of implicit confidence, the devotion of our court to the views of Prussia, and particularly the delusion of the minister with respect to the finances. He asked whether the right honourable gentleman recollected the very different prospects to which we had been directed to turn our eyes in this year? Did he recollect that this was the promised millennium? that halcyon year,

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in which we were not only to have an income equal to our expenditure, but a clear million a year surplus to pay towards the diminution of the national debt, and a permanent peace establishment! Mr. Sheridan contrasted this with the actual state of the moment, the immediate prospect of another war, and the certainty of additional taxes. In speaking of our conduct respecting Holland in 1787, on which praise had been lavished from every quarter, he declared that, if the question were put to him, whether, as a single measure, he rejoiced at it? he should without hesitation answer that he did not; because he never could rejoice at seeing the stock of liberty diminished, and by our interference, that noble republic was again reduced to the miserable state of vassalage under which she had so long groaned. He admitted, however, that the probability which then existed of that country becoming a province of France, excused an interference which would have been otherwise inexcusable. Mr. Sheridan concluded with condemning, in pointed terms, the system of our treaty with Prussia. It was a system, he said, of ambition, of vain glory, and of intrigue; and fastened upon us a concern (above all others most pernicious) with the Germanic league.

Mr. Grey's resolutions were negatived by a majority of 80.

The question was agitated a third time on the 15th of April, on two motions being made by Mr. Baker; the first expressing it as the duty of the house, before they proceed to lay additional burthens on their constituents, to enquire into the justice and necessity of the objects; the second stating, that no information had been given to the house on the present occasion. After so full an investigation, however, as the subject had previously undergone, it is obvious that scarcely any thing new could be advanced; it is therefore sufficient to say that Mr. Baker's motions were both negatived by a majority of 92.

The last time in which, during the session, this question was agitated in the commons, was on the 25th of May, when an address to his majesty was moved by Mr. T. Grenville, in a very able speech, which, after having treated the subject so largely, it is unnecessary to report. On two or three constitutional points, however, Mr. Grenville was peculiarly clear and explicit. He said, no man was more strenuously disposed to maintain the royal prerogatives than he always was.—The right of making war and peace was one of these prerogatives. As however it was, perhaps, above all others, the most dangerous to exercise, it was precisely that prerogative which, even at the most despotic periods of our history, was most meddled with; and the reason was plain, because the means of making war was never to be obtained but by the consent of the commons. Agreeably to this sentiment he pointed out several instances, but so early as the reign of Henry III. when the parliament refused to pay his sister's portion, because that alliance was made without their advice. In the reign of Edward III. that prince was obliged to call sixteen parliaments, for the direct purpose of submitting his treaties of war and peace, &c. to their advice. Similar precedents he quoted from almost all the succeeding reigns.

Another circumstance, against which Mr. Grenville uttered a very forcible protest, was *general votes* of credit. If a precise sum had been voted, he observed, the house would have

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time been better enabled to judge whether that ſum was ſuch as they could have juſtified themſelves to their conſtituents in voting. The expence which they had pledged themſelves to ſupport might be either very great or very little. He remarked, that it was true that a general vote of credit paſſed in March 1717; but in April it became the ſubject of a very warm and important debate—it being held unparliamentary to grant any ſupply before ſome eſtimate was laid before the houſe, and the queſtion was only carried by a majority of 153 to 149. In 1784 this bad practice is mentioned with great blame and reproach by the very able author of Precedents of Parliament. In the year 1789, and afterwards in 1757, a better practice took place, and has obtained ever ſince, confining the credit to a preciſe and ſpecific ſum.

Mr. Grenville mentioned the report of the king of Pruſſia's deſigns upon Dantzick and Thorn; a ceſſion which we could not countenance without a manifeſt breach of ſeveral ſacred and important treaties.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Grenville, allowed that the houſe had an undoubted right to interpoſe with its advice to the crown; but obſerved, that was not the queſtion at preſent, but whether it was expedient or politic to make uſe of that right while an important negociation was ſtill pending.

Mr. Pitt denied utterly the imputation of a deſign in miniſtry to procure any acquiſition to Pruſſia by this armament; and with reſpect to the vote of credit, he attempted to ſhew, that it put it leſs in the power of miniſtry to abuſe the confidence of parliament, than if it had been a vote of credit for a million, the uſual vote on theſe occaſions. Had that been the vote, miniſters would have had the million, beſides all that could be ſpared out of the ſupply of ways and means, at their command; whereas, from the nature of the vote which they had paſſed, they had now nothing more than what could be ſpared from the ſupply of ways and means.

The houſe divided on Mr. Grenville's propoſed addreſs, ayes 114; noes 208.

The queſtion concerning the policy and expediency of the armament againſt Ruſſia was agitated ſeveral times in the houſe of lords, and in ſeveral forms. The firſt debate was on the motion for an addreſs in reply to his majeſty's meſſage on the 29th of March; but the arguments are ſo completely anticipated in our account of what paſſed in the commons, that it would anſwer no purpoſe to detail them.

On the firſt of April the ſubject was again brought before the houſe, by a motion of earl Fitzwilliam, the ſubſtance of which was, to aſſert to the public that we were bound by no article of the Pruſſian treaty to take any part in the war between Ruſſia and the Porte. In this debate much diplomatic knowledge was diſplayed by lord Stormont, the duke of Leeds, and others. It was contended on the one hand, that if the Pruſſian treaty was to be conſidered as either the remote or the immediate cauſe of the preſent armament, it was to all intents and purpoſes an *offenſive* treaty. The treaty itſelf was ſeverely cenſured, as calculated only to ſerve the ambitious purpoſes of that inſatiable court, and to anſwer no good end to Great Britain. On the other hand it was alleged, that the Pruſſian treaty was entirely out of the queſtion on this occaſion; that it was altogether a queſtion of expediency; that the extenſion of the Ruſſian

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power threatened to be fatal to Poland and the northern states, and was formidable to all Europe. Lord Fitzwilliam's motion was negatived by a considerable majority.

It was not till the 9th of May that the topic was renewed, when the state of the negociation appeared to warrant opposition in bringing forward a motion grounded on the importance of the Russian trade. In opposition to their arguments on the occasion, however, it was stated by lord Grenville, that the trade was infinitely more advantageous to Russia than to us; and if British commerce had been carried to any extent in Russia, it was not on account of any exclusive privileges we possessed, but for this reason—because the Russian consumers found themselves better supplied from Great Britain than from any other market; and, on the other hand, the Russian merchant found a better market for his commodities in Great Britain than elsewhere.

Lord Rawdon observed, that on a former day it had been stated, that Great Britain was under no specific engagement to the king of Prussia to enter on this war, but that expediency had dictated the measure. If, instead of that ground which had been stated by his majesty's ministers, they had stated, that a *secret treaty* had been entered into with Prussia, he should have commended them for their present conduct in standing to their engagements.

The marquis of Lansdowne corroborated much of what had fallen from lord Rawdon, and remarked, that it had been the policy of former times to try at all hazards to keep Dantzick out of the hands of Prussia; and we were now endeavouring to put Prussia in possession of that place, and thereby render our trade with Poland entirely dependent on the will of the king of Prussia.

On the other hand it was contended by lord Mulgrave and others, That it was a well known fact that Russia, ever since she had emerged from barbarism, about 200 years ago, had been pursuing one regular scheme of ambition to extend her conquests far and wide!" The motion was negatived by 96 against 29.

A feeble attempt was made in the house of lords, towards the close of the session, to prevent the prorogation of parliament till the Russian dispute should be terminated; but it was negatived without a division.

In a former chapter we have briefly stated in what manner and upon what terms the peace was concluded between Russia and the Porte. As the war was certainly unpopular in England, it is probable that our ministry thought it prudent to abate of their demands. As a concession to popular opinion, every friend to liberty will rejoice in the circumstance; but the politician, who looks deep into the designs of courts, and the probable cause of events, will hesitate before he absolutely condemns administration for their interference on that occasion.

Disapproving, as we unreservedly do, of the *Prussian* alliance, we cannot help thinking that every statesman who wishes well to the peace, prosperity, and liberties of Europe will look with a jealous eye on the proceedings of Russia. The rage for universal dominion is a rage which will in general only possess the mind of a barbarian; but the evidence of history assures us that it is as natural to man in a certain state of society, as it is contrary to his feelings in a state of high cultivation and luxurious enjoyment. Europe

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rope has more than once been overwhelmed by hordes of ſavages from the frozen regions of the north; nor is it entirely viſionary to ſay, that it is at leaſt within the bounds of *poſſibility*, that, while the civilized ſtates of Europe may be internally agitated by the difficult proceſs of meliorating and correcting their forms of government, they may fall a prey to a ſavage deſpot, whoſe reſources are inexhauſtible, and whoſe ambition, avarice and cruelty are relentleſs. But ſhould nothing like this be the caſe; ſhould there be no reaſon to apprehend the forcible ſubverſion of the free and civilized ſtates of Europe; it is a matter of ſome moment that a power, with a temper and diſpoſition ſuch as we have deſcribed, ſhould be able, on any occaſional caprice, to plunge all Europe into the calamities of war. The arrangements too which ſuch a power may eſtabliſh with reſpect to other nations, will probably on ſome occaſion be found materially to affect the commerce and the other external intereſts of this country. If therefore, in conjunction with ſuch a force as that of Pruſſia, Great Britain had expended a few millions in diminiſhing the enormous power of that formidable empire, the treaſure would perhaps have been leſs fruitleſsly expended than in moſt of the wars in which this nation has lately engaged.

As, in the courſe of the preceding ſeſſion, a conſiderable difference of opinion had exiſted relative to the ſuppoſed ſtate of the national finances, the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 8th of April, moved for the appointment of a ſelect committee to enquire into the ſtate of the public income and expenditure. To this he added, that the number of the ſaid committee be nine, and that they be choſen by ballot. On the Monday following the committee was choſen; and, with a great degree of diligence and attention, they produced a very accurate report ſufficiently early in the ſeſſion to meet the opening of the miniſter's budget on the 18th of May.

In ſtating the articles of expenditure, and of ways and means for the current year, Mr. Pitt deſired to keep them entirely ſeparate from the expences of the armament on the diſpute with Spain, which had been already provided for. This being the caſe, the other annual expences of the nation ſtood as follows:

Navy	£. 2,131,800
Army	1,853,000
Ordnance	443,000
Deficiency of land and malt tax	400,000
Deficiency of grants	207,000
Miſcellaneous ſervices	694,000
Sum total of the ſupplies	£. 5,728,900

The ways and means for raiſing that ſupply were as follows:

Land and malt	£. 2,750,000
Surplus of laſt year	303,221
Lottery	300,250
Surplus of the permanent taxes, deducting the intereſt of the public debt and the civil liſt	2,116,000
Carried over	5,469,471

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Brought over	£5,460,436
Outstanding balance of accounts	154,000
Probable increase of receipts on tobacco, land tax, arrears, hemp duty, &c.	120,000
	£5,734,436
From which deduct ⅓ of a year's annuity due to the duke of Clarence	9,000
Total of ways and means	£5,725,436

Mr. Pitt declined going into a general discussion of the state of the finances, since it had been so ably and accurately stated in the report of the select committee, which, he said, he hoped every gentleman would attentively examine; and he flattered himself that no one could examine it, without receiving a great degree of satisfaction.

Mr. Sheridan intimated, that it was his intention to name the first vacant day for the discussion of the report of the committee, and therefore should not enter into a detail of his objections at present. There were, he said, certain omissions on both sides of the account; but on the whole he would then barely remark, that the report coincided with every word he had ever troubled the house with upon that subject.

In pursuance of this conversation, on the 22d of May Mr. Sheridan gave notice, that on Tuesday the 31st he should bring forward some resolutions on the report of the committee of finance, and that the manner in which he should do it was, by moving for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take the same into consideration. It was, however, Friday the 3d of June before Mr. Sheridan was able to come forward with his resolutions, which he prefaced with a speech of some length. He complained in general terms of the little attention which the house seemed to pay to objects of finance, as revenue bills, he remarked, were almost considered as out of the cognizance of the house of commons, and to be left entirely to the lords of the treasury. He had never been able to get even one tax-bill published. He remarked it as a subject worthy of attention, that a committee should be appointed in 1793 to review the report of 1786, and that this committee should report a state of articles of revenue and expenditure, so different from that of the committee of 1786. The committee of 1786 confidently asserted, that 14,400,000l. was perfectly sufficient for a permanent peace establishment; whereas in 1791 they had not commenced their peace establishment, and were totally and entirely without any prospect of commencing it. The committee of 1792 had given a new estimate, adding the sum of half a million to the permanent establishment. It was surprising, he said, that in proportion as the enemies of Great Britain vanished, the country had increased its taxes and expences! and in proportion as France had disappeared as a national enemy, the right honourable gentleman conceived it to be a necessary part of his duty to find out new enemies to replace the old, and to increase our establishments. Before Christmas he had taken the liberty of declaring, that the average of the receipt of the whole national income did not amount to the

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ſum at which it was ſtated in the report of the finance committee of 1786. He had been contradicted in this aſſertion, though the report of the committee did diſtinctly bear him out in it. Mr. Sheridan next proceeded to compare the report of 1786 with the report of 1791, in order to ſhew that the expenditure exceeded the revenue. He ſaid, ſo long as they raiſed money by a lottery, he could never believe the country to be in a flouriſhing ſtate.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving the following 40 reſolutions, the object of which was to prove, that the permanent addition of 434,000l. to the peace eſtabliſhment, as ſtated by the finance committee, ought not to receive the countenance of the houſe.—That by the report of the committee our annual income exceeded our expenditure by only 61,108l.; a balance wholly inadequate to provide for thoſe extraordinary expences which were actually foreſeen and admitted by the committee;—and that with reſpect to the ſum appropriated to the gradual liquidation of the national debt, the fact was, that while an annuity of 111,020l. had been redeemed by the commiſſioners in behalf of the public, in the form of repurchaſing the debt, an annuity of four times that amount was entailed on the public by the increaſed eſtabliſhment.

"I. Reſolved, That it appears that the ſelect committee of 1786 'proceeded upon a ſuppoſition that the annual and permanent taxes then ſubſiſting, were likely to produce annually the ſum of 15,397,471l.'

"II. Reſolved, That the ſelect committee of 1786 ſtate, that a further conſiderable increaſe in the then ſubſiſting taxes beyond their eſtimate might be expected, 'if the due collection thereof could be ſecured by meaſures adequate to the purpoſe,' and 'ſuch as would probably afford an ample proviſion for any deficiencies which might, at any time, be found in certain extraordinary reſources,' before enumerated by the ſaid ſelect committee.

"III. Reſolved, That it appears by the report of the ſelect committee of 1791, that the produce of the ſaid taxes from the 5th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1787, amounted only to the ſum of 14,405,702l. being 991,369l. leſs in each year than the ſum eſtimated.

"That the produce of the ſaid taxes upon an average of two years (viz. 1786 and 1787) amounted only to 14,864,834l. being 532,687l. leſs in each year than the ſum eſtimated.

"That the produce of the ſaid taxes upon an average of three years (viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788) amounted only to 15,037,263l. being 360,208l. leſs in each year than the committee eſtimated.

"That the produce of the ſaid taxes upon an average of four years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789) amounted only to 15,222,708l. being 174,763l. leſs in each year than the committee eſtimated.

"That the produce of the ſaid taxes upon an average of five years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) has amounted to 15,448,479l. being and exceeding 51,008l. beyond the eſtimate of the ſaid ſelect committee.

"IV. Reſolved, That in this calculation the ſelect committee of 1791 have not adverted to all the additional impoſitions which ought to have been deducted from their eſtimate.

"V. Reſolved, That the total net produce of the public income, upon an average of the laſt five years

years viz. from 6th of January 1786 to 5th of January 1791 (both inclusive) has amounted annually to the sum of 15,618,775l.

"VI. Resolved, That the average expenditure during the same period, including the sums paid to the American loyalists, and on account of other temporary miscellaneous services, and the sums issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt, and adding the estimated expence of the militia for the years 1789 and 1790; but exclusive of the expence of the armament of 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt since 1786, has amounted annually to the sum of 16,855,109l.

"VII. Resolved, That the average excess of expenditure, beyond the average income, during the above period, has amounted annually to 1,236,334l.

"VIII. Resolved, That the total produce of the public income, upon an average of the last three years, viz. from 6th January 1788 to 5th January 1791 (both inclusive) has amounted annually to the sum of 16,030,286l.

"IX. Resolved, That the average expenditure, during the same period, including the sums paid to the American loyalists, and on account of other temporary miscellaneous services, and the sums issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt, and adding the estimated expence of the militia for the years 1789 and 1790; but exclusive of the expence of the armament in 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt since 1786, has amounted annually to the sum of 16,978,073l.

"X. Resolved, That the average excess of expenditure, beyond the average income during the above period, has amounted annually to 947,789l.

"XI. Resolved, That the expence of the armament in the year 1790, separately provided for, and not included in the above account, has amounted to a sum exceeding 3,000,000l.

"XII. Resolved, That it appears that the addition to the navy debt, since the 31st of December 1785, is estimated by the select committee at 457,950l. and that by an account delivered to the house since the report of the committee, this debt appears to have been farther increased.

"XIII. Resolved, That the total amount of the exceeding of expenditure in the five years before stated, exclusive of this addition to the navy debt, and of the expence of the armament in 1790, amounts to the sum of 6,181,670l.

"XIV. Resolved, That the extraordinary resources, by which this deficiency has been supplied during the above period, have amounted to the sum of 6,191,109l. and have arisen from the following articles, viz.

	£
From respited duties paid in by the East India company	522,500
From arrears of land-tax granted prior to 1786	131,467
Ditto malt	11,875
From sums remaining in the exchequer on the 5th of January 1786	1,172,119
From the imprest moneys and money repaid	820,165
From money repaid on account of advance for foreign secret service	84,000
From sale of French prizes	113,000
From army savings, and Chelsea pensioners	1,601,147
From profit on the annual lottery	1,212,692

Raised

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Raised by way of lot-
tery 1,002,140
Ditto, by granting
short annuities 187,000
£.6,192,105

"XV. Resolved, That from the nature of the articles which have composed these extraordinary aids, no similar assistance can be expected in future, excepting from the article of a lottery, should the legislature continue to think it right to avail itself of that expedient.

"XVI. Resolved, That the select committee appointed in 1786, to examine and state the accounts relating to the public income and expenditure, and to report what might be expected to be the annual amount of the said income and expenditure in future, stated the expected future expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid by the commissioners, at the sum of 15,478,181.

"XVII. Resolved, That the select committee appointed in the present year 1791, to examine into the amount of the public income and expenditure during the last five years, and also to report to the house what may be expected to be the annual amount in future, stated the expected expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,969,178l. a sum exceeding the permanent peace establishment, as stated by the committee of 1786, by 490,997l.

"XVIII. Resolved, That in the report of the select committee in 1786, the accounts are stated to have been prepared on a calculation of a permanent peace establishment taking place towards the end of the year 1790.

"XIX. Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 state no time when their estimate of a permanent peace establishment may be expected to commence.

"XX. Resolved, That the expence of the present year, according to the services already voted, and exclusive of any extra expence for the present armament, will amount to the sum of 16,833,920l. or more, exceeding the permanent peace establishment of the select committee of 1786 by the sum of 1,355,739l. and the enlarged estimate of the committee of 1791 by the sum of 864,742l.

"XXI. Resolved, That the select committee of 1786 calculated the amount of the permanent peace establishment, under the five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, at 3,913,741. viz.

	£.
Navy	1,806,680
Army	1,660,000
Ordnance	348,000
Militia	91,680
Miscellaneous services	74,174
	£.3,913,574

"XXII. Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 calculate the amount of the permanent peace establishment, under the same five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, at 4,347,569l. viz.

	£.
Navy	2,000,000
Army	1,748,842
Ordnance	575,000
Militia	95,511
Miscellaneous services	428,416
	£.4,347,569

exceeding

exceeding in these five articles the estimate of 1787 by the sum of 824,295l.

"XXIII. Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 do not appear to have thought it within their province, to enquire into, or state any ground or necessity for such increase.

"XXIV. Resolved, That the sums voted for the service of the present year, under the above heads, but including no provision for the present armament, are as follow:

	£.
Navy — —	2,131,000
Army — —	1,853,000
Ordnance — —	443,000
Militia — — —	95,311
Miscellaneous services, including sums to the American loyalists and other allowances —	690,000
	£.8,241,311

exceeding the estimate of 1786, by the sum of 1,200,037l. and the estimate of 1791, by 864,742l. but deducting the sum of 300,000l. of the sum voted to the loyalists, as being to be defrayed by the profits of the lottery, then exceeding the estimate of 1786 by the sum of 993,037l. and the estimate of 1791 by the sum of 518,472l.

"XXV. Resolved, That the select committee, estimating upon an average of the three last years, and adverting to the additional week's receipt in 1790, have calculated the future probable annual income at the sum of 16,030,286l. exclusive of the profits on a lottery.

"XXVI. Resolved, That the receipt of each of the two last years appears to have considerably exceeded that sum.

"XXVII. Resolved, That in the receipt of the latter year, the great increase appears to have arisen under the head of Excise, and that in the articles of spirits, and spirit licences alone, the exceeding in the receipt of the year 1790, over the receipt of the year 1786, amounts to the sum of 509,355l.

"XXIX. Resolved, That for these and other considerations, it appears to have been highly proper in the select committee to calculate upon an average of *three* years at least, the future expected income; at the same time this committee admits, that on a review of the whole of the accounts, the future income may reasonably be expected to amount to the sum estimated by the select committee.

"XXX. Resolved, That upon this estimate it appears, that our future income is calculated as likely to exceed our expenditure to the amount of 61,108l. per annum.

	£.
Income — —	16,030,286
Expenditure — —	15,969,178
Balance —	£. 61,108

"XXXI. Resolved, That this balance is wholly inadequate to provide for those extraordinary expences which are actually foreseen and admitted by the select committee; for though the select committee state that they do not conceive that it falls within their province, to consider what other extraordinary expences not included in any estimate before them may occur in the course of years, yet they farther state, 'that the only article of this nature which has been brought distinctly under their view, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and interest of the American and East Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by instalments.' And it farther appears, that this article, so distinctly

distinctly brought to the view of the select committee, is stated by them to have amounted, on the 10th of October 1790, to 1,546,662l. exclusive of the interest payable on such part of it as remains undischarged, and exclusive also of farther annual payments and pensions to American loyalists, amounting to 54,211l. per annum.

"XXXII. Resolved, That besides this article so stated by the committee, it appears from the ordnance estimate, inserted in their Appendix, that the estimate of the future annual expence of that office is exclusive of such sums as are contained in the estimate of the board of land and sea officers, for additional works, for security of his majesty's dock-yards, and of any other fortifications, or other new works to be carried on in the West Indies, North America, or elsewhere.

"XXXIII. Resolved, That to meet these heavy articles of inevitable extra expence, or the expence attending the present armament, as for any future exceeding, under the head of Miscellanies, beyond the sum estimated, the select committee refer us to no extra resource that can be relied on, but that of a lottery.

"XXXIV. Resolved, That admitting the future income to meet the estimated expenditure, or even so to increase, as with the aid of a lottery to satisfy the above certain extra demands in the course of the five years next ensuing, yet will the public income remain wholly unequal to afford the smallest aid to any new and unforeseen demand that may arise, either for any armament, or any other unforeseen contingency within that period, or to spare the smallest surplus towards the reduction of the unfunded debt, already increased to a degree, and continued at an amount wholly unprecedented, in the time of peace, in the annals of this country.

"XXXV. Resolved, That the experience of the three last years, in the course of which the unexpected and heavy expence of two armaments has been incurred and satisfied, while a third remains to be provided for, would render it highly improvident in this committee, not to advert to the probability of similar events recurring.

"XXXVI. Resolved, that the sum stated by the select committee, to have been actually applied to the discharge of the public debt, amounts to 4,750,000l. from which it is admitted that there should be deducted the tontine million, the increase on the navy debt, and other articles of debt contracted, to the amount of 1,602,589l. leaving a balance of 3,147,411l.

"XXXVII. Resolved, That in the account of the debt contracted, no allowance is made for such part of the old navy debt as now bears interest, and which must be considered as additional debt, nor are the short annuities granted in 1789 admitted, although the instalment repaid, instead of being paid over to the commissioners for reducing the national debt, was applied to the services of last year.

"XXXVIII. Resolved, That the annual interest of the capital stock, stated to have been purchased by the commissioners for reducing the national debt up to the 1st of February 1791, amounts to the sum of 203,170l. from which is to be deducted the increased annual charge for the interest of the tontine loan, viz. 42,262l. leaving the sum in favour of the commissioners 160,908l. and if from this sum a farther reduction is made for the increase of interest

interest on the navy debt, stated since the report of the select committee to amount to 49,888l. that sum will be reduced to 11,031l.

"XXXIX. Resolved, That the permanent additional to the peace establishments stated by the select committee of 1791, as to remain on the five articles before enumerated, amounts to 434,205l. So that while an annuity to the amount of 925,000l. has been voted by the commissioners, in behalf of the public, in the form of re-purchasing debt, an annuity of fourfifths that amount is proposed to be entailed on the nation, in the form of increased establishment.

"XL. Resolved, That upon a due consideration of all these circumstances and accounts, this committee feel it to be their indispensable duty to declare, that the great increase proposed to the permanent peace establishment in the report of the select committee of 1791, ought not to be considered as receiving countenance or approbation from the house of commons, until the causes of the same shall be fully explained, and the necessity of them made manifest."

Mr. Pitt professed himself willing to go into the detail of every part of the subject at any future day. In the mean time, he read some propositions to the committee, founded on the facts contained in the report, and stated according to the view of those who considered it as he did. The object of these, the reader will perceive, is to establish the point, that the annual revenue of the nation has exceeded the amount expected by the committee of 1786, that it was progressively increasing, and might be reasonably expected to amount to 16,030,000l. The propositions were as follow:

"I. That the average produce, during the last five years of the taxes imposed previous to the year 1786, has exceeded the amount expected by the committee appointed in the year 1786, to examine the public income and expenditure.

"II. That no complete account can yet be given of the produce of the land and malt taxes for the last five years.

"That the net produce of the land tax appears liable to no material variation from year to year, and may be stated at 1,972,000l. that the net produce of the malt tax in the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, appears to have been upon an average 590,127l. but it is not to be expected that

"III. That the total amount of the interest and charges of the public debt, and of the sums issued for the reduction thereof, of the charges on the aggregate of consolidated fund, and of the sums granted for the supplies, during the last five years, except the sum of 207,000l. which remained to be provided for in the present year under the head of deficiency of grants, has been defrayed by the produce within the said five years of the permanent taxes, by the annual aids on land and malt, and by the sums arising from extraordinary resources, with the addition of a loan of one million raised by tontine, and of 281,000l. raised by short annuities.

"IV. That over and above the sums granted for the supplies, there appears to have been an increase of the navy debt within the said period, which is stated at 450,950l. and an arrear incurred in the estimates, under the head of unprovided, to the amount of 61,900l. and that the deficiency of grants of the year 1790 exceeds that of the year 1785 by the sum of 80,590l.

"V. That during the said five years the sum of 5,424,892l. including

chasing 674,592l. arising from annuities expired or unclaimed, and from dividends on stock bought, has been applied to the reduction of the national debt, and that the annual interest on the stock bought, and the present amount of the annuities expired or unclaimed, appears to be 254,804l. in addition to the million annually charged on the consolidated fund.

VI. That the amount of the future annual expenditure, according to the estimates laid before the committee appointed in the present session, together with the sum of one million to be issued annually towards the reduction of the national debt, is stated at 1,596,000l. which is exclusive of the sum of 12,000l. since charged on the consolidated fund, for the payment of an annuity to his royal highness the duke of Clarence.

VII. That the future annual income may be expected to amount to 18,090,000l. estimating the land-tax at 1,972,000l. the malt duty at 586,000l. and the permanent taxes on the average of the last three years at 13,472,000l. that during the said years the revenue appears to have been progressively increasing, and amounted in the last year (exclusive of 193,000l. arising from the produce of a fifty-third weekly payment) to the sum of 16,457,000l.

On the Monday following, June 6, Mr. Sheridan rose for the purpose chiefly of controverting the first proposition of Mr. Pitt. The other resolutions, he observed, merely stated, that all the expenditure of the last five years had been defrayed either by the ordinary or extraordinary income, or by certain sums which had been borrowed, which no doubt was exactly the method by which the expenditure in all parts of the world must be defrayed. Mr. Sheridan said, that the predictions of the committee of 1786 had completely failed. He thought it his duty to shew that the average of two, three, and four years had fallen greatly short of the sum estimated; and that the extraordinary resources of last year had been very great, and had enabled them to say, that on the average of the last five years the income had exceeded the expenditure by about 51,000l.—There were also other facts worthy of observation. The finance committee of 1786, with great confidence, had laid down a peace establishment, to commence at the end of the year 1796; the committee of 1792 had added between 4 and 500,000l. to that peace establishment, without alleging a single reason for so great an increase. Mr. Sheridan declared, that if the committee would not give him his last resolution, he was ready to give up all the rest.

Mr. Pitt objected to the compromise proposed by Mr. Sheridan; for, so far from feeling any disposition to accede to the last resolution, he was extremely ready and desirous to discuss all the rest. In defence of his own resolutions, he observed that they proved one great point, viz. that all the expenditure of the nation within the last five years had been defrayed by the produce of the permanent taxes, the land and malt tax, &c. with the additional supply of one million raised by tontine, and 187,000l. raised by short annuities. As to the proportion of the income and expenditure, the question simply was, whether in the course of the five years in question the revenue and expenditure had exceeded each other, and in what degree. With respect to the difference between the two committees concerning the peace establishment, he said, all that could

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could be inferred was, that the committee of 1791 had seen several particulars of expence which had escaped that of 1786; not was this to be wondered at, as the committee of 1786 was the first committee ever appointed in this country to ascertain the whole expences of the peace establishment.

The committee made no further progress in Mr. Sheridan's resolutions, than to pass the four first with amendments by the chancellor of the exchequer, and a fifth which Mr. Pitt himself proposed; and the session was brought to a conclusion before any further progress could be made in them.

The review of the finances of India was opened by Mr. Dundas on the 24th of May; and from the papers which he produced, it appeared that the actual revenues for the year 1789-90 were as follow:

Bengal	£. 5,620,656	
Madras	1,255,808	
Bombay	167,319	
Total revenues		7,043,783
Actual charges.		
Bengal	£. 3,120,149	
Madras	1,739,015	
Bombay	557,110	
		5,416,274
		1,627,509
Expences of Bencoolen and Pinang		43,944
Net revenues	£	1,583,565
Add the amount of import sales and of certificates		263,940
		1,847,505
Deduct interest on debt		438,426
Surplus revenue	£.	1,409,079

By another paper it appeared that the increase of debt in India for the year 1789-90 amounted to 775,502 l.

Mr. Dundas observed, that he had been accustomed on former occasions to enter into some considerations how far the general state of affairs in India was likely to be permanent. The committee could certainly not expect from him any discussion of that kind at present, because such an attempt during a depending war would be very idle and useless. Several gentlemen had attempted to make calculations with respect to the expences of the war: one gentleman had stated them at three millions, another at four, others at six, and even at twelve millions. He was not absurd enough to enter into a contest with these calculators: all wars were in their nature uncertain. For his own part, he saw nothing gloomy in the prospect, and he did not doubt but the day was nearer at hand, *when the resources of India would furnish assistance to this country, than when this country would be obliged to lend her aid and support to India.*

Mr. Fox remarked, that a system of evasion had characterised every sentence of the right honourable gentleman's speech that day, in no one part of which he had made a clear unequivocal declaration but in the conclusion. As to the expences of the war, though no person would presume to form a precise calculation, yet the right honourable gentleman could not be ignorant of the common news of the world, which stated, that in the estimation of those at Madras, the expence was six lacks of pagodas, or 250,000 l. sterling a month, which would be at the *rate of three millions a year.* As to the finances of India, Mr. Fox requested the committee to recollect, that the *India debt now amounts to sixteen millions sterling*, to which we have to add 800,000 l. in the estimate before

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for us. Mr. Fox said he would be happy to close with the right honourable gentleman, and to bargain with him to give up all the advantage and assistance which the most sanguine friends of the India company could expect it would produce to this country, provided it were well guaranteed that the East India company would never again require farther assistance from us.

An unsuccessful effort was made this session by sir Gilbert Elliot, to procure, for the members of the church of Scotland an exemption from the *test act*. The general arguments employed in favour of the application were much the same as we stated in our preceding volume on Mr. Fox's motion for a repeal of that act; and it was added, that by the treaty of union, the subjects of both countries were to have a free communication of right throughout the whole united empire. To this it was replied, That it was certainly known to the Scotch, previous to the treaty of union, that the test act existed, as appears by their own debates on the subject. This being the case, being fully aware of it, and voluntarily agreeing to it, any attempt to get rid of it at present was a kind of chicane which would never be countenanced in private conduct. The motion was rejected by a majority of 80.

A motion was also made on the 27th of May by Mr. Sheridan, "That the several petitions, &c. presented in the last session relative to the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland be referred to a committee." After some debate however, at the desire of Mr. Dundas, it was agreed that the matter of the petitions and other papers on that subject should be taken into consideration early in the succeeding session.

This busy session of parliament concluded on the 10th of June, as usual, by a speech from the throne; in which his majesty expressed his satisfaction at the circumstance, that a mode had been adopted for defraying the expences of last year without any permanent addition to the public burdens, and also at the provision which had been made for the government of Canada. He intimated his regret at not being able to acquaint them with the result of the negociation for peace between Russia and the Porte, thanked the commons for the supplies, and prorogued the parliament to the 16th of August.

Soon after the rising of the parliament, the nation was disgraced by a series of outrages and violences, as unprovoked and wanton as have ever darkened the annals of a civilized people, and which, for the space of four days, spread terror and alarm through the large opulent town of Birmingham, and the adjacent country.

We have already had too much occasion to notice the difference of sentiment which prevailed among the higher orders of society in this country concerning the French revolution, and the heat and ill temper which that discussion appeared unnecessarily to provoke.——The same cause of discord was found to pervade the inferior classes, and considerable pains were taken by certain journalists to excite the passions and prejudices of the populace against the assertors of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, a considerable body of the whig party in Great Britain rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation, and flattered themselves that they saw in the establishment of the French constitution, not only the annihilation of despotism in that country, but the

commencement of a new system of politics in Europe, the basis of which was peace, happiness, and mutual concord.

In most of the larger towns in Great Britain, associations were formed for the celebration of that event, by anniversary dinners on the 14th of July: but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings.—The populace were inflamed by the most injurious insinuations conveyed in newspapers and pamphlets: the friends of the French revolution were (certainly falsely as to the majority) stigmatized as determined republicans; and the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the odious 14th of July was represented as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state.

Notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to depreciate these associations, the meeting in London consisted of not less than 1,500 respectable gentlemen, many of them literary characters of high reputation.—As, however, rumours had been spread to the disadvantage of the meeting, and the populace appeared to collect in a tumultuous manner round the Crown and Anchor tavern, where the meeting was held, the company dispersed at an early hour.

At Birmingham the causes of discord were more numerous than even in London. According to Dr. Priestley's statement, a violent animosity had subsisted for years between the high church party and the dissenters of that place; the cause of which the doctor candidly attributes to the circumstance of the latter being possessed of all the principal civil power, and constantly nominating to the civil offices. The religious controversies which took place between Dr. Priestley and some of the clergy of Birmingham greatly contributed to increase this animosity; and on the application for the repeal of the test act some serious disturbances were even apprehended. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the ignorant part of the inhabitants should confound the cause of the French revolution with that of the dissenters, especially since the majority of that persuasion have since the revolution in 1688 been firmly attached to the whig system, and since Dr. Priestley, whom the populace considered as at the head of the dissenters there, had distinguished himself by opposing the celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Burke. From the publication indeed of the doctor's pamphlet on that subject, it is said that the profane habit of drinking damnation and confusion to the presbyterians, at the dissenting entertainments in the town was visibly increased.

A feeling meeting in commemoration of the French revolution was projected at Birmingham on the day the 14th of July, and on the preceding Monday the copies of a most inflammatory and seditious handbill, proposing the French revolution as a model to the English, and exciting them to rebellion, were left by some person unknown in a public house. As the contents of this handbill were pretty generally circulated, they excited some alarm in the town: the magistrates thought it proper to offer a reward of 100 guineas for discovering the author, printer or publisher of the obnoxious paper; and the friends of the meeting intended for the 14th thought it necessary at the same time to publish an advertisement explicitly denying the sentiments and doctrines of the seditious handbill, and disowning

avowing all connection with its author or publishers.

The views and intentions of the meeting having, however, been much misrepresented, the majority of the gentlemen who projected it thought it advisable to relinquish the scheme; accordingly notice was given to that effect; but at the instance of Mr. Russel, it is said, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eight and ninety. The ingenious Mr. Keir, well known for his great attainments in chemistry and other branches of philosophy, and a member of the established church, was placed in the chair.

The gentlemen had scarcely met before the house was surrounded by a mixed crowd of people, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by the shout of "church and king," which became the watch word on this occasion. At five o'clock the company dispersed, and soon afterwards the windows in the front of the hotel were demolished, notwithstanding the appearance and interference of the magistrates. The mob insisted further on searching the house; and four or five of their number carefully entered and examined the apartments, but found none of the guests remaining.

Dr. Priestley did not attend the festival, but dined at home at Fair-hill with a friend from London, after supper they were alarmed with the intelligence that the mob were assembled at the new dissenting meeting-house (Dr. Priestley's), and were demolishing both the doctor and his house. The rioters soon fired the meeting on fire, and nothing remained that could be consumed but the old meeting-house shared almost a similar fate, but it was considered, from its situation, as dangerous to be set on fire; it was therefore completely emptied of its pulpit, pews, &c. which were burned in the adjoining burying-ground, and the building itself nearly levelled to the ground.

About half past nine o'clock at night, Mr. Ryland, one of Dr. Priestley's congregation, came with a chaise to Fair-hill, and informed the family that they must lose no time in effecting their escape. With nothing more than the clothes which they had on, the doctor and his family got into the chaise, and proceeded a mile further to Mr. Russel's; but here they were informed that the mob had nearly destroyed Dr. Priestley's house, and would immediately proceed to that in which they then were. They therefore got into the chaise a second time, and drove to Mr. Hawke's, half a mile further from the town. From this station they could distinctly hear every shout of the mob, and the blows of the instruments which were employed to break down the doors. The whole of the doctor's library, his valuable philosophical apparatus, his manuscripts and papers, were destroyed by the mob. It has been said, indeed, but we trust without foundation, that some of the latter were rescued from the rioters, and unhappily fell into the hands of persons who had not a sufficient sense of honour to induce them to restore them. Dr. Priestley, before he left the house, had the precaution to put out the fires; the mob therefore were not able to burn the shell of the house; they attempted in vain to draw fire enough from his great electrical machine, and it is asserted that they even offered two guineas for a lighted candle.

The day broke on the succeeding morning, only to discover the ruins which this infatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredations. Early in the morning they were met by a party of gentlemen, who persuaded them to follow them into the Bullring, and prevailed on several of them to desist, and even assist in their endeavours to preserve tranquillity. About noon, however, a fresh party demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. Ryland, formerly Mr. Baskerville's, at Easy-hill. Here, as they found a profusion of liquor, a dreadful scene of intoxication ensued; and several of the wretched rioters perished in the cellars by suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six terribly bruised were dug out of the ruins, and committed to the hospital; ten dead bodies were found; and one man remained alive in one of the vaults till the Monday following, when he worked his way out with but little injury.

It was in vain that the magistrates swore in an additional number of constables; a severe conflict ensued between them and the mob; several persons were severely wounded, and the civil power at length was forced to retire.

Bordesley-hall, the country residence of John Taylor, Esq. an eminent banker, was soon after assailed. The greater part of the furniture was plundered and carried away, and the house and out-offices set on fire. Every effort was made by captain Carver to save this elegant mansion. Some of the plate and valuables were ransomed; but on captain Carver's offering them his purse with 100 guineas to save the house, they exclaimed with one voice, "No bribery!" and it was with difficulty he escaped with his life. Several farm-houses also belonging to Mr. Taylor were burned.

On the night of Friday, the house of Mr. Hutton (the ingenious historian of Birmingham) was completely stripped. His books and papers were all destroyed. Fire was several times brought by women; but some of the mob, apprehensive of a general conflagration in the town, had the virtue to prevent its being applied. From this place they proceeded to Mr. Hutton's country-house at Washwood-heath, which they presently reduced to ashes.

On the Saturday morning they made an attack on Mr. G. Humphrey's elegant house at Sparkbrook. They were at first repulsed, and one man was killed. In a second attack they were more successful, and stripped the house of the whole of its furniture.

Mr. Russel's house at Showell-green was entirely consumed, as well as Mosely-hill, the residence of lady dowager Carhampton, but the property of Mr. Taylor; also Mr. Harwood's, and that of Mr. Hobson, a dissenting minister. Notice was given to lady Carhampton on the preceding day to remove her effects, as no part of their vengeance was directed against her, which notice she prudently complied. The house of Mr. T. Hawkes of Mosely-wake-green was on the same day stripped entirely of the furniture.

The following morning the rioters proceeded to Kingswood, seven miles distant. In their way they committed several outrages, and extorted money and liquor from different persons. At Kingswood they burned the dissenting meeting-house, and the house of the minister; and a little after the house, &c. of Mr. Cox, farmer,

former, at Woodstock, and threatened to extirpate the dissenters from the whole country. Their authority and power were, however, not destined to be of long duration. The town of Birmingham was relieved from their depredations on the Sunday night, by the arrival of three troops of the fifteenth light dragoons. The town was illuminated, and all was acclamation and joy; and the following morning they were reinforced by three troops of the eleventh regiment of dragoons, under colonel de Lancey. During this time the mob was parading about the country, but its movements were too rapid and uncertain to direct any successful attack against it. On the Tuesday some reports were received of parties of rioters being seen near Hagley, Halesowen, &c. and towards evening certain intelligence was received that they were attacking Mr. Male's house at Bellevue. A party of light dragoons was immediately dispatched in pursuit of them; but their numbers having been greatly diminished by defertion and other different causes, the rioters were overpowered by the people before the arrival of the soldiers, and ten of them confined at Halesowen.

The Wednesday was employed by the light horse in scouring the country for ten miles round Birmingham, and in the evening of that day public tranquillity appeared to be completely restored. In the course of these transactions one remarkable circumstance was observed, which still remains to be accounted for; and this was, that in the heat of the riots there were certain persons among the mob, conspicuous equally for their appearance and their activity, who directed the rioters, and were sometimes termed their leaders: these persons evidently were not of the lowest class; but what is most singular, is, that they were not known to a single person in Birmingham, or its neighbourhood. The proper Birmingham mob were often persuaded to desist from their attempts, till they were joined by these men, who both instigated them to proceed, and directed them in the shortest and most effectual manner.

Of the unfortunate and infatuated prisoners who were taken in the act of rioting, five were tried at Worcester, and one was found guilty and executed. At Warwick twelve were tried, but only four received sentence of death, viz. Francis Field, for setting fire to Mr. Taylor's house; John Green and Bartholomew Fisher, for demolishing the house of Dr. Priestley; and William Hands, for destroying the house of John Ryland, Esq. Upon an application from the magistrates, and some other respectable inhabitants, Fisher was afterwards reprieved.

For the honour of our country, we indulge the earnest hope that the disgraceful scenes which were acted at Birmingham in 1791 will never be revived; but that while the continent of Europe is unhappily drenched in human blood, this island will remain as conspicuous for its harmony, order, and tranquillity, as for its constitutional freedom and national prosperity. Dreadful indeed are the prospects which the blind rage of democracy on the one hand, and the insatiable ambition of tyrants on the other, open to our view. In consequence of this state of things, we cannot help foreseeing, we cannot help regretting, that our task for the succeeding year, instead of the pleasing employment of commenting upon the progress of civilization, and the successive improve-

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ments which the enjoyment of peace naturally ſuggeſts, will probably be only to narrate the crimes and regiſter the calamities of mankind. Of ſuch a conflict it would be uſeleſs further to anticipate the horrors; yet the friend of rational liberty cannot look forward to the ſcene without the diſtreſsful apprehenſion, that all that is excellent in human nature, all that is eſtimable in ſociety, may poſſibly be involved in the common ruin; and indeed whatever may be the final reſult, the effuſion of blood and the deſtruction of happineſs which muſt neceſſarily enſue, are evils which cannot be ſufficiently deplored.

PRIN-

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PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1791.

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PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1791.

JANUARY.

1. BETWEEN ten and eleven on Tueſday night, the 28th ult. Mr. Burgeſs, farmer, at Bawburgh, near Norwich, was alarmed by the cry of 'Fire!' On going to his door he had the melancholy proſpect of his hay-ricks, ſtables, cow-houſe, pigſtye, cartſhed, and barns, all on fire at the ſame time, and the flames raging with ſuch rapidity as excluded all hopes of ſaving any part of his property. The hay and buildings were all conſumed, with a number of calves, pigs, and poultry, a cart, waggon, and ſix very capital horſes, valued at 30l. each. The diſtance of the outbuildings from each other, and they being all on fire at the ſame time, made it clear that the premiſes had been maliciouſly ſet on fire. Mary Adams, who had lived with Mr. Burgeſs many years, but whom about three weeks previous to this unfortunate affair, he had diſcharged, having been heard often to declare at her lodgings in Norwich, that ſhe would be revenged on Mr. Burgeſs the firſt opportunity, was ſuſpected of being the incendiary. Several perſons, therefore, went in purſuit of her, and overtook her in company with another woman, before ſhe reached Norwich. They were both taken before John Paterſon and Robert Harvey, eſqrs. when it appeared, that the companion was induced to go to the premiſes of Mr. Burgeſs, not knowing of the wicked intent of the other priſoner. When ſhe ſaw the place on fire, ſhe aſked the incendiary what ſhe had been doing? She replied, 'Nothing that would hurt her;' adding, 'I am in my glory, nor ſhould I care if I were in the middle of the flames with a ſhift of pitch on, as I have got my mind.'

5. Samuel Hinchliffe was tried at the Weſtminſter ſeſſions, for faudulently obtaining from Henry Cowley, ſervant to Danel Delany, eſq. two ſhillings, under pretence of its being for the carriage of a parcel from Norwich, the priſoner at the ſame time knowing that the carriage was paid.

Henry Cowley ſaid, that the priſoner brought to his maſter's houſe a parcel directed to Daniel Delany, eſq. He told the witneſs he had brought it from the White-Horſe, Fetter-lane, and demanded three

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ſhilling for the carriage and porterage. The witneſs obſerved that the carriage ſhould have been paid, and looking at the direction, he diſcovered part of it torn off, and three ſhillings wrote over it. This created a ſuſpicion, and he ſeveral times adviſed the priſoner not to take the two ſhillings for the carriage, as he was perſuaded it was paid. The priſoner, however, took the two ſhillings for the carriage, and one ſhilling for the porterage. The witneſs the next day went to the White Horſe, Fetter-lane, and found that the parcel was not brought from that inn. He then made application to the Swan with Two Necks, Lad-lane, when he found that the parcel had come by the Norwich coach to this inn, and that the carriage had been paid in the country.

A clerk at the Swan with Two Necks ſaid, the priſoner was an aſſiſtant porter employed to deliver parcels. Upon examining the way-book he found that the carriage of the parcel had been paid, and that the priſoner had only accounted for one ſhilling for the porterage.

The jury found him guilty.

Mr. Mainwaring obſerved, that this was a caſe of great importance to the public, who were daily ſuffering under ſimilar impoſitions. As it was very difficult to detect theſe ſorts of frauds, it was neceſſary that an example ſhould be made of thoſe offenders againſt whom the charge was brought home. Mr. Delany, by inſtituting this proſecution, merited the thanks of the public.

The priſoner was ſentenced to three months impriſonment, and to be publicly whipped from the Admiralty to Charing-croſs, and thence to Bridge-ſtreet, Parliament-ſtreet.

Glouceſter, Jan. 10. Mr. Daniel Cox, of this city, from whom a brown mare was lately ſtolen, in his very perſevering endeavours to recover her, has received certain information of a ſyſtematic barter carried on between the horſe-ſtealers in the country, and the ſmugglers on the coaſt. The former receive contraband articles in exchange for horſes; and the ſmugglers, by conveying the horſes to France, Holland, and Flanders, eſcape detection, and make a very profitable trade.

14. On the laſt day of the late year there was ſo thick a fog at Amſterdam, that the people could not ſee their way along the ſtreets, and ran againſt each other, even though they had lights in their hands. The accidents it has occaſioned are very numerous, but the moſt lamentable is, the number of people who have periſhed from falling in the canals, where they were drowned before aſſiſtance could be given them, though their cries were diſtinctly heard. The number of perſons who have periſhed in this way is already known to amount to 230.

17. At the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, lord Dungarvan, ſon of the earl of Cork, was tried on the charge of robbing Elizabeth Wheldon of three guineas and a half. The circumſtances ſtated by the proſecutrix in ſupport of this extraordinary charge, were, that, being ſeated in one of the front boxes of Covent-garden theatre, a gentleman (lord D.) addreſſed her, and aſked leave to accompany her home, to which ſhe conſented; that, on quitting the theatre, a linkman called a coach, which drew up at the end of the Piazza, when his lordſhip got in, and ſhe followed; that he put one of his hands near her pocket, and the other round her waiſt; that alter-

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afterward, perceiving him fumbling about his waiſtcoat-pocket, ſhe began to ſuſpect he had robbed her; that, on feeling for her money, ſhe perceived her loſs, which was not till ſhe was nearly half way home; that, on her arrival at her houſe in Rathbone-place, ſhe charged him with having robbed her; that on his quitting the coach, he offered her a guinea, but ſhe refuſing to accept it, he endeavoured to make his eſcape, from which he deſiſted, on her calling out 'ſtop thief;' that ſhe then collared him, and gave him in the cuſtody of the watchman, who conveyed him to the watch-houſe.

On her croſs-examination it appeared ſhe was a proſtitute, who, in the laſt two years, had aſſumed ſeveral different names, and lived in various places and capacities; and a great variety of circumſtances came out, all tending to deſtroy the credibility of her evidence. The evidence for the proſecution being cloſed, lord Dungarvan read the following defence:

'My lord, and gentlemen of the jury,

'Whatever ſhame I ought to take, and do take, for the indiſcretion which led me into the company of the perſon who has made, and endeavoured to ſupport, by perjury, an attack upon my life and honour, I cannot ſuffer myſelf for a moment to ſuppoſe, that any credit can be given to ſo ſtrange and improbable an accuſation. I am charged by the unconfirmed oath of a common proſtitute, with an offence, which nothing but the loweſt and worſt habits of life and connections, the moſt abject baſeneſs of mind, and contempt of character, urged by the moſt extreme neceſſity, could poſſibly prompt any man to commit. My ſituation happily is the reverſe of this. I am not, nor have been in any diſtreſs of circumſtances, or want of credit. I am conſcious that my conduct in life has ever been juſt and honourable; and that no action of mine has diſgraced my own ſtation, or reflected any diſcredit upon thoſe to whom I have the honour of being allied. It will however better become me to refer you, gentlemen of the jury, to the teſtimony of the witneſſes who will be called to ſpeak of my conduct and character, than to deſire you to receive your information from my own report. Deeply as my mind feels and reſents the unmerited diſgrace of the imputations attempted to be thrown upon me, I ſubmit cheerfully to a trial by the laws of my country: I know that thoſe laws will not ſuffer criminals of any rank to elude their juſtice; but I alſo know, and it is now my conſolation and ſecurity to know, that the puniſhments they inflict can only fall upon the guilty head; and that innocence is ſafe, protected by the wiſdom and integrity of an Engliſh judge and jury. I have only to add my moſt ſolemn denial to the charge; to requeſt your attention to ſuch evidence as the learned gentlemen with whoſe counſel I am aſſiſted, ſhall think proper to lay before you; and to declare my entire confidence in the verdict of a jury of my country, for the vindication of my honour, and the protection of my life, againſt an attack commenced with a view to extort money from me, and continued by malice and wickedneſs.'

From the evidence of the link-man, it appeared, that if the proſecutrix really had loſt any money, it muſt have been previous to her getting into the coach; but, from the depoſition of the coachman, it was evident, that his lordſhip only giv-

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ing her a guinea, and refuſing to go into her houſe, ſhe had trumped up this charge. Her depoſition before juſtice Reid, and that before the court, were likewiſe groſsly contradictory; ſo that the jury, without calling any of the noble witneſſes that were ready to ſpeak to his lordſhip's character, honourably acquitted him; and the judge thus addreſſed his lordſhip:

'My lord Dungarvan, it is but juſtice to you to ſay, that it is impoſſible you can go away from this bar, with the ſmalleſt imputation on your character. Of your imprudence in this buſineſs you ſeem to be already very ſenſible.'

At this ſeſſions alſo came on a remarkable trial for bigamy: John Hornby Moreland was indicted for feloniouſly marrying Mary Symmonds on the 25th of September laſt, he being before married to Anne Chapman, now living. The evidence in ſupport of the charge was perfectly ſatisfactory; but Mr. Garrow, counſel for the priſoner, took two exceptions upon a point of law to the evidence of the two marriages, both upon the ſame grounds —namely, that both marriages being by licence, the female being under age, and no conſent of either parents or guardians appearing, they were informal, and of courſe void by the 26 Geo. II. This objection, with reſpect to the prior marriage, was not held by the court to be valid, inaſmuch as the proof of the want of conſent lay upon the defendant. With reſpect to the latter marriage, it was admitted, becauſe the father of Mary Symmonds, had he been conſulted, would have diſapproved of it. In conſeq ence of this, the priſoner was acquitted; but was remanded to priſon, to take his trial, at another place, for the prior marriage, he having a wife living at the time of that marriage.

William Smith was tried for being concerned with others in aſſaulting Henry Sharp on the highway, by threatening to charge him with having attempted to commit a deteſtable crime, and thereby extorting from and robbing him of two guineas, half-a-guinea, and 16s. 6d. When Mr. baron Perryn ſummed up the evidence on the trial of Smith, he obſerved to the jury, that the judges had deliberated on the ſubject of the offence ſtated in the indictment, and were unanimouſly of opinion, that if any money was obtained of any man for the purpoſe of dropping, concealing, or diſcontinuing any charge againſt him that affected his moral character, ſuch conduct came within the definition of taking money by force, and was therefore a highway robbery.

Whitehall, Jan. 22. It appears by the advices from India, brought by the Houghton, one of the company's ſhips, that major-general Medows had taken the command of the army which had been collected in the Carnatic, and had marched into the dominions of Tippoo Sultan; and that Caroor, Duraporam, and Coimbetour had been taken by him without reſiſtance. Major Maitland, who is arrived in the Houghton, alſo brings an account of the ſurrender of Dindigul.

The letters from the government of Bengal contain the information, that treaties of alliance had been finally concluded by that government with the Mahrattas, and the Nizam; and that lord Cornwallis had received from the comte de Conway, governor-general of the French poſſeſſions to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of perfect neutrality.

26. The

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26. The attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court of king's bench upon John Luxford, formerly printer of a newspaper called the Herald, for a libel reflecting upon the conduct of administration pending the late disputes between this country and the cabinet of Spain. It charged administration with provoking an unjust war with Spain, and with an intention to employ the late armaments against the French nation.—The prisoner was sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the king's bench, and to stand once in the pillory at Charing-cross; at the expiration of his imprisonment to find security for his good behaviour, himself in 100l. and two sureties in 50l. each.

28. The case of the city of London against the corporation of Lynn, came on to be argued in the court of king's bench. It was a writ of error from the court of common pleas where a trial at bar was had on a *de effendo quietum de theolonio* (of being quit of toll) brought by the city of London, to assert the right of their citizens being exempted from a toll on corn, demanded by the corporation of Lynn. A verdict had been given for the city, and the errors were assigned on the informality of the declaration. After much argument by serjeant Le Blanc, for Lynn, and serjeant Adair, for London, the court reversed the judgment; on the ground that the declaration did not state that the city of London had received such an injury on which an action could be maintained, the corporation of Lynn having demanded, but not having received, or distrained, for the toll in question.

2. Lord Kenyon delivered the opinion of the court of king's bench, on the case of captain Topham, convicted in July last, of a libel on the late earl Cowper. *See Vol. XI. p.* (25). He observed, that two motions had been made by the defendant's counsel; the one for a new trial, and the other in arrest of judgment. The principal ground which the counsel had asked for a new trial was, that the questions which the learned judge who tried the indictment had left to the jury, were not the only questions which ought to have been submitted to their consideration; for that he ought to have directed them to consider, whether the libel was published with the spirit of a biographer, or with a malicious intention to calumniate, and to wound the peace of the living, through the medium of the dead?

With respect to this ground, the court were clearly of opinion, that it was not necessary to put that question. Of this opinion was lord Mansfield, in the case of the king *versus* Woodfall for a libel. It was then laid down to be the law, that when the fact committed is in its own nature unlawful, the proofs of innocence of intention lay with the defendant; and if he failed in that proof, the law would presume the fact committed was the effect of a criminal mind. There was no ground, therefore, for a new trial.

With respect to the motion in arrest of judgment, it certainly was a case of some novelty. The two questions for consideration upon this motion were, 1st, "Whether there could be a libel upon the dead?" And 2d, "Whether the indictment against the defendant ought not to have charged him with an intention to calumniate, to bring into disgrace, and thereby stir up the living to a breach of the peace, instead of alleging the fact, to be merely a libel upon the dead?" After deliberating upon the first question, the court were

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of opinion, that there might be a libel upon the dead, and there were several adjudged cases in support of this doctrine. Lord Coke had said, that defamation of the dead was indictable, because it tended to stir up the minds of the living to a breach of the peace, by provoking the friends of the deceased to acts of violence, in order to take off the stigma and disgrace thrown upon them.

Serjeant Hawkins observed, that the chief cause why the law punishes a libeller upon the dead was, because the public peace was thereby broken.

A prosecution was instituted for a libel upon the memory of William the Third, and the judges considered it as a publication intended to asperse the Revolution, and, of consequence, to inflame the minds of the people, and thereby disturb public tranquillity. So likewise was a prosecution against the printer of a paper, for a libel upon the memory of a baronet who had been a member of parliament, charging him with having obtained the honours of the Bath by vile and scandalous means; with being an enemy to his country; and with improper conduct as a member of the house of commons.

It was far from the intention of the court to intimate, that a man ought not to be a biographer. To deprive any person of the power of writing the lives, and presenting to the public the transactions of deceased people, were to shut out a very useful and valuable part of history. This would destroy a strong stimulus to great and noble actions, by concealing the example of good men, and take away those necessary lessons of caution against vice which the history of the bad affords; but, if a writer of any period after the decease of a person, instead of giving a fair history of the character he professes to portray evidently writes with a malicious intention to calumniate, he is certainly in the eye of the law a libeller, and liable to be indicted. But as the principle of punishing a libeller upon deceased persons was the tendency such libels had to a breach of the public peace, so the indictment ought not to charge the defendant with having merely published a libel upon the late earl Cowper, but it should have stated, that it was done with an intention to libel and bring into reproach, &c. the living. The court had compared the indictment in question with the legal form in which they ought to be drawn for libels of this sort, and inasmuch as it was merely confined to the memory of a dead man, it was defective, and, therefore, the judgment ought to be arrested.

The judgment was arrested accordingly.

FEBRUARY.

2. Yesterday was argued, in the court of king's bench, a cause, Brown against Halliday, in which the simple question was, whether the drawer of a promissory note was by the statute 3 and 4 Anne, c. 9, intitled to the three days grace in the payment of it, in the same manner as it was admitted the acceptor of a foreign or inland bill of exchange is, by the custom of merchants, clearly entitled; when the court determined it in the affirmative.

3. Yesterday afternoon there was the highest flood-tide that has been known for several years. Above Westminster-bridge it overflowed the banks of the river on both sides.

In Palace-yard it was near two feet deep; it also ran into Westminster-hall, so as to prevent people passing

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passing for two hours. Boats came through the passage of Old Palace-yard from the Thames, and rowed up to Westminster-hall gate. The inhabitants in Milbank-street were obliged to pass to and from their houses in boats. The two Scotland Yards, and Privy Gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impassable for two hours. People were obliged, in those places, to be taken from their houses on men's backs, and several poor people who keep small shops near the barracks in Scotland-Yard, had four feet water in their shops, and their beds floating in their rooms.

Westminster-hall has suffered much; the water ran in at the great door for upward of an hour, and was up to the second stair leading to the court of king's bench.

The damage done in the warehouses on the wharfs, on both sides the river, is immense: they were overflowed almost without exception. The ground-floor of the Albion mill was covered, and a great quantity of flour wetted. The water overflowed the custom-house quay, Tower-wharf, Bankside, Queenhithe, great part of Tooley-street, Wapping, High-street, Thames-street, &c. and filled all the adjoining cellars; and most of the gardens and fields between Black-friars road and Westminster-bridge were overflowed.

4. Yesterday the case of Lefty and Mills was determined by the court of king's bench. The question was, 'whether a bill of exchange is liable to a protest if not paid within *banking hours*.' The court determined that it cannot be protested till *the day after the day* on which it is due.—They also said that bills payable at so many days *after sight* are not subject to a protest at all, under the act of William III. and that in no case ought more than 6d. to be paid for protesting, pursuant to that act.

7. On Saturday, in the court of king's bench, Batholomew Quain, who was convicted at the last assizes for the Isle of Ely, for the murder of his wife, was brought from the king's bench prison, and placed at the bar, when Mr. Plumtree, counsel for the crown, stated, that the jury, under the direction of the judge, had found a special verdict in order to take the opinion of the court of king's bench upon the following question; viz. 'Whether the facts found by the jury amounted to murder, or only to manslaughter.' The circumstances of the case were these:—The prisoner and his wife came out of a house together. They appeared to have been quarrelling. The prisoner had one of his children in his arms. His wife sat herself upon the ground, and then rose and walked. The prisoner followed her, and gave her two or three kicks; upon which she shrieked out, and ran away; he pursued, and kicked her again; in consequence of which she fell upon the ground: he then retired a few paces, returned to her again, and, while she lay on the ground gave her several more kicks; then she got up, when he kicked her down again; the deceased then said, 'You have killed me.' A woman, hearing her shrieks, remonstrated with the prisoner against his conduct; upon which he said he would serve her the same. The deceased then arose, struggled, fell down, and died. The prisoner, upon finding she was dead, expressed great sorrow. It appeared that her spleen had burst, and the indictment stated, that of this she died, and that it was occasioned by the kicks and blows given her by the prisoner. The whole lasted near half an hour.

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After ſome arguments, the court declared, that the facts proved amounted to murder. There appeared to be no provocation on the part of the deceaſed, and no man had a right even to inflict chaſtiſement without a juſt provocation. It was not neceſſary to prove expreſs malice to conſtitute murder. If one perſon provoked another to chaſtiſe him, it muſt be done with moderation, and with a proper inſtrument, otherwiſe the law would infer malice. The judges were unanimouſly of opinion, that a murder was never more clearly proved. Mr. juſtice Aſhurſt pronounced ſentence of death.—The court of king's bench have not, for a great number of years before, pronounced ſentence of death.

This day the priſoner was executed, accordingly, on Kennington Common.

8. Four perſons were lately convicted, before the high court of juſticiary, at Edinburgh, of having ſeized by force, carried off, and retained in captivity, on the 27th of June laſt, William Walls, reſiding in Lochmaben, and counſellor of the ſaid borough, who was entitled to vote in the election of the delegates from the ſaid borough, which took place on the 8th of July, 1790, with a view to defeat the freedom of the ſaid election; that they had carried him to different places in the country; from Lochmaben to Carliſle, thence to London, and laſtly to Leatherhead in Surrey, where he was reſcued by Mr. Williamſon, meſſenger, and, by a warrant from the high court of juſticiary, brought back to Dumfries. They received ſentence as follows: John Lindſay to be impriſoned in the Cannongate gaol for three months, to pay a fine of 50l. ſterling, and to be afterward baniſhed Scotland for ſeven years; John Lockerby, Peter Foreſt, and James Thornburn, to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh till Wedneſday the 23d inſtant; on that day to be whipped through the ſtreets of that city, and then baniſhed Scotland for ſeven years.

11. James Harris, a pilot, was ſentenced to be impriſoned twelve months in the king's bench priſon, for a breach of quarantine.

12. Mr. Wray, upwards of fifty years clerk in the banking-houſe of Meſſrs. Hoare, in Fleet-ſtreet, died lately, and left the following very extraordinary clauſe in his will: "I give and bequeath to the right hon. William Pitt, if living at the time of my deceaſe (and whether in his majeſty's ſervice or not), in truſt, five hundred pounds capital ſtock in any of the three per cent. funds I may die poſſeſſed of, to be applied toward reducing the national debt, according to his moſt laudable plan. If I ſhould ſurvive the ſaid William Pirt, then I bequeath the ſaid ſum of five hundred pounds to the maſter of the rolls for the time being, to be by him applied to the ſame laudable purpoſe of reducing the national debt. And this I do, in full perſuaſion that many conſiderate teſtators will think of poſterity, and deign to follow my humble example."

15. Yeſterday came on, before the houſe of lords, the hearing of an important appeal, reſpecting bills of exchange with fictitious indorſements.

An action had been brought by the defendants in error, Meſſrs. Minet and Fector, as indorſees of a bill of exchange, againſt the plantiffs in error, Gibſon and Johnſon, as the acceptors thereof.

This inſtrument was in the words and figures following:

Mancheſter, Feb. 10, 1788.

£ 721 5s.

Three months after date, pay to Mr. John White, or order, ſeven hun-

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hundred twenty-one pounds five ſhillings, value received, with or without advice.

LIVESY, HARGRAVE, and Co.

To Meſſrs. Gibſon and Johnſon, Bankers, London.

The cauſe was tried before lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, at Guildhall, London, in trinity term 1789.

Mr. Bearcroft, counſel for the holders of the bill, Minet and Fector, contended, at the trial, that this inſtrument was to be conſidered as a bill payable to bearer, that his clients had diſcounted it for a man of the name of Stephen Barber, who was an agent of Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. the drawers, and that conſequenly they were entitled to recover.

Mr. Erſkine, for the defendants, contended, that the plaintiffs could not recover, through a forgery, when they know of that forgery, or might have known of it.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiffs, to the amount of the bill.

In the Michaelmas term following, Mr. Erſkine moved for a new trial, and alſo in arreſt of judgment.

Lord Kenyon ordered that two rules ſhould come on together, the one for a new trial, and the other in arreſt of judgment.

This buſineſs came on again on Monday, Nov. 17, and after Mr. Erſkine had diſplayed great abilities in ſupport of his two rules, it was agreed by the counſel on both ſides, to take a ſpecial verdict. And as there was no diſpute about the facts, they thought it unneceſſary to go back to a jury to aſcertain them.

The facts ſtated in the ſpecial verdict were, 'That Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. at the time of making the ſaid inſtrument, well knew that no ſuch perſon as John White, in the ſaid inſtrument mentioned, exiſted; that a certain indoſement in writing was made by the ſaid Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. upon the ſaid inſtrument, purporting to be the indorſement of John White named therein, and to be ſubſcribed with his hand and name; and that the ſaid indorſement purported to require the ſaid ſum of money, in the ſaid inſtrument contained, to be paid to the ſaid Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. or their order. The ſaid inſtrument being ſo indorſed, they, the ſaid Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. afterward, by a certain indorſement in writing, made upon the ſaid inſtrument, and ſubſcribed with the hand and name of one Abſalom Goodrich, by procuration of the ſaid Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. appointed the ſaid ſum of money, in the ſaid inſtrument contained, to be paid to the ſaid Minet and Fector, and delivered the ſame ſo indorſed, as well with the name of the ſaid John White as with the name of the ſaid Abſalom Goodrich to the ſaid Minet and Fector, for a full and valuable conſideration in money, paid by the ſaid Minet and Fector, the preſent holders of the bill, to the ſaid Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co.'

The ſpecial verdict farther ſtated, 'That the ſaid inſtrument was preſented to Gibſon and Johnſon for their acceptance thereof; and that the ſaid Gibſon and Johnſon accepted the ſame, well knowing that no ſuch perſon as John White, in the ſaid inſtrument named, exiſted; and that the name of John White, ſo indorſed, was not the hand-writing of any perſon of that name.'

The ſpecial verdict farther ſtated, 'That the ſaid Gibſon and Johnſon, at the time of accepting the ſaid inſtrument, had not, nor had they at any time ſince, any money, goods, or effects whatever, of the ſaid Liveſy, Hargrave, and Co. or of the ſaid Minet and Fector, in their hands.

This ſpecial verdict came on to be argued in the court of king's bench, and the court gave judgment for the defendants in error.

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The judgment of the court was given only on the 5th count of the declaration, which ſtated the bill as payable to bearer.

Upon this judgment, the affair was brought into the houſe of lords; and, after the caſe had been argued before their lordſhips, the lord chancellor propoſed three queſtions to the judges.

The firſt was, whether the matter found by the ſpecial verdict, as far as it relates to the act done by the defendants, Gibſon and Johnſon, imported an utterance of the bill, knowing it to be forged?

The ſecond was, whether the matter contained in the ſpecial verdict was ſufficient to ſupport the fifth count of the declaration, which ſtated the bill as payable to bearer?

And thirdly, whether the matter in the ſpecial verdict could ſuſtain any other count in the declaration?

On Thurſday the 3d inſt. the judges met in the houſe of peers to deliver their opinion.

The chief baron and Mr. juſtice Heath delivered their ſentiments on that occaſion.

As to the firſt queſtion, whether this inſtrument implicated the parties in the crime of forgery, they were of opinion, that it did not, becauſe the ſpecial verdict had not ſtated that the inſtrument was made with an intent to defraud.

As to the ſecond and third queſtion they were of opinion, that the matter in the ſpecial verdict was not ſufficient, either to ſuſtain the fifth or any other count in the declaration; and that therefore the plaintiffs were not entitled to recover. If they had a right to recover, they muſt derive title to this bill though John White, which was impoſſible, as no ſuch perſon exiſted. They were of opinion, therefore, that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be reverſed.

Barons Thompſon, Perryn, and Hotham, and Mr. juſtice Gould, next delivered their ſentiments.

As to the firſt queſtion, they concurred in opinion with the other two judges, that ſince the ſpecial verdict had diſcloſed no fraud, they were not at liberty to preſume it. It muſt be found by a jury.

As to the ſecond queſtion, whether the matter in the ſpecial verdict could ſuſtain the fifth count of the declaration, they were of opinion that it could, and that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be affirmed.

They were likewiſe of opinion, that the matter in the ſpecial verdict was ſufficient to ſuſtain the firſt count in the declaration which deſcribed this inſtrument as a bill payable to order.

The lord chancellor obſerved that four of the judges had given it as their opinion, that the matter in the ſpecial verdict was ſufficient to ſupport both the firſt and fifth counts of the declaration; that is, they were of opinion, that this written inſtrument might be conſidered, either as a bill payable to *order*, or as a bill payable to *bearer*. He conceived this was impoſſible. There was an eſſential difference between theſe two different ſpecies of bills; and if this inſtrument were a bill payable to order, it could not be a bill payable to bearer, and *vice verſa*. It would be proper, therefore, that the four learned judges ſhould make an election; and for that purpoſe he moved, that the further conſideration of this buſineſs ſhould be poſtponed to a future day.

Yeſterday, the ſame ſubject was reſumed.

Lord Kenyon was the firſt who delivered his opinion. He obſerved, that as the ſpecial verdict had found, that no ſuch perſon as John White exiſted, the plaintiffs could not

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not deduce a title to this bill conformable to the very words of it. But miserable indeed would be the situation of many persons, if there were any positive rule of law, which said that no instrument could operate at all, except it operated in the very terms in which it was drawn. It had been said, that nothing could have any effect that was founded in forgery. He conceived, that very far back in the law of England, bills, founded in forgery, had an effect; and there were several late cases which had fully recognized this doctrine. In a word, he was still of the same opinion as formerly, that this instrument might be fairly considered as a bill payable to bearer.

The lord chancellor said, that the plantiffs making this instrument payable to their own order, at the same time that they wrote the name of John White upon it, in order to accelerate its circulation, must be deemed fraud. Some of them; had hinted, that if forgery had been stated on the special verdict, that might have altered the case; but since nothing of this last appeared on the face of the special verdict, it was not to be inferred. His lordship said, he took it to be for the safety of mankind that the forms of law should be properly observed, and that nothing should be assumed beyond what was expressly found by the special verdict. Though the evidence were ever so cogent, a court of law could not draw the conclusion. It must be done by a jury. The jury had found it was not made with an intent to defraud. This was a melancholy case, with respect to the parties. For whatever became of this bill, it must come in the very next bill to be decided whether this was or was not a forgery? Whether the putting the name of John White on this bill was done by the drawer, or by any other holder? And whether a man who put on a bill of exchange a name that was forged, was not within the statute? This was a fact which he could have wished had been stated, and therefore it must be found. It must be known whether it was possible for those who called themselves merchants, to put on bills names that were fictitious.

His lordship next considered whether this were a good bill, on the fifth count. He thought it a considerable stretch to make this instrument payable to bearer. He had reduced the question fairly to this ground, was it the avowed policy of law that the contents of a bill of exchange should be proved by any thing but by the words of the bill? He contended, that no bill could have a sense introduced upon it but agreeably to the words of the the bill: and the having deviated from this rule was the cause of his having found fault with the present judgment. Upon the face of a bill a holder knew what he was to expect, according to his lordship's rule; but if it were put in this way, that this instrument was payable to bearer, no man knew what might happen. The court of king's bench had given a judgment, not only contrary to every notion which the plantiffs had, but contrary also to every expectation which they had when they took the bill. It was by mere accident they came at last to find, that it was a bill payable to bearer. This was *praeter spem et voluntatem eorum.*

Lord Loughborough said, that the chancellor had very properly put to the judges a question, antecedent to the discussion of the questions on the merits, to wit, whether the matter found by this special verdict imported an utterance of the bill by the parties knowing it to be forged? The answer that had been given to this question was, that from the matter

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ter found in the special verdict this was impossible. The general opinion of the judges was, that there was no forgery in the bill. The ground on which they gave this opinion was incontestible. The writing the name of John White was not done with an intent to defraud any particular person; and it appeared to his lordship, that the matter found in the special verdict was sufficient to support the opinion of the judges.

He next observed, that it was found by the special verdict, that this bill was indorsed by the drawers. He contended that from this moment it was no longer payable to the order of White. Therefore he was of opinion, that this instrument, in its proper and legal operation, and in the real state of the transaction between the parties, was a bill payable to bearer; that Gibson and Johnson, by accepting this bill, undertook to pay it to whomsoever should produce it to them with the indorsement of Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. and who had paid them, Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. a valuable consideration for it. He next answered an objection taken by the chief baron, that the plaintiffs could not recover, because they could not derive title through John White. But he was of opinion, that as this fictitious name was put on the bill with the knowledge and privity of all the parties, it was to be considered as nothing, and the holders of the bill had an action gainst Livesy, Hargrave, and Co. in the same manner as if the name of White had not appeared on the bill. In fine, he was decidedly of opinion, that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be affirmed.

Lord Bathurst said, he was staggered by the argument of the chief baron, but now he was perfectly satisfied, that the judgment of the court of king's bench ought to be affirmed.

The lord chancellor then put the question, 'that this judgment be reversed?' when, without a division, the non-contents had it. And of course the judgment of the court of king's bench is affirmed, which entitles the holders of these bills to the amount of upwards of one million sterling, to recover.

16. Lord Grenville has returned an answer to Monsr. de la Luzerne, the French ambassador, respecting the application made by the French court for the liberation of lord George Gordon, from his confinement in Newgate; stating, that it was not thought convenient or proper for the king to exert the royal prerogative in that case specified; and the ambassador, in consequence, wrote to lord George, informing him of the ill success.

21. John Ryall, convicted of exhibiting to public view and sale an obscene and libellous print, was placed at the inner bar, at the Old Bailey, when the attoney-general prayed the judgment of the court, in a speech, in which he expatiated upon the destructive tendency of the crime of which the prisoner stood convicted. He said the society of gentlemen, who stood forth to bring offenders of this description to punishment, merited the thanks of the public. It was impossible to be guilty of an offence pregnant with more alarming evils to the community. The men who exhibited libels of this description were the most cowardly assassins of juvenile virtue, because they were not directed to cold reason, but to those passions which the best of men found it difficult to resist. Convinced, therefore, of the absolute necessity of suppressing all obscene prints, he would never compromise these offences in his chambers, by accepting of any kind of atonement

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or apology, but the ſentence of puniſhment, by way of example, ſhould be as public as the crime. At the ſame time, he would ſay, on behalf of the priſoner, that he had made an affidavit of a ſurrender, not only of the print in queſtion, but of all other books and prints of a ſimilar nature. This would, no doubt, be taken into conſideration as a circumſtance of mitigation.

The recorder ſaid, if prints like the preſent, were to be exhibited at the windows of public ſhops with impunity, it would be in vain for parents, with anxious ſolicitude, to watch the the morals of their children: their paſſions, inflamed by theſe nefarious publications, would defeat the moſt laudable endeavours. The print in queſtion was not only ſcandalouſly obſcene, but had a tendency to exhibit to public ridicule the greateſt characters, and to expoſe a ſacred profeſſion to unmerited reproach.

The recorder then deſired to return the thanks of the court and the public to the ſociety of gentlemen who had been active in bringing to puniſhment the authors and publiſhers of thoſe obſcene prints. It was well, he ſaid, for the priſoner, that he had ſurrendered up, upon oath, all other prints of this deſcription in his poſſeſſion. If he had not done this, a part of his puniſhment would have been to ſtand in the pillory; and had this ſentence been executed, in all probability it would been beyond the power of the ſheriffs, with all their exertions, to ſave his life.

The recorder then ſentenced him to pay a fine of ſix ſhillings and eightpence, and to be impriſoned in Newgate, for twelve months; at the expiration of his impriſonment to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for three years, himſelf in 100l. and two ſureties in 50l. each.

Dublin, Feb. 17. This day was tried in the court of exchequer, before the lord chief baron, an action brought by John Travers, eſq. againſt Dennis M'Carthy, for criminal converſation with the hon. Grace Travers (formerly Lyſaght) the wife of the plaintiff. A *fiat* was ſome time ago granted by the learned judge, who tried this action, whereon M'Carthy was taken into cuſtody. The damages laid in the declaration were 5000l. It appeared that the defendant was poſtillion to the plaintiff, and frequent acts of criminal intercourſe were proved. The judge felt the offence to be of the moſt aggravated nature, as did the jury, who gave a verdict for the whole of the damages in the declaration.

Glouceſter, Feb. 21. By the officer who brought home the diſpatches from Botany-bay we learn, that Richard Pugh and Elizabeth Morgan, two convicts ſent from our county priſon with the firſt fleet, and who married before they embarked, have behaved in ſo exemplary a manner, that they are eſteemed among the moſt uſeful and induſtrious of the convicts. They are ſtationed at Norfolk Iſland. Pugh has diſcovered great ingenuity in covering houſes with ſhingles.

The native inhabitants of the country, having caught the ſmall-pox from the Engliſh, have died in great numbers. A little girl, named Abaroo, almoſt eleven years of age, was brought into the colony with ſeveral others, who were in a terrible ſtate from this diſorder. They all died except this girl, and a boy who was under the care of the ſurgeon-general. The governor deſired the clergyman to take the girl into his family, and bring her up as a ſer-

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a ſervant. She had been with him, when the officer ſailed, eleven months; and ſhe had ſo far improved in ſpeaking Engliſh, that ſhe could underſtand almoſt every thing ſhe was biden to do. Her maſter has taught her a ſhort prayer or two, which ſhe repeats to him morning and evening; and if he ever happens to forget to hear her, ſhe never fails to remind him of it. He has alſo taught her the letters, and ſhe began to make ſome progreſs in reading.

22. Yeſterday, in the court of king's bench, captain Perry, printer of 'The Argus,' was found guilty of publiſhing a libel on adminiſtration, charging them with keeping back from the public the intelligence of the declaration and counter-declaration reſpecting the late diſpute with Spain, for the purpoſe of ſtock-jobbing, &c.

Mr. Walter, printer of 'The Times,' was found guilty, on the ſame day, of a libel againſt a Mr. King, charging him with ſwindling a houſe in Pall-mall out of 1800l. The perſon alluded to ſwore, that no ſuch tranſaction had taken place; but that Mr. King, who had bought goods of him, to a great amount, had very honourably paid for them. It further appeared, that it had been declared, that the offenſive paragraph was handſomly paid for, and that on the ſame terms only, any contradiction of it could be inſerted.

23. By letters from New-York, in the Sandwich packet, dated Jan. 4th, it appears that the American detachment ſent againſt the Ohio Indians, was at firſt ſucceſsful. The Indian army fled from paſs to paſs, ten or twelve of their towns were burned, and the inhabitants were driven into the country belonging to other tribes. On their return, they were ſurrounded, in a very diſadvantageous ſituation, by ſeveral large bodies of Indians, from whom they ſuffered a defeat.

Head Quarters, Fort Waſhington, November 4, 1790.

Return of the killed and wounded upon the expedition againſt the Miami towns, under the command of brigadier general Harmar:

Killed and wounded of the federal troops—One major, one lieutenant, 73 rank and file killed, three wounded.

Killed and wounded of the militia—One major, three captains, two lieutenants, four enſigns, 98 rank and file, killed; two lieutenants, one enſign, 25 rank and file, wounded.

Total killed, 183; wounded, 32.

Philadelphia, Dec. 3. The loaf ſugar made from the Maple ſugar, and now expoſed to ſale, has been pronounced by impartial judges to be equal to any loaf-ſugar of the ſame quality that ever was made from the Weſt India ſugar cane. We hear that a large boiling-houſe for the purpoſe of refining the Maple ſugar will be erected during the preſent winter on the Suſquehannah, near Cooper's Town, under the direction of William Cooper, eſq. the father of the late noble and ſucceſsful enterpriſe for ſupplying the United States with American ſugar.

27. A new method of bleaching appears to prove very ſucceſsful. In conſequence of the premiums offered by the board of truſtees at Edinburgh, two pieces of cotton were compleatly bleached in five hours; one piece of linen in forty hours and a half, and another in forty-eight hours and a half, all completely whitened without expoſure to the ſun and air. The judges have declared the colour to be as perfect as can be given to goods of the ſame quality, and that the ſtrength and texture were not injured or weakened. Several other experiments are making both in Ireland and Scotland, with reſpect to this important diſcovery.

A mill

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wright, at Leeds, has invented a machine for the threshing of corn, that is said to answer every purpose of hand-labour, at an adequate price; it is worked by two horses to serve it, and the same number to keep it in motion, and shake off the straw.

A loom has been invented in Ireland to weave cotton and linen, by which two webs can be woven at the same time by one weaver, with more ease and expedition, and (as it is reported) with more perfection than one web can be woven in a common loom. A committee of the Irish house of commons have made a report highly in its favour.

MARCH.

2. A trial came on before lord Kenyon, on the prosecution of Mr. Crowther, attorney, against Mr. Godfrey, another attorney, for a libel. The publication and innendoes being proved, Mr. Godfrey entered on his defence, which he began to read from a very large pile of papers; but as some part of it appeared not relevant to the subject, the court interposed, and he proceeded to state the evidence by which he intended to prove the assertion he had made in the pamphlet true; but the court informing him, that as this was an indictment, and not an action, the truth of the libel was no justification, he acknowledged that he had no other defence. The jury considered of their verdict from three o'clock in the afternoon till half past eleven at night, and then found the defendant guilty of publishing only. Eleven of the jurymen were of opinion that it was a libel; but one gentleman, Mr. Josiah Dornford, said, that he could not in his conscience find a man guilty of a libel, when it had not been stated in the indictment to be *false*.—The verdict was mentioned the next morning to lord Kenyon, when he came to Guildhall. His lordship said, he was very sorry he was not present when the verdict was given. It was incomplete, and did not decide the business.

3. Yesterday morning, soon after six o'clock a dreadful fire broke out in the Albion-mills, on the Surry side of Blackfriars-bridge, which raged with such fury, that in about half an hour the whole of that extensive edifice, together with a vast quantity of flour and grain, was reduced to ashes; the corner wings occupied as the house and offices of the superintendant, only escaping the calamity, from the thickness of the party-wall. It was low water at the time the fire was discovered, and before the engines were collected; their assistance was ineffectual; for the flames burst out in so many different directions, and with such intolerable heat, that it was impossible to approach on any side till the roof and interior part of the building, tumbling in, completed the general conflagration in a column of fire, so awfully grand as to illuminate for a while the whole horizon. The wind being easterly, the flames were blown across Albion Place, the houses on the west side of which were considerably scorched, and the inhabitants greatly alarmed. In the narrow lane adjoining the mills, four or five houses were destroyed, and some others much injured. Fortunately no lives have been lost.

6. A cause was tried this week, in the court of king's bench, in which Mr. Atwood, a taylor, was plaintiff, and a young gentleman defendant. It appeared that the plaintiff had furnished the defendant with clothes, and that his bill amounted to the sum of 114l. for clothes in the course of seven months! That, at this time,

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the defendant was under age, and clerk to an attorney! The defendant paid into court 50l. and for the remainder took iſſue on the unreaſonableneſs of the bill.— A minor, or his guardian paying for him, is in law, accountable only for neceſſaries. To this young gentleman, for this length of time, under theſe circumſtances, it did not appear that ten coats, fourteen waiſtcoats, and eighteen pair of breeches (for theſe were the articles ſpecified) were to be all conſidered as neceſſaries.— Lord Kenyon obſerved, that this was the moſt imprudent action he ever ſaw. To give it countenance in a court of juſtice, would be to deliver the youth of the middle claſs in this country to a condition in which they would be ruined, before they could look about them.— The jury agreeing entirely with his lordſhip in this caſe, were of opinion that the 50l. paid into court on the part of the defendant, was quite enough for all the clothes that could be neceſſary, in the courſe of ſeven months, for an attorney's clerk under age; and, therefore, immediately gave their verdict for the defendant.

Dublin, March 5. In conſequence of the annual maſquerade, at the new rooms in Rutland-Square, on Tueſday night, the police attended, armed as uſual with firelocks and fixed bayonets. About ten at night an amazing crowd aſſembled, to gratify their curioſity, when the inſolence of the police ſoldiery excited a moſt alarming riot. After a regular battle, which laſted for near an hour, the populace became victorious, and five of the police were ſlain in the conteſt; three others, who were taken to the hoſpital, died the next day, and in a ſhort time it is ſuppoſed that the whole police guard would have been cut off, had it not been for the humane and ſpirited perſonal interference of lord Charlemont and Mr. Tandy, who prevailed on the mob to diſperſe.

8. The nabob of Arcot has filed a bill in our court of chancery againſt the India company, calling them to account for his revenues for theſe ten years laſt, during part of which time the company held poſſeſſion of his territories in the Carnatic, and have ſince, under pretence of a debt due to them, ſeized his dominions. The bill is filed by his highneſs's law agents Meſſrs. Wallis and Troward. This is a proceeding altogether new in this country.

Falmouth March 8. Laſt night a deſperate engagement took place off the Lizard between the Sprightly revenue cutter and a ſmuggling veſſel belonging to Guernſey. The ſmuggler beat off the Sprightly with the loſs of three men killed and five wounded.

10. His majeſty having on Tueſday granted a free pardon to Mr. Walter, printer of a morning paper called *The Times*, he was yeſterday liberated from his confinement in Newgate. *See Vol. X. p.* (25.) *and, Vol. XI. p.* (6).

12. The amount of the Cornwal tin exported by the Eaſt India company to China within the firſt thirteen months after the recommendation of the prince of Wales, is two thouſand tons, valued at 120,000l.

Aberdeen, March 10. A duel was this day fought on the hill of Tynbaggan, near this city, between capt. John Grant, of the late North Fencible regiment, and Mr. John Dingwall, junior, *boſier*, in Aberdeen. They exchanged three ſhots each, and the laſt from capt. Grant wounded Mr. Dingwall in the thigh. He was helped into his chaiſe, where a ſurgeon was in waiting, and his wound is not thought dangerous. The quarrel originated from Mr. Dingwall's

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Dingwall's having paid his addreſſes to Miſs Grant, daughter to the captain, and afterwards drawn back. By the law of Scotland, no damages can be claimed for breach of a promiſe of marriage.

17. A general court of directors was held at the bank of England, when a dividend after the rate of 7 per cent. per annum, was directed to be declared.

Canterbury, March 15. As ſome labourers were digging to lay the foundations of three new houſes behind the charity-ſchool, Margate, about two feet below the ſurface they found the remains of ſeveral bodies, which were interred in graves hewn out of the ſolid chalk. From a medal found in one of the graves, it is ſuppoſed they have lain there upwards of 1500 years. It has on it an emperor's head, crowned with a radial crown; and from the legend, though every letter is not diſtinguiſhable, there remains no doubt of its being one of Pupienus's, who reigned in the year 237. On the reverſe is the whole length figure of a man, bearing a lance in his right hand, in a running attitude; a very bold relievo; the inſcription is not legible. At the ſame time were found the remains of a ſword and ſcabbard, though much decayed. The bones, when found, were very entire; but, on being expoſed to the air, ſoon crumbled into duſt.

Dublin, March 22. This day in the houſe of commons a grand committee of courts of juſtice ſat, when Mr. Ponſonby, after an exordium, in which he ſtated the danger of invading the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, moved, 'That it is the opinion of this committee, that the chief juſtice of the king's bench, in ordering a *capias ad reſpondendum* to iſſue againſt John Magee, at the ſuit of Richard Daly, marked for 4000l. directing the ſheriffs to take exceſſive bail from the defendant, had acted illegally.'—The attorney-general declared he ſhould move an amendment to include the three other judges in the reſolution, and then negative it; which was accordingly done by 125 to 65.

25. A proclamation iſſued for encouraging ſeamen and landmen to enter on board his majeſty's ſhips of war, viz. three pounds for every able ſeaman, forty ſhillings for every ordinary ſeaman, and twenty ſhillings for every able landman; preſs-warrants ſent likewiſe to all the ſea-ports.

31. The following centenaries have died in the courſe of this year, viz.

At Dumfries, in Virginia, aged 104, Mrs. Henrietta Martiel, a native of Hanover. She had ten children, two of whom are ſtill living; 25 grand-children, and 43 great-grand-children, one of whom died the ſame day that the former was interred.—At Rochdale, Frances Corſly, widow, in her 100th year. Mrs. Ann Taylor, of Hopſtone, Shropſhire, aged 103 years. She retained her faculties to the laſt.—Ann Green, a pauper, of the townſhip of Sprotbrough, aged 113 years.—In St. Luke's workhouſe, Bridget Player, aged 102 years.

APRIL.

1. Laſt week came on to be tried at the aſſizes at Exeter, by a ſpecial jury, an action brought by Mr. George Hole, of Biddeford, againſt lieutenant Henry Feſting, for a treſpaſs in the dwelling-houſe of the plaintiff in May laſt, by entering, with a preſs-gang he then commanded, the houſe of the plaintiff, and committing great outrages therein. The plaintiff, at the requeſt of his

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counsel, omitted giving evidence as to any outrage committed in the house, and confined himself only to the entry, as being a question of great importance to the rights and liberties of the subject. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages forty shillings.

2. Mr. Alexander Bruce, late merchant in Edinburgh, last week received a gold medal from the empress of Russia, as an acknowledgment of the advantages derived from his treatise respecting the plague.

5. The dispatches from the Cape of Good Hope for government, which had been forwarded with the utmost expedition, and which were under the care of Mr. Rattray, were unfortunately lost, and never heard of since.

The men who were saved remained on a large rock, with the sea every moment washing over them, from twelve o'clock at night till eight in the morning.

Mr. Rattray had the dispatches with him on the rock, but was obliged to let the papers go, to preserve his life.

6. At the quarter-sessions, for Westminster, a chimney sweeper, named Gay, was tried, on the prosecution of the parish of Covent-Garden, for cruelty to his apprentice. It appeared, that the boy was bound apprentice to the defendant by the parish of St. Martin, in January 1790. Before he had served two months, the defendant tied his hands and legs with a cord, and fixed him to a staple; after which he stript him almost naked, and beat him violently with rods and a thong whip. This treatment was several times repeated; and in consequence of it the boy lost the use of his right arm. At one time, he beat him with a stick, and tore his ears in a cruel manner. The only reason usually alledged by the defendant for his severity was, that the boy did not do work enough in the mornings. The defendant called several witnesses, who gave him a good character, and said the boy was obstinate and incorrigible. The jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to six months imprisonment, and directed the apprentice to be discharged.

16. Yesterday two men were convicted at the Old Bailey, viz. Edward Pritchard, for the murder of Martha his wife, by beating her on the head, and divers parts of her body, with a stick; and Charles Taylor, for the murder of Winifred his wife, by cutting her in the belly, arms, thighs, and other parts of her body, with a razor. Both of them received judgment to be hanged on Monday, and afterward to be anatomised.

18. Edward Pritchard and Charles Taylor, for the murder of their wives, were executed according to their sentence.

22. On Sunday the 17th inst. during divine service, a fire broke out at Burbage, Wilts, which consumed a farmhouse, barn, stable, carthouse, and nine tenements inhabited by poor people. The flames were so rapid that the whole buildings were destroyed before the engines from Tottenham Park, the seat of the earl of Aylesbury, arrived. By this dreadful accident 54 persons are driven from their homes, and reduced to great distress. Two houses only were insured. The fire was occasioned by a woman carelessly putting burning ashes among some straw, which immediately caught fire, and communicated to the thatch buildings.

23. Advices received from the East Indies, dated Sept. 21, 1790, say, that a detachment of the British army, under

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der col. Floyd, had been attacked on the 10th of that month, near the river Bowam, by a large body of Tippoo Sultan's army, whom he repulsed repeatedly; that it was judged expedient, however, to retreat to the main army, under general Meadows, in effecting which, the slaughter among the gun-bullocks was so great, that he had been obliged to leave part of his artillery behind him; but that, on the 16th, he was joined by general Meadows, at Vellady. This brave detachment had passed three days without eating; and their loss was 2 Europeans killed and 86 wounded; 14 natives killed, and 104 wounded. Among the officers killed were lieutenant-colonel Deane, of the Bengal artillery; captain Hartley, and lieutenant Armstrong of the 36th regiment. Captain Thompson and lieut. Vallancey were wounded.

MAY.

1. The duke of York sailed this evening from Dover, and, after a pleasant passage of four hours to Calais, proceeded on his route to Berlin.

2. On Thursday the university of Glasgow conferred the honorary degree of doctor in laws on William Wilberforce, esq. as a mark of the esteem which that university entertain of his character and abilities, and of their high approbation of his exertions for the abolition of the African slave trade.

6. Yesterday, John Seaton, esq. treasurer of the West Riding of the county of York, gave in the following statement of the woollen manufactory for that district from the 25th of March 1790, to the 25th of March 1791, viz. narrow cloth, 154,373 pieces, 4,797, 594 yards; increased 13,966 pieces, 215,472 yards. Broad cloth, 187,569 pieces, 5,815,079 yards; increased 14,981 pieces, 663,102 yards.

An immediate remedy for the bite of a mad dog is said to have been accidentally discovered at Venice, by administering vinegar. It was effectually tried on two or three subjects, who drank several pints. A remedy so simple and useful cannot be too universally known.

7. William Morton Pitt. esq. having lately vacated his seat in Parliament for the county of Dorset, with a view to afford his constituents an opportunity of investigating the principles of his conduct in a late contract with government, was yesterday unanimously re-elected.

9. On Friday, was held a general meeting of the royal academicians at Somerset-Place, for the electing of two painters, two sculptors, and two architects, to form a committee, for the purpose of determining on the propriety of subjects and situations, of monuments to the memory of illustrious characters, to be erected in St. Paul's cathedral, when mess. West, Hamilton, Nollekins, Banks, Dance, and sir William Chambers, were elected, who, with the president of the Royal Academy, are invested by the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the dean and chapter, with the sole power of adjudging the situations. The two first to be erected Mr. Bacon has the honour of executing; Mr. Howard's, and Dr. Samuel Johnson's.

14. Advices received from the East Indies, by the Princess Royal Indiaman, dated Jan. 9, 1791, say, that on the 17th of December, general Abercomby had forced a detachment of Tippoo Sultan, amounting to 5000 men, to surrender; that he had taken the fortresses of Cannanore, Biliapatam, and Nurrcarow; that by these successes, he had taken

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34 ſtand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, and near 5000 ſtand of arms, beſide ammunition, military ſtores, and grain; and that lieutenant-colonel Hartley had taken poſſeſſion of Firrickabad, after having diſperſed the corps oppoſed to him at Firerugarry.

Dublin, May 16. Wedneſday laſt the brig Two Siſters, of Bourdeaux, capt. Renoult, arrived below Waterford, with a cargo of wines, &c. On coming to her birth in the river ſhe hoiſted the new national flag, and fired 13 guns, which were anſwered by every veſſel that carried any ſwivels, except one Londoner, who tho' provided with eight four-pounders, took no manner of notice. The new flag is exceedingly elegant, being an alternate mixture of blue, red, and white, in three compartments, interſperſed with gold fleurs de lis, on a ground of rich white ſatin. At the top is a crown incircled by a wreath, round which are the words, *la Nation, la Loi, le Roi*, the nation, the law, and the king. This is the firſt ſhip, carrying the new colours of France, that has arrived at any Iriſh port ſince the revolution.

Portſmouth May 19. This day, a court-martial was held, *pro formâ*, on board the Royal William, for the trial of lieutenant Riou, for the loſs of the Guardian man of war, when he was honourably acquitted.

26. After a litigation of eight years, the claimants on the goods ſeized by lord Rodney and general Vaughan, at St. Euſtatius, in the year 1781, were paid the full amount of their ſeveral claims, purſuant to a final deciſion of the lords of the privy-council. The whole came to a very conſiderable ſum.

27. Yeſterday, the attorney-general moved the court of exchequer, in the long depending cauſe between the crown and Mr. Atkinſon, reſpecting his tranſactions with the victualling board; when the points ariſing from the laboured inveſtigation of twelve days into its merits were recapitulated. The court had given their opinions on the former occaſion, that Mr. Atkinſon had executed his contract much to the benefit of the public; and if there were any ground to call upon him to refund his commiſſion upon a part of his ſupplies, it aroſe from the univerſal practice of the trade, which was not in that reſpect agreeable to law. The three points reſerved for the attorney-general's conſideration, whether he would go into any account upon them, were diſcuſſed; two were doubtful, and of little conſequence, and upon theſe no account was thought proper. The third involved the queſtion, whether Mr. Atkinſon acted as to thoſe ſupplies as a merchant or as a factor? It was contended by the attorney-general, that Mr. Atkinſon acted as a merchant; but upon its appearing to his ſatisfaction, and the court entirely concurred with him, that upon that footing Mr. Atkinſon had claims which would balance any demand, the cauſe was, to the honour and credit of Mr. Atkinſon, thereupon immediately and finally concluded in his favour.

28. Yeſterday, a caſe of great importance to money-lenders and officers in the army, was determined in the court of King's Bench.—The plaintiff, an officer on half-pay, was furniſhed with money by a perſon, to whom he gave an abſolute aſſignment of his half-pay, which aſſignment was notified, as had been uſual, for a long courſe of years, upon theſe occaſions, at the office of the paymaſters of the army. When two half years pay became due, the plaintiff, notwithſtanding this aſſignment, made a demand of his half-pay from the paymaſters general, who refuſed

to

to pay it, on account of the aſſignment having been regiſtered in the office in the uſual courſe; and, upon this refuſal, the plaintiff brought an action on the caſe, againſt the preſent paymaſters general, to recover it.

This action was tried before lord Kenyon at the ſittings of laſt Hilary term, and a verdict found for the plaintiff, with liberty for the defendant's counſel to move the court for a new trial, on the point of law, whether an officer's half-pay is or is not aſſignable.

The court were clearly of opinion, that an officer's half-pay being a choice in action, was not aſſignable at law; and that it being allowed by the public for the purpoſe of maintaining gentlemen in the army and navy, till the neceſſities of the ſtate required their ſervices, neither equity, good conſcience, or policy, would permit them to ſell, or to aſſign it. The rule for a new trial was therefore diſcharged.

30. Letters have been received in town from New South Wales, which contain the moſt favourable accounts of that colony. The arrival of the Scarborough, Surpriſe, Juſtinian, Lady-Juliana, and Neptune tranſports, in the months of July and Auguſt, entirely relieved the colony from that diſtreſs it laboured under, when lieutenant King left it; and enabled governor Phillip to carry into execution thoſe plans he had before concerted for preventing in future any inconvenience ariſing from a ſcarcity of proviſions. The number of additional hands he at the ſame time received, enabled him to cut ſeveral ſmall canals, for the purpoſe of watering the grounds, which he had cleared to a great extent, and had rendered, by proper cultivation, ſo fertile, that the little corn, &c which he could afford to ſow, had ſucceeded beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations. The natives, by kind treatment, had been rendered perfectly docile, and had, in a great meaſure, been incorporated with the colony.

31. Laſt night there was an alarming inſurrection in the King's Bench priſon; an attempt being made by the greater part of the priſoners to eſcape. Much miſchief was done to the inner part of the priſon, and the outer gate would have been forced, had not a body of horſe and foot arrived to reſtore order, which they happily effected, without any bloodſhed, before 11 o'clock.

The following are ſome of the particulars of the riot:—The priſoners having dined together at a weekly club, were a little elevated by liquor, and aſſembling in the yard, began to murmur at the delay of Mr. Gray's bill reſpecting debtors. Some of them even threatened to effect their enlargement immediately, and they deputed major Pitcairn to wait on the marſhal, and requeſt that colonel Harrington, who has been eight months cloſely confined for having atempted to eſcape, might be as much at liberty as themſelves; but inſtead of their deſire being complied with, major Pitcairn was detained in cuſtody.

This circumſtance added to their diſcontent, and they became more clamorous and deſperate; when the marſhal, with ſome aſſiſtance, went among them, and ſeized two or three of the ringleaders, but was ſo roughly handled that he was obliged to retreat. The violence of the priſoners increaſing, the marſhal and all his officers armed, and going into the area between the two gates, they fired two guns into the air with a deſign of terrifying the malecontents, who endeavoured to provoke them, and threw a ſhower of brickbats over the wall, by which they fractured one man's ſkull

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very dangerously, wounded several others, and obliged the whole to retire to the top of the keeper's house, where they could see what was doing, without risking their personal safety.

Mr. Bowes went among the crowd and harangued them, but as he advised peace and good order, he was so ill received that he found it prudent to desist; and the marshal seeing the danger thicken, and that a general assault at the gates might probably be made, sent a messenger to justice Hyde, who communicating the intelligence to lord Amherst, two troops of horse were dispatched, and in about an hour afterward they were followed by a party of the foot-guards, who went within the walls, and drew up before the prison, when every remonstrance and persuasion being used to pacify the rioters, at length the majority of the prisoners retreated to their rooms, and the riot was quelled before eleven o'clock. A guard of twelve foot soldiers within, and about twenty horse without the prison, were left, however, all night.

JUNE.

1. This day, the attorney-general applied to the court of King's Bench, and obtained an absolute rule for the immediate removal of several of the rioters at the King's-Bench prison, the principals to Newgate, and the abettors to the New Gaol. He stated, that the soldiery were yet obliged to keep guard there night and day.

Yesterday, the lord-mayor nominated the following gentlemen to serve the office of sheriff for the city of London and county of Middlesex, viz. Parker Hatley, esq. skinner; sir Walter Rawlinson, knt. grocer; Charles De St. Leu, esq. skinner; Thomas Cope, esq. plaisterer; John Maddison, esq. goldsmith; Edward Bowman, esq. plumber; Edward Warner, esq. needlemaker; Richard Twopenny, esq. skinner; and Benjamin Wood, esq. clothworker.

3. At the court of common council, the town-clerk laid a letter before the court, which he had received from Philip Stephens, esq. secretary to the lords of the admiralty; wherein their lordships state, that they are advised that freemen and liverymen of London are not exempted by law from being impressed.—The solicitor informed the court, that writs of habeas corpus had been issued, and that the two men who had been impressed (and in whose behalf the town-clerk had written to the secretary of the admiralty) were brought from on board the men of war to town, and that their case was to be argued in the court of common pleas.

6. This day, about eleven in the forenoon, a fire broke out at the iron foundery of Mr. Saunders, in Chambers-street, near Rosemary-lane. The flames were so rapid, they were almost instantaneously communicated to a timber yard, belonging to Mr. Mattocks, which was nearly consumed, together with seven houses in Chambers-street, beside the damaging of six others in Abel's-buildings. Happily no lives were lost, but a child of Mr. Mattocks' is missing. Owing to a scarcity of water at the commencement of the fire, the engines were supplied with beer from a large storehouse upon the premises. The damages are estimated at near 30,000l.

7. Yesterday the court of common-pleas was crowded, in consequence of the case of Joseph Randall and John French, two of the livery of London, being appointed to be argued. These men had been both impressed; but a habeas corpus being

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ing granted, were, in obedience to this writ, brought into court.

Mr. ſerjeant Hill appeared as counſel on behalf of the admiralty. He ſaid, that the queſtion, which it was the wiſh both of the board of admiralty and the city of London to have decided, was, 'Whether a man, being a liveryman of London, but a ſeaman, and fit to ſerve the king, was exempted from being impreſſed? The learned ſerjeant ſaid, that the admiralty were willing to have this important queſtion tried by a jury upon an action to be brought by the city of London; or they would conſent to have it put into ſuch a ſhape as to be ſolemnly argued and determined by the court.

Lord Loughborough ſaid, the queſtion was of great public concern, and therefore every caſe that bore upon it ought to be examined. His lordſhip aſked the counſel, what deciſion had been made upon the caſe of a waterman that had been impreſſed, who was a freeman of London. Mr. ſerjeant Adair remembered this caſe. It was argued before lord Mansfield, when that learned judge dwelt for ſome time upon the practice of impreſſing, which, he ſaid, was a right at common law, founded upon public policy and acknowledged neceſſity. It was the opinion of lord Mansfield, that the waterman had not, by the affidavits then produced, proved a legal exemption, but the main queſtion had never been decided.

Lord Loughborough was of opinion, that Randall and French ſhould be diſcharged upon their own recognizances, to appear the ſecond day of next term, when the queſtion ſhould be either argued before the court, or an iſſue directed to be tried by a jury.

The counſel on both ſides conſented, and the men were accordingly diſcharged upon their own recognizances in 20l. each, to appear the ſecond day of next term.

8. This day, at the ſeſſions-houſe, Clerkenwell, William Seymour, the maſter of Stanes work-houſe, was tried for an aſſault on a pauper in March laſt, whom he had treated with circumſtances of great barbarity; dragging the poor wretch, when dying, to a common, where he left him, by way of ridding the pariſh of him. He was, however, afterward brought back to the work-houſe, but died in his way thither. The court ſentenced Seymour to twelve months impriſonment.

14. Advices received from the Eaſt Indies, by the Rodney Indiaman, ſay, that, on the 6th of November, earl Cornwallis embarked on board the Veſtal frigate at Calcutta, and landed on the 13th of December, at Fort St. George; that his lordſhip had determined, inſtead of proſecuting the plan of the ſouthern invaſion, to penetrate into the Myſore country by the paſſes that lead from the centre of the Carnatic, and to commence his operations by the ſieges of Ouſſore and Bangalore; that, in purſuance of this determination, he had directed general Medows to march his whole army from Trichinopoly to Trinomalé, and there to form it into two diviſions, entering the enemy's country with one of them by the Changarna paſs, and marching with the other to meet his lordſhip at Amee. Theſe advices add, that general Abercromby and colonel Hartley had, by their late brilliant ſucceſſes, completely cleared the Malabar coaſt.

15. So great a change of weather ſeldom happens as has taken place ſince Monday ſe'nnight. On that day the glaſs ſtood at 75°, and people knew no place too cool to ſit in;

Sunday

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Sunday and Monday laſt the glaſs was ſo low as 50°, and fires and great coats began to appear.

The hills in Kent and Suſſex preſented a ſpectacle on Sunday morning quite uncommon to the ſeaſon of the year, their ſummits being covered with hoar-froſt, and whitened with ſnow. Ice, of the thickneſs of a ſhilling, was ſeen in many places. The tender plants have been greatly hurt.

17. The ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have given a reward of twenty guineas to Mr. Lockett, of Donnington, near Newbury, for making twenty-five yards of cloth from hop-ſtalks.

24. A common hall was held for the annual election of city officers; when Mr. alderman Anderſon and Mr. alderman Combe were choſen ſheriffs, and Mr. alderman Wilkes was re-elected chamberlain. Mr. Cowley attempted an oppoſition to Mr. Wilkes, on the ground, principally, that the offices of alderman and chamberlain were incompatible; but the livery would not hear him; while, on the contrary, they expreſſed the warmeſt approbation of Mr. Wilkes's declaration, 'that he would live and die an alderman of London.'

JULY.

1. A proſecution was lately commenced in the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland, againſt Dr. M'Gill, for hereſy; but the aſſembly diſmiſſed the cauſe by a majority of 93 to 7.

2. The following is an account of the firſt trial for a libel in the United States of America. In Feburary laſt, Edmond Freeman, printer of the Boſton Herald, was tried before the ſupreme court of judicature, upon a charge of publiſhing a libel againſt John Gardner, when, after a long, fair, and patient inveſtigation, the defendant was honourably acquitted.

The lawyers for this proſecution endeavoured to eſtabliſh the unconſtitutional doctrines of truth being a libel, and that juries were not competent to judge of the intention; but theſe ſlaviſh dogmas were ſpurned at with due contempt, and the jury, exerciſing the rights of free-born ſubjects, conſidered the whole caſe, and pronounced their verdict upon the merits.

The American judges, upon this important queſtion, ſat in ſcarlet robes, and the court was filled and ſurrounded by thouſands of citizens, who expreſſed their joy by every mark of approbation.

6. Mary Doran was brought up in the court of king's-bench, to receive ſentence for ſetting her houſe on fire. She is to be impriſoned two years in Newgate, and afterward to find ſecurity for her good behaviour for five years; herſelf in 100l. and two ſureties in 50l. each.

7. The fine impoſed by lord Loughborough, on the county of Eſſex, was regularly eſtreated into the court of exchequer. A writ of certiorari was moved for by the county, to remove the record of the fine, with a view to try its legality. The attorney-general afterward moved to have this writ quaſhed, as having improvidently and unneceſſarily iſſued; it not being a matter of juſtice but diſcretion, the county having a right to plead and go to iſſue on the eſtreat. This point has been ſolemnly argued; and yeſterday the lord chief baron gave judgment that the writ ſhould be quaſhed: the county are conſequently left to plead to the eſtreat as they ſhall be adviſed; for which they obtained the leave of the court. *See Vol. X. page* (13), *and Vol. XI. page* (7) *and* (58).

11. On

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11. On Saturday, Mr. Perry, proprietor of 'The Argus,' was sentenced to six months imprisonment, for a libel, charging John Walter and his son with having made a newspaper called The Times, the vehicle of fraud and oppression, by extorting money from individuals under false representations.

12. Mr. Perry was again brought up to the king's-bench to receive sentence for having published a libel on lady Fitzgibbon, the lady of the lord chancellor of Ireland, (charging her ladyship with criminal conversation with the earl of Westmorland) when the court imposed a fine of 200l. and to be imprisoned in the king's-bench six months, to commence from the expiration of his former imprisonment.

13. Yesterday, a duel was fought on Blackheath, between Mr. Graham, an eminent special pleader of Lincoln's-inn, and Mr. Julius, a student in the Temple; when the former fell by a shot, which passed almost through the lower part of the belly. He was brought to town in a post-chaise, and expired soon after. The quarrel originated in a dispute on a *religious* subject.

14. The second anniversary of the French revolution was celebrated in London, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, where about 900 gentlemen dined on the occasion. George Rous, esq. presided as chairman. An ode, written by Mr. Merry, was performed; M. Amand de Cornedie, a French gentleman, delivered an animated address, in English; and, after a great many toasts had been drunk, Mr. Rous rose about eight o'clock, and said, 'That, considering the industry with which the intentions of the meeting had been misrepresented, it would best confute the assertions of their enemies, if, after the present temperate repast, every gentleman were to retire home.' Mr. Rous then left the chair; and, after the health of the stewards and of the society at Nantz had been drunk, the company very peaceably separated. At nine o'clock not one of the company remained at the Crown and Anchor; but a mob, collected, no doubt, by the expectation so weakly, or criminally, promoted, that there would be a riot, appeared about the doors of the tavern, where indeed some persons had continued during the whole of the afternoon. At half past nine their numbers had greatly increased, and a few among them, probabl pickpockets, or persons with worse intentions, began to call for lights. The rest accompanied them, as no transaction in London can want spectators, and the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the Strand and of the city placed lights in their windows. Then there came in the Strand, another mob of *peace makers*, demanding most *vehemently* that the lights should be put out, with which order the inhabitants reluctantly complied, not knowing which it was safe to obey. At eleven o'clock every thing was peaceable, and the persons in the streets were not so many as on a common illumination upon a birth-night. The windows of the London coffee-house, and of a silversmith's house upon Ludgate-hill, with several others, were, however, broken, before the lights could be shewn. Great praise is due to the lord mayor, sir James Sanderson, and Mr. alderman Watson, for their spirited, yet temperate conduct on the first appearance of a disturbance.

21. The anniversary of the French revolution, on the 14th inst. which was celebrated without any disturbance, at Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Norwich, &c. was productive of fatal consequences at Birmingham; where, in consequence of an advertisement, the

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the ſame day, near ninety gentlemen met, at the hotel in Temple-Lane, to commemorate this anniverſary. It is previouſly to be obſerved, that ſix copies of a ſeditious hand-bill had been left early in the week, in a public houſe, by ſome perſon unknown: for diſcovery of the author, printer, or publiſher of which, a reward of 100 guineas was offered by the magiſtrates; and which, having been very generally copied, cauſed a great ferment in the minds of the people. In conſequence, on Thurſday afternoon, a conſiderable number of perſons gathered round the hotel, hiſſing at the gentlemen as they aſſembled; and, ſubſequent to their departure, two hours after, every window in the front was demoliſhed, notwithſtanding the perſonal interference of the magiſtrates.

The mob next attacked the New meeting-houſe (Dr. Prieſtley's), and, after trying in vain to tear up the ſeats, &c. they ſet it on fire, and nothing remains that could be conſumed.

The old meeting-houſe was completely emptied of pulpit, pews, &c. which were burnt in the adjoining burying-ground, and afterward the building was levelled nearly with the ground; it being conſidered dangerous from its ſituation to ſet it on fire.

Dr. Prieſtley's houſe at Fair-hill, (a mile and a half from Birmingham) next met a ſimilar fate, with the whole of his valuable library, and more valuable collection of apparatus for philoſophical experiments. Here one of the rioters was killed by the falling of a cornice-ſtone.

On Friday morning the mob continued their depredations; for there was no armed force, and the civil power was not ſufficient to repreſs them. Armed with bludgeons, &c. and vociferating "church and king!" they ſpread terror wherever they appeared.

About noon they attacked and demoliſhed the elegant manſion of Mr. John Ryland, at Eaſy-hill; where many of the rioters, who were drunk, periſhed in the cellars, either by the flames, ſuffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six poor wretches, terribly bruiſed, were got out alive, and ſent to the hoſpital, and ten dead bodies have ſince been dug out of the ruins; but a man, who had remained immured in one of the vaults from the preceding Friday, worked his way out on Monday, with little injury.

In the afternoon the magiſtrates attended and ſwore in ſome hundreds as additional conſtables, who, with mop-ſtaves in their hands, marched to Mr. Ryland's to diſperſe the mob, who at firſt gave way, but rallying, after a ſtout conflict, in which many were ſeverely wounded, the *poſſe comitatus* were obliged to retire.

The country reſidence of John Taylor, eſq. Bordeſley-hall, after the greateſt part of its ſplendid furniture had been demoliſhed or carried away, was ſet on fire, together with the out-offices, ſtables, ricks of hay, &c. Every exertion to preſerve this elegant ſeat was made by captain Carver, but in vain. On offering them his purſe with 100 guineas to ſave the houſe, he was huſtled amid the crowd, with a cry of "No bribery!" and narrowly eſcaped their fury.

In the night of Friday, the houſe of Mr. Hutton, in High-ſtreet, was completely ſtripped; his large ſtock of paper, valuable library, and all his furniture deſtroyed or carried away. Fire was ſeveral times brought by a woman (women and boys were particularly active in all the depredations),

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dations), but the majority of the populace, in tenderness to the town, would not suffer it to be applied.

From Mr. Hutton's they proceeded to his country house at Washwood-heath, three miles from town, which, with its offices, they reduced to ashes.

On Saturday, the rioters made an attack on Mr. Humphrey's elegant house at Spark-brook, but were repulsed, and one man killed. The mob, however, on a second attack, carried their point, and ransacked the house of all its furniture.

Mr. William Russel's house, at Shewell-green, experienced all the violence of fire and devastation.

The house of Mr. T. Hawkes, Moseley-wake Green, was stripped of its furniture.

Moseley-hall, the residence of the dowager countess of Carhampton, but the property of John Taylor, esq. Mr. Harwood's, and Mr. Hobson's, a dissenting minister, were all on fire at once.

Lady Carhampton, who is blind, had notice, the preceding day, to remove her effects, as their vengeance was not directed against her; the good old lady gave directions accordingly, and sir Robert and captain Lawley immediately attended on their noble relation, whom they accompained in safety to Cauwell, sir Robert's seat.

The whole of Saturday, business was at a stand, and the shops mostly shut up, notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates, and several popular noblemen and gentlemen, for the reports were so various of the strength of the insurgents, and having no military, no force could be sent against them. In the afternoon and evening, small parties of three or five levied contribution, of meat, liquor, and money.

On Sunday the rioters bent their course toward Kingswood, seven miles off, extorting money and liquors by the way. There the dissenting meeting-house, and the dwelling-house of their minister, were reduced to ashes; as were the premises of Mr. Cox, at Worstock, the same day.

At night, soon after ten, three troops of the 15th light dragoons arrived amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, whose hopes and fears had been depicted through the day in every countenance, as reports of the near approach of the soldiery were spread or contradicted. The town was immediately illuminated, and before morning every thing was tolerably quiet, but the rioters were still continuing their depredations in the country. They exhausted the cellars at each place, and received various sums of money to prevent their proceeding to further violence.

They were in great force at the time the troops arrived, which they no sooner had intimation of than they began to slink off in small parties; and the peasantary, taking courage, put the rest to flight in various directions.

So rapid were the light horse in their route for the relief of Birmingham, that they came there in one day from Nottingham, a distance of 56 miles.

On Monday, the town appeared in perfect security, but as much crowded as during the three preceding days, in viewing the military, the mob keeping at such a distance as to render all accounts of them dubious; at one time said to be at Alcester, the next hour at Bromsgrove, &c.

On Tuesday, there were flying rumours of depredations near Hagley, Hales-owen, &c. and in the evening certain information was received that a party of rioters were then attacking Mr. Male's, of Belle-vue. A few of the light dragoons immediately

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ly went to his assistance; but the rioters had been previously overpowered by a body of people in that neighbourhood, and 10 of them were confined at Hales-owen.

On Wednesday morning, the country round, for 10 miles, was scoured by the light horse, but not one riotor to be met with, and all the manufactories were at work, as if no interruption had taken place. Three troops of the 11th light dragoons marched in this morning, and more troops were expected.

Among the articles consumed at Mr. Ryland's at Birmingham, was the body of the late Mr. Baskerville, who by will ordered he should be buried in his own house, and he was accordingly interred there. A stone closet was erected in it, where he was deposited in a standing posture, The house was afterward sold with this express condition, that it should remain there.

25. From a narrative published by Mr. William Russel, one of the sufferers by the riots, it appears, that in consequence of the seditious handbill the following advertisement was published in the Birmingham Chronicle of the 14th July, by the gentlemen who intended to commemorate the French revolution, who likewise sent hand-bills, with copies of this advertisement, all over Birmingham; both to prevent any bad effects from this seditious paper, and to rescue themselves from the calumny of being the authors of it.

"Birmingham commemoration of the French Revolution.

"Several hand-bills having been circulated in the town, which can only be intended to create distrust concerning the intention of the meeting, to disturb its harmony, and inflame the minds of the people, the gentlemen who proposed it, think it necessary to declare their entire disapprobation of all such hand-bills, and their ignorance of the authors. —Sensible themselves of the advantages of a free government, they rejoice in the extension of liberty to their neighbours, at the same time avowing, in the most explicit manner, their attachment to the constitution of their own country, as vested in the three estates of the king, lords, and commons.— Surely, no free-born Englishman can refrain from exulting in this addition to the general mass of human happiness; it is the cause of humanity, it is the cause of the people.

"Birmingham, July, 13, 1791."

In the morning, however, after this was published, many rumours of the probability of a riot were brought to the friends of the meeting; and as there was too much reason to think that means had been used to promote one, they determined to postpone the intended dinner, and accordingly agreed to put it off, and prepare a hand-bill for that purpose, of which the following is a copy:

Intended Commemoration of the French Revolution.

"The friends of the intended festivity, finding that their views and intention, in consequence of being misconceived by some, and misrepresented by others, have created an alarm in the minds of the majority of the town, and it is thought, endangered its tranquillity, inform their neighbours that they value the peace of the town far beyond the gratification of a festival, and therefore have determined to give up their intentions of dining at the hotel upon this occasion; and they very gladly improve this renewed opportunity of declaring that they are to this hour entirely ignorant of the author,

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thor, printer, or publisher, of the inflammatory hand-bill circulated on Monday."

This was sent to the printer; but before he had composed it, the master of the hotel, in consequence of having the dinner countermanded, represented, that he was sure there was no danger of any tumult, and recommended that the dinner might be had as was intended; only proposing that the gentlemen should take care to break up early, and then all danger would be avoided. This measure was then adopted, and orders given to the printer to suppress the hand-bill. Accordingly there was a meeting of eighty-one gentlemen, inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, at the great room in the hotel, where they dined and passed the afternoon with temperate festivity.

An ingenious artist of the town decorated the room upon this occasion with three elegant emblematic pieces of sculpture, mixed with painting, in a new style of composition. The central piece was a finely executed medallion of his majesty, encircled with a Glory, on each side of which was an alabaster obelisk; the one exhibiting Gallic Liberty breaking the bands of despotism, and the other representing British liberty in its present enjoyment.

James Keir, esq. of West Bromwich (a member of the church of England) was chairman: this gentleman likewise published a letter on the occasion, in which he asserts (in confutation of a false and malignant assertion in one of the morning prints, that a *treasonable* toast was the first that was given) that the first toast was 'The king and the constitution;' and one of the last, 'Peace and good will to mankind.'

24. The Neptune, Scarborough, and Surprise transports arrived at Botany-Bay the 29th of June, 1790, after a passage of exactly two months from the Cape of Good Hope. The convicts were very sickly, of whom 270 died on their passage, and 100 more after their arrival. The navy agent, Mr. Shepcott, died also on his passage; but of the New South Wales corps only one soldier died on the voyage, and one after they arrived. They found the colony in a distressed state, many sick and sickening for want of food, of which they were in deplorable need, having quite exhausted their stores, and nearly all the stock of animals intended for breeding. They were, however, happily relieved by the arrival of the ships.

27. A proclamation was published for apprehending the author, printer, or publisher, of the seditious paper, which excited so much disturbance at Birmingham.

Also another proclamation, offering a reward of 100*l.* with the royal pardon, as usual, for the discovery of the persons concerned in the late riots.

28. On Saturday came on, in the court of chancery, the hearing of the case of the nabob of Arcot against the India company, when the company's plea, that in quality of sovereigns they were not amenable, was set aside.

AUGUST.

3. The dissenters of Banbury have accommodated the members of the established church with the use of their meeting, since the taking down of the church; and divine service is performed there alternately every Sunday.

4. The following experiments were lately made, on board a ship in Portsmouth harbour, by Mr. Hill, carpenter of the Active, and inventor of a machine for drawing bolts out

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of the ſhip's ſides, &c. 1ſt. He ſtopped a ſhot-hole on the outſide of the ſhip, four feet under water, in the ſpace of one minute, without aſſiſtance from any perſon out of the veſſel. 2d. He ſtopped, in the ſame manner, a ſpace in the ſhip's ſide, four feet under water, of four feet by four inches, in two minutes and a half. During the time of effectually curing both leaks, the ſhip made only ten inches water in the well. 3d. An experiment on the chain-pump with a new-conſtructed wheel of Mr. Hill's invention, which acts upon infinitely better principles than that at preſent in uſe, is much ſafer, leſs liable to be out of order, and will be a material ſaving to government, in chains and ſaucers.

5. Mr. Jefferſon, the late American miniſter at the court of France, has communicated to an eminent houſe in the city a diſcovery, which, if ſanctioned by experience, will be of the utmoſt importance. A perſon near Boſton, who was a ſhip-builder, has ſolicited a patent from the United States for a mode of preſerving ſhip-timber from being worm-eaten. During the thirty years he has been a bridge-builder, he has always ſoaked ſuch timbers as were to be under water in oil, and has found this method to preſerve them ever ſince he was in that employment.

6. An Engliſh Proteſtant church was opened at Dunkirk, for the public worſhip of Chriſtians of all denominations. The number of Proteſtants at Dunkirk is very great; and the Engliſh are ſo numerous, that the church ſoon overflowed and many were obliged to return for want of room.

7. The act for regulating the limited number of negroes to be conveyed in the ſlave ſhips, in proportion to their tonnage, has been productive of every good conſequence intended by its benevolent framers: for the laſt Liverpool ſhip, that carried the largeſt freight, loſt but one ſlave out of 515, which ſhe exported from the coaſt of Africa to the Weſt India Iſlands.

8. The United States of America, in order to alleviate the miſery of ſlavery, have lately inſtituted ſeveral juſt and philanthrophic laws in favour of that melancholy ſtate of exiſtence. They have, in particular, made the wilful murder of a ſlave, (which before was a miſdemeanour liable to fine and impriſonment!) a capital offence.

12. The inhabitants of Birmingham, at a public meeting, voted an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for his paternal care manifeſted for their ſecurity during the late riots. They alſo voted thanks and pieces of plate of 100 guineas value to their juſtices; alſo thanks to the earls of Aylesford and Plymouth, ſir Robert Lawley, the hon. capt. Finch, and the ſeveral other gentlemen who exerted themſelves to ſuppreſs the riots; thanks and elegant dreſs ſwords to capt. Polhill, cornets Hilton and Seymour; with 100l. to the non-commiſſioned officers and privates of the 15th dragoons for their great vigilance.

Whitehall, Aug. 16. Miniſterial notes have been delivered at St. Peterſburgh by Mr. Whitworth, and Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltz, on the part of his majeſty and of the king of Pruſſia, and by count Oſterman on the part of the empreſs of Ruſſia, relative to the terms of pacification between Ruſſia and the Porte.

In theſe notes, the miniſters of his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia agree, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, that their majeſties will propoſe to the Porte to conclude a peace with Ruſſia, on the terms of the ceſſion

ſion of the diſtrict of Oczakow, from the bog to the Dnieſter; her imperial majeſty engaging not to diſturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound) and her imperial majeſty being alſo to reſtore to the Porte at the concluſion of the peace, all other conqueſts whatever. The miniſter of her imperial majeſty agrees, on the part of his ſovereign, to make peace on theſe terms; and the miniſters of his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia agree, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, that, if the Porte ſhould decline to enter into negociation on this baſis, their majeſties will leave the termination of the war to the courſe of thoſe events to which it may lead. *Lond. Gaz.*

18. Yeſterday, a little before one o'clock, as his majeſty was paſſing in his carriage through the Park to St. James's, a gentleman dreſſed in black, ſtanding in the Green Park, cloſe to the rails, within a few yards of Mr. Copley's pavilion, juſt as the carriage came oppoſite where he ſtood, was obſerved to pull a paper haſtily from his pocket, which he ſtuck on the rail, addreſſed to the king, throw off his hat, diſcharge a piſtol in his own boſom, and inſtantly fall. Though ſurrounded with people collected to ſee the king paſs, the raſh act was ſo ſuddenly perpetrated, that no one ſuſpected his fatal purpoſe till he had accompliſhed it. He expired immediately. In his left hand was a letter, addreſſed "To the coroner who ſhall take an inqueſt on James Sutherland."— This unfortunate gentleman, James Sutherland, eſq. had been ſuſpended from his office of judge advocate of Minorca, on the ſecond of Auguſt, 1780; for which, on the 23d of July 1783, he brought an action againſt general Murray, the govenor, and obtained a verdict with 5000l. damages. General Murray was indemnified by parliament; and the failure of ſome applications to government having, at a ſubſequent period, reduced Mr. Sutherland to great diſtreſs, had greatly deranged his mind. He was very genteelly dreſſed; had only two pence and ſome letters in his pockets. The letters were carried to the ſecretary of ſtate's office. One of them was addreſſed to the king. The coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict lunacy.

Bath, Aug. 17. An action was tried at the aſſizes at Saliſbury, brought by Mr. Phelps againſt the hundred of Bradford, to recover the damage ſuſtained by him from a riot on the 14th of May, by which his houſe and furniture were in part demoliſhed, and a machine uſed in ſcribbling wool was taken from his workſhops and burnt. The jury gave a verdict for the full damages.

On this occaſion, judge Buller made the following obſervations: "The workmen have ſhown their diſapprobation of the different improvements that have taken place in other manufactories as well as this; but deluded, infatuated people, how have they miſtaken their own intereſt! I know myſelf the advantage which machines have been to the cotton manufactory in Lancaſhire; for there, where only 4000 people were employed, there are now 40,000; and were the gentlemen concerned in that buſineſs to give up their machines, it would occaſion greater jealouſies and diſcontents than were cauſed by their firſt introduction.

"This country has long been famous for making ſuperfine cloth, in which it has excelled, and ſupplied not only this country, but all Europe, with the article; and if machines are not uſed to enable the manufacturer

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to ſell as cheap as other countries now do, they will be underſold, and find their goods returned on their hands; for that man who can afford to ſell his commodity the cheapeſt, will have the greateſt ſale, and the moſt expeditiouſly increaſe his concern:—independent of this conſequence, it is a public benefit."

22. At the aſſizes at York, John Bennet was capitally convicted of ſetting fire to the houſe of Mr. Wilkinſon, a magiſtrate, in the late riots at Sheffield.

Whitehall, Aug. 23. On Saturday laſt, one of his majeſty's meſſengers arrived at the office of the right hon. lord Grenville, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, with diſpatches from the right hon. ſir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. his majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, and plenipoteniary to the congreſs of Siſtova, containing an account that a definitive treaty of peace was ſigned on the 4th inſtant, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, under the joint mediation of his majeſty, of the king of Pruſſia, and of the ſtates-general of the United Provinces; and that a ſeparate convention between his imperial majeſty and the Ottoman Porte, for ſettling the limits between the two empires, was afterward ſigned on the ſame day. *Lond. Gaz.*

Birmingham, Aug. 25. On Monday, Aug. 22, baron Perryn opened the proceedings at the aſſizes at Warwick, by an addreſs to the grand jury, in which he obſerved, that in the calendar were the names of many perſons charged with tumultuous riots, in open defiance of all law; by which the places of public worſhip, and the habitations and effects of a denomination of his majeſty's ſubjects, who have long legally enjoyed toleration, have been deſtroyed, to the great terror and injury of the individual ſufferers, and to the alarm of the whole kingdom.

In ſtating what he thought the law on this ſubject, he thus proceeded: "Inſurrections for real or imaginary grievances, of a public and general nature, and pulling down meeting-houſes, incloſures, or ſuch like, and to effect this purpoſe by force and numbers, are, by conſtruction of law, conſidered high treaſon. Aſſemblies or multitudes met, from whatever purpoſe, though not of that general nature, and conſequently not extending to high treaſon, are yet of the moſt dangerous tendency, and generally followed with the moſt miſchievous conſequences. Our hiſtory furniſhes inſtances, where the perſon of the king, and the conſtitution of the kingdom, have been thrown into the utmoſt hazard by inſurrections of this nature. If ſuch inſurrections are not prevented, or immediately ſuppreſſed, anarchy and confuſion muſt follow; and the happieſt conſtitution in the world, the beſt that a favoured nation was ever bleſſed with, muſt be in danger of being deſtroyed. In order to prevent theſe miſchiefs, an act paſſed in the firſt year of George I. commonly called the Riot Act, which enacts, 'that if twelve perſons, or more, are unlawfully aſſembled to the diſturbance of the peace, and any one juſtice of the peace, ſheriff, under-ſheriff, or mayor, ſhall command them by proclamation to diſperſe, if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterward, ſuch contempt ſhall be felony without benefit of clergy.' By a ſubſequent clauſe of this act, 'it is provided, that if any perſons, ſo riotouſly aſſembled, begin, even before proclamation, to pull down any church, chapel, meeting-houſe, dwelling-houſe, or out-houſe, they ſhall be felons without benefit of clergy.

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"Gentlemen, I conceive it is upon this laſt clauſe that you will find the bills againſt the priſoners who ſtand charged with this offence.

"The wiſdom of the legiſlature has enjoined, that tumultuous riſings of this nature ſhould be immediately ſuppreſſed. Every perſon in this kingdom is entiled to the benefit of the law: every perſon is obliged to obey, or ſuffer the penalties of the law. It is your duty to inquire, and true preſentment make of the breaches of this ſtatute, that the law may be carried into execution, for the ſafety of his majeſty's ſubjects. Whatever were the motives to theſe breaches, they cannot be juſtified. When the moſt ſevere laws againſt the Roman catholics, which ſo long diſgraced our ſtatute-book, have been repealed; when every reaſonable indulgence was given to tender conſciences, which was conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate; and when all intolerance ſeemed to be done away; it muſt be matter of great ſurpriſe, that ſuch a ſeaſon ſhould be choſen for this violence; at a time too when the bleſſings of his majeſty's reign are equally extended to all his ſubjects, without diſtinction of perſons, and whoſe view has ever been to unite the hearts of all his ſubjects, and to render them as well affected to each other as they ought to be to ſuch a ſovereign."—The baron concluded, by expreſſing confidence, that the great truſt repoſed in them by the conſtitution would be diſcharged to their own honour, and in a manner that would contribute to the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

The trials commenced the next day, when Francis Field, alias Rodney, was indicted for ſetting fire to the houſe of John Taylor, eſq. of Aſton, near Birmingham, on the 15th of July laſt.

Mr. Newnham, the leading counſel for the crown, opened the proſecution, by ſtating to the jury the dreadful riots which had taken place at and near Birmingham, in the middle of July. "Theſe riots," ſaid he, "were a reproach to any well regulated government; and though it was impoſſible, with the exertions of the magiſtrates, and the aſſiſtance of many of the well-diſpoſed perſons of Birmingham, to withſtand ſuch riots, yet they did as much as in them lay to prevent the dreadful conſequences that enſued; but violence bore down the weak efforts of juſtice. Theſe riots were carried to ſuch an exceſs, that his majeſty, the great father of his people, and the protector of the peace of the country, has thought fit to interfere, in order to preſerve the property of his ſubjects, and by the leſſon of wholeſome proſecution, has, in the moſt ſolemn manner, taken this up as an act of government: —Although I may pity that unfortunate priſoner, who, in a frenzy of deluſion, thought fit to ſet fire to and deſtroy one of the beſt houſes in this county, belonging to a man in his public and private character as irreproachable as any in the kingdom, (a character given him by all his friends and neighbours) yet I muſt ſay, that he committed this exceſs without the ſmalleſt provocation, without the ſmalleſt reaſon,—being actuated by the frenzy of deluſion.

"Gentlemen, government has nothing to do with the private opinions entertained by any one man, or ſet of men. Viciſſitude of opinions produces ſometimes the groſſeſt inſults upon government. We all recollect the dreadful conſequences of the year 1780, when the capital was threatened with deſtruction, and was almoſt lighted from one end to the other, with the fires that were kindled by the frenzy of opinion. Gen-

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tlemen, the houſe of Mr. Taylor ſtill ſmokes in its ruins: that priſoner ſtands charged with this. What opinion he may entertain, it does not concern me to enquire into, or you to know: but this I know, and this you will know and feel, that the only ſafe anchor of the conſtitution, is the law: *that* is the protector, the general protector of our property and of our lives; and without that ſure anchor of protection and of hope, we ſhould be all ſubject to the aſſumed affectation of opinion of a tumultuous rabble, in every part of his majeſty's dominions."

Witneſſes were then called, who clearly proved, that the priſoner was ſeen to feed the fire kindled in the houſe, huzzaing all the time. He called no witneſſes to his character; but Mr. Clarke and Mr. Willes his counſel, ſubmitted to his lordſhip, that as there was no evidence to ſhew that the priſoner had ſet fire to this houſe, but only that he had thrown ſome goods into the fire that had been kindled by ſome other perſon, he could not be convicted on this indictment, which charged him with ſetting fire to it.

The judge ſaid, that if a perſon brought a quantity of fire into a houſe, and another fed it, by adding fuel to it, he was as much the original burner as the perſon who firſt kindled it.—Then, in an excellent charge to the jury, he obſerved, that this indictment was founded on an act, 9 Geo. I. called the Black Act. He conceived the indictment would have been founded on the Riot Act, 1 Geo. I. c. 5. By the Black Act it was provided, that whoever ſhould wilfully and maliciouſly ſet fire to any houſe, barn, or outhouſe, ſhould be a felon without benefit of clergy. Although the priſoner did not ſet this houſe on fire, yet, being there, and acting in the manner that had been deſcribed by the witneſſes, he was as guilty of burning down the houſes, as the perſon who brought the firſt firebrand. The priſoner ſeemed to have been one of the moſt active. As to his being in liquor, that was no excuſe at all, but rather an aggravation. Common reaſon and law, ſaid, that a man who had been guilty of one crime, ſhould not be excuſed becauſe he had committed another.

The jury retired, and, after an hour's conſideration, brought in their verdict, *Guilty*.

William Rice was next indicted, on the riot act, for beginning to demoliſh the houſe of William Hutton, eſq. of Aſton. Two of Mr. Hutton's ſervants depoſed, that the priſoner ſaid, that they would be damned, if the houſe did not come down, and accordingly he ſtruck a kitchen window, and, aſſiſted by another man, broke it to pieces; and that he ſaw him likewiſe deſtroying the banniſters of the ſtairs, and throwing them through the windows into the garden. On the other hand, two other witneſſes gave evidence importing, that he could not be at Mr. Hutton's houſe at the time the mob were deſtroying it; and one, in particular, ſwore, that the priſoner was *againſt*, not *for* the mob. He and two other witneſſes gave the priſoner the character of an honeſt, ſober, and induſtrious man.

The judge, in his charge to the jury, directed their attention to the ſituation of the two witneſſes for the proſecution, who ſtood at the door the whole time, and, of courſe, had an opportunity of obſerving what paſſed. As they were placed there by Mr. Hutton for that very purpoſe, to preſerve their maſter's property, it was natural for them to obſerve every thing that was going on; and they deſcribed the priſoner to be one of the moſt active among the mob. In ſhort, if the jury gave credit to their teſtimony, it brought the caſe home to the priſoner.

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er. They would judge whether the evidence which had been adduced for the priſoner would make any alteration in the caſe. His lordſhip alſo ſummed up this evidence, and gave the priſoner the full benefit of it. The jury were judges what credit was to be given to the witneſſes on each ſide. Their verdict was—*Not Guilty.*

Robert Whitehead was indicted for the ſame offence. Mr. Hutton's two ſervants ſwore to his activity in demoliſhing the houſe, and that he had ſnatched a gun from one of the witneſſes, and knocked him down with the but-end of it. This evidence was confirmed by two other witneſſes; but was flatly contradicted by another, whoſe evidence went to prove, that the priſoner, ſo far from being a rioter, did every thing in his power to quell the riot; and four reſpectable witneſſes ſwore that he had as good a character as any workman need to have.

The judge obſerved, that four men muſt be abſolutely perjured, if the priſoner had not committed the acts of violence they had enumerated.

The jury brought in their verdict —*Not Guilty.*

On Wedneſday, John Green, Bartholomew Fiſher, and John Clifton, were indicted for beginning to demoliſh the houſe of Joſeph Prieſtley, LL.D. at Aſton.

Mr. Coke, M. P. for Nottingham, addreſſed the jury, and obſerved, that there never was an occaſion in this country that called more ſeriouſly for their attention. There never was an occaſion when government had acted more honourably; for they had undertaken, to the relief of the individual ſufferers, the expence of theſe proſecutions. If juries acquitted, it was not the fault of government. He did not wiſh it to be underſtood as if any one had been improperly acquitted yeſterday; he only meant to ſay, that government had done their duty. If a man were to be perſecuted becauſe he held this or that religious, or this or that political opinion, he ought to leave this country: it did not deſerve the name of his country. Dr. Prieſtley, both in his private and public character, was an honour to ſociety, and held forth as bright an example of every virtue as any man in the country. But if a man's property were to be deſtroyed, and his life put in imminent danger, becauſe he held certain political opinions, or becauſe he preached certain doctrines, he ought to ſell his country, and leave it immediately. He did not profeſs to agree with Dr. Prieſtley either in his religious or in his political opinions; but if he had been at Birmingham when the riots took place, he ſhould have riſqued his life in the protection of his houſe; and the more ſo, becauſe he differed in opinion from him. By perſecution, the ſmalleſt ſect in the country, ſo far from being cruſhed, would thrive; and as he was not a diſſenter himſelf, but a church of England man, he lamented extremely, that this would tend to augment the number of diſſenters. The diſſenters were as reſpectable and as quiet ſubjects as any in the country; and unleſs the jury convicted, and convicted with great attention, thoſe who had been clearly guilty, perſecution would make the diſſenters increaſe. It was manifeſt that they had been lately perſecuted in the moſt infamous manner. "Gentlemen," he continued, "if you do not convict where the caſe calls for conviction, you are enemies to your country. Remember you are on your oaths to diſcharge your duty. I have told you, and you know the fact to be ſo, that doctor Prieſtley's houſe was pulled down, merely becauſe he was a diſſenter. You know that this is no reaſon at

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all. Dr. Prieſtley's life is irreproachable; and I believe that he would not have eſcaped with his life, if he had remained half an hour longer. Look at theſe fellows, (the priſoners); if you do not convict on this occaſion, another 4th of July will come and there will be other riots, and doctor Prieſtley himſelf will be burned. Remember, another year is coming; and next year there may be as much reaſon for celebrating the French revolution as there was this year. I ſhould not chooſe to be preſent at ſuch meetings, and I diſapprove of them as much as any man. But I am clearly of opinion, that the people of this country have a right to eat and drink as much as they pleaſe, to get drunk, and to drink bumper toaſts. If you do not convict theſe vagabond fellows, doctor Prieſtley himſelf will be burned!

"Gentlemen, you have ſons and grandſons, and the tables will be turned on you, and your ſons and grandſons will be thrown into the fire in the next century. I call on you as Engliſhmen, and friends to the conſtitution, to attend to the evidence, and to do your duty. You ſtand in a very conſpicuous ſituation. There are no twelve men in England, on whom the whole kingdom are looking with ſo much anxiety and expectation as on you. I have heard it ſaid, that they (the jury) will not convict any one of them. I have heard in the ſtreets"—

Mr. Clarke, one of the counſel for the priſoners, ſaid, Mr. Coke had no right to ſtate what he had heard in the ſtreets.

The judge ſaid, that Mr. Coke had opened the proſecution with great propriety.

The foreman of the jury thought this opening exceedingly improper, and diſgraceful to the jury, as it inſinuated, that they had not faithfully diſcharged their duty; and another juror ſaid, he felt himſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation. The foreman added, that he underſtood the nature of an oath as well as the learned counſel, and came there conſcientiouſly to diſcharge his duty.

Mr. Coke ſaid, that he had begun with obſerving, that he did not mean to inſinuate that any priſoner had been improperly acquitted. He was only ſtating the reaſons why the jury ought to give their attention to this buſineſs; that the eyes of the whole country were upon them. He was going to inform the jury that it was rumoured, (he durſt ſay the report was unfounded) that they would not convict. His lordſhip had approved of what he had ſaid. He again obſerved that government had done their duty in a manner that was much to their honour, and he truſted that the jury would alſo perform their duty.

When the evidence for the proſecution was cloſed, an argument took place between the counſel, on the conſtruction of that clauſe in the riot act upon which this indictment was founded.

The counſel for the priſoners obſerved, that this indictment was, for beginning to pull down and demoliſh the houſe of Dr. Prieſtley; it was in evidence, that before any of the priſoners were there, the deſtruction of this houſe was begun; and if the priſoners were not concerned in the beginning of the deſtruction of it, they were not within the act, and could not be convicted.

On the other ſide, it was ſtated, that this act created two diſtinct offences. 1ſt, 'To demoliſh and pull down;

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down;' and 2dly, 'Beginning to demoliſh and pull down.' The indictment was founded on the clauſe that enacted penalties againſt thoſe who began to demoliſh. And if none could be convicted as a beginner to demoliſh, but thoſe who actually did the firſt miſchief, then this conſequence muſt enſue—Suppoſe a man at the head of twenty thouſand men, and he only began to pull down or demoliſh any building, and then the twenty thouſand engaged in it, but did not complete the deſtruction of it, it was impoſſible that any of them could be puniſhed but their general. This was ſo abſurd, that it was unneceſſary to enlarge upon it. A beginning to demoliſh muſt therefore mean a partial demolition. And ſuppoſe a man begins to demoliſh, and then another comes up and aſſiſts him, the ſecond is as much a beginner to demoliſh as the firſt.

The judge ſaid he ſhould be happy if he could think that the objection could avail the priſoners. But he conceived, that if the conſtruction that was now contended for was put on this act, it would be contrary to the intention of the legiſlature at the time it was made, and would only render it a dead letter.

After ſome witneſſes in favour of the priſoners had been heard, the judge obſerved, that the evidence againſt Clifton was much ſlighter than againſt the other two priſoners. The excellent character given him by his maſter, who had known him many years, ought to make a deep impreſſion on their minds. They would diſtinguiſh his caſe from that of the other priſoners.

The jury found Fiſher and Green *guilty*, and acquitted Clifton.

John Stokes, alias John Payne, was then indicted for beginning to demoliſh the Old-Meeting, in Birmingham. But the indictment, ſtating that this Meeting-houſe was in Old Meeting-houſe Lane, whereas it was regiſtered (a form required by law) as in Philip Lane, the judge could not permit the trial to proceed.

William Shuker, the bellman of Birmingham, was indicted for beginning to demoliſh the houſe of John Ryland, eſq. in that town. The evidence of the three firſt witneſſes was very ſtrong againſt him. But their teſtimony was impeached by ſeveral other witneſſes. Others gave him a very excellent character, as an honeſt, inoffenſive man, whoſe only fault was, that he loved a drop of liquor. The jury, therefore, in perfect concurrence with the opinion of the judge, brought in their verdict—*Not guilty*.

Joſeph Careleſs was indicted for the ſame offence. Mr. Newnham, addreſſing the jury, obſerved, that theſe proſecutions were not carried on for the vindictive purpoſes of puniſhment, but merely for the ſake of public juſtice, and to read this wholeſome leſſon to all his moſt gracious majeſty's peaceable ſubjects;—"That the government of his majeſty, and the peace of all his faithful ſubjects throughout his wide domains, is not to be interrupted by a lawleſs rabble, and tumultuous rioters; that his majeſty and his miniſters will ſtand forth as the aſſertors and protectors of the Engliſh law. "That", continued Mr. Newnham, "is the tenure, and the only tenure, by which you and I, and every man who hears me, hold every thing that is dear to us. It is by that ſecurity alone we live, and under which we enjoy our liberty. It is not at the capricious will of a tumultuous rabble that we are to hold either our opinions or our property. It is not becauſe a lawleſs

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leſs rabble has attacked the town of Birmingham, that hitherto peaceable ſeat of commerce, that men are to ſit quiet under the diſturbance of their houſes and families; nor are they to ſuffer becauſe an irreſiſtible mob chooſes to take umbrage at this or that man, and to pull down his houſe, deſtroy his property, and reduce him to beggary.

"Gentlemen, this is one of thoſe caſes which the civil magiſtrates could not quell; it remained for the ſlow, but irreſiſtible law of the country, which I deſire to live under, and which I know every man that hears me reveres. The law, though it has leaden heels, has iron hands, and will ſooner or later bring to puniſhment the perſons concerned in theſe riots. I do not ſtate to you the general confuſion and the general deſtruction of the town of Birmingham; I do not ſtate to you the interruption of that commerce, by which it has grown great and important in Europe; I do not ſtate to you the precarious tenure by which every man, from the 11th to the 16th of July laſt, held his property, at the caprice of the mad aſſembly there collected; but I ſtate this to you, that the priſoner at the bar ſtands here to acquit himſelf before you, the only conſtitutional tribunal of the country, and who are to decide whether he is or is not guilty of the offence with which he ſtands charged.

"Gentlemen, I do not put it to your feelings; I demand nothing but that juſtice which the law of England expects from juries. When once a jury departs from that, the law is vague and uncertain."

Two witneſſes ſwore poſitively to the fact charged againſt the priſoner. But a third witneſs ſtated, that the priſoner had endeavoured to preſerve ſome pigs on the premiſes.

The judge obſerved, that one witneſs had been called to ſhew that the priſoner did not come there to do any injury, but to preſerve the property. But theſe pigs were not in the room where the bow window was, and which he endeavoured to demoliſh; and he thought that the whole conduct of the priſoner,—his ſaying, "come my lads, we will ſoon have it down," and his taking a ſtick and actually demoliſhing part of the houſe with his own hand (which had appeared in evidence) did not furniſh a ſtrong proof that he came for the purpoſe of ſuppreſſing the riot. The jury, however, were the ſole judges. If they were of opinion, that this man was inſtrumental in the demolition of Mr. Ryland's houſe, and was really one of the mob, calling out "Church and king!" they would convict him; but if they were of a different opinion, they would find him not guilty.—The jury acquitted him.

William Hands, was indicted for the ſame offence; when Mr. Newnham thus addreſſed the jury:

"Gentlemen of the jury,

"I riſe up, under the moſt ſerious impreſſion, and with a great deal of feeling, but to ſtifle that feeling as far as it is conſiſtent with my duty, and with the utmoſt deference, to ſtate to you, under the correction of the court, that your only guide upon this occaſion, is the ſolemn oath you have taken, and the evidence you will hear.

"Gentlemen, you have heard the charge againſt the priſoner, that he, in company with a riotous aſſembly of perſons, came to the houſe of Mr. Ryland, in Birmingham; that they, and the priſoner, who was one that was active among them, without liſtening to any intreaties, began to pull down his houſe. Gentlemen,

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men, whatever feelings you may have about you, they had no feelings of humanity about them, but carried into execution the purpose of destruction for which they were assembled. If you think this opposition to the law, which is our protector; if you think this opposition to evidence can be shewn with impunity, and that you are under no obligation to call God to witness the truth of your verdict (I do not call upon you to protect your own property, because of that I will say nothing; but I call on you as a set of jurymen, to decide according to evidence); if you think this case, when proved, does not call upon you for judgment, I wish you to sleep quietly in your beds."

Two witnesses swore positively to the fact; and the jury brought in their verdict—*Guilty*.

James Watkins was indicted for the same offence; but only one witness appearing against him, he was acquitted. On leaving the bar, he quaintly said, "Your servant, gentlemen."

Daniel Rose, aged 16, was charged with beginning to pull down the dwelling house of John Taylor, esq. at Aston, when Mr. Newnham thus addressed the jury:

"Gentlemen of the jury,

"Though the prisoner at the bar stands charged with riots of the most dangerous nature, and destructive of that elegant mansion belonging to a person whose family has almost been the father of Birmingham; yet, when I look at him, and consider his youth, that he is not above sixteen, I compassionate that youth, and will not call evidence against him; in order to shew that government, on every proper occasion, is as much disposed to shew lenity, as any one of you of the jury. He was discharged of course.

Mr. Clarke, counsel for the prisoner, observed, that he thought it was but doing justice to Mr. Newnham to say, that he had conducted the prosecutions with the utmost candour, and with the greatest honour to government and himself.

Mr. Newnham said, examples must be made, though government had not the least inclination to seek after blood.

The business being finished about ten at night, the rioters who had been convicted were put to the bar, when the judge said, that the offence of which they had been found guilty was of such a nature, that none of them could expect the least mercy. "It is mercy to the public," he continued, "to make an example of persons who have been guilty of such crimes, in order to preserve the property of the industrious and innocent, and to prevent them from depredations by such persons as you are."

His lordship, after exhorting them to a proper employment of the short time they had to live, passed the awful sentence of the law.

On leaving the town, he ordered the four rioters, Francis Rodney, John Green, Bartholomew Fisher, and William Hands, with Edward Brown, for highway robbery, and William Millington, for horse-stealing, to be executed on the 8th of September, at the usual place of execution, near Warwick. *See page* (43.)

At the assizes for Worcestershire, Robert Cook was capitally convicted of setting fire to the house of William Russel, esq. of Showell's-green, and has since been executed.

26. Sir Robert Lawley, bart. and sir George A. W. Shuckburgh, bart. attended by Mr. Taylor, of Birmingham, were introduced to the king at St. James's, when sir Robert pre-

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preſented two addreſſes; the one from the inhabitants of the county of Warwick, and the other from the diſſenters of Birmingham, thanking his majeſty for the care which he and his miniſters had ſhewn in protecting his loyal ſubjects of that town, at a time when the whole place was in the moſt alarming ſituation. Both addreſſes his majeſty received moſt graciouſly.

Whitehall, Aug. 30. In conſequence of the late edict of the Spaniſh government, reſpecting foreigners, the principal merchants and other Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in Alicant, were, on the 7th, required by the governor to declare, whether they choſe to be conſidered and claſſed foreigners *Tranſeuntes* or *Domiciliados*. On their preferring the latter claſs, they were ordered to leave Alicant within fifteen days, and were required to take an oath of implicit obedience to the laws of Spain during that period. Meſſ. Keith and Macdonald having declined complying with this order, they were confined in the caſtle of Alicant.

On the receipt of this intelligence at Madrid, count Florida Blanca immediately aſſured lord St. Helen's that he entirely diſapproved of every part of the governor's conduct; that orders ſhould immediately be ſent for the releaſe of meſſ. Keith and Macdonald, without a moment's delay; and that the governor ſhould be called upon to prove any charge he might have made againſt them, and, on his failing to make it good, that thoſe gentlemen ſhould certainly receive due ſatisfaction. Count Florida Blanca added, that he had, the preceding evening, ſent out circular orders on this ſubject, which would, he truſted, ſecure his majeſty's ſubjects ſettled at Alicant from any further moleſtation.

Within a few hours after this converſation, count Florida Blanca ſent lord St. Helen's the above-mentioned order for the releaſe of meſſ. Keith and Macdonald, which his excellency immediately forwarded to Alicant.—*Lond. Gaz.*

SEPTEMBER.

Windſor, Sept. 3. This morning, ſoon after five, their majeſties and their royal highneſſes the princeſs royal, princeſs Auguſta, and princeſs Elizabeth, ſet out for Weymouth. *Lond. Gaz.*

Whitehall, Sept. 5. Their majeſties, and the three princeſſes, arrived ſafely at Weymouth, a little after ſix o'clock, on Saturday evening.

6. By the Hawke Eaſt Indiaman, advices were received, that earl Cornwallis had aſcended the Ghauts, by the Moglee Paſs, and encamped on the Table Land of Myſore, on the 21ſt of February. Three forts ſurrendered ſucceſſively to him, in his way to Bangalore, before which fortreſs he encamped on the 5th of March; and, on the 7th, the Pettah was carried by aſſault. The firſt batteries were opened againſt Bangalore on the 12th; the approaches were carried on, with unremitted aſſiduity, in the face of Tippoo's whole army; and, on the 21ſt, at night, the place was taken by ſtorm. Our loſs was very inconſiderable. After this important conqueſt, earl Cornwallis was uncertain whether he ſhould be able to attempt the reduction of Seringapatam before the rains, or limit his views to Ouſſore, and an eſtabliſhment in that part of the Myſore country.

7. Advices have been received by the Lord Thurlow Eaſt Indiaman, that the Panther, of two hundred tons,

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tons, commanded by lieutenant M'Cluer, with the Endeavour, of ſixty tons, had ſailed from Bombay, on the 23d of Aug. 1790, and arrived ſafely at the Pelew Iſlands.

On their arrival, they obſerved two canoes, which made toward the ſhore inſtead of coming to the ſhips, as had been expected. Theſe, they ſuppoſed, were going to give on account to Abba Thulle of their arrival; and in this conjecture they were not miſtaken; for ſoon after, they ſaw a number of canoes coming off to them, in one of which was the good old king.

Immediately on his coming on board, he went up to the captain, taking him, from his dreſs, to be his former friend, captain Wilſon, and immediately felt on his arm for the *bone*, (a mark of honour he conferred on captain Wilſon), and enquired what was become of it. Finding his miſtake in the perſon, and being informed that captain Wilſon was alive and well in England, he expreſſed great ſatisfaction. Captain M'Cluer then gave him to underſtand the death of Lee Boo, and the diſorder of which he died, for which event the good old man ſaid that he had prepared his mind; that he had counted up to ſome ſcore moons; but the time being paſt, he had deſpaired of ever ſeeing the Engliſh more, judging that they had either periſhed in their voyage to China, or did not intend to return again to viſit his iſlands.

He was, however, perfectly confident in the goodneſs of the Engliſh, and that captain Wilſon would take care of his ſon. In relating the death of Blanchard (the ſeaman who had been left there by his deſire) he was full of grief, and could hardly utter himſelf, ſo much did he feel his loſs.

Blanchard was mortally wounded in an engagement with the people of Pellilew, and died ſoon after, as did the great and good friends of captain Wilſon and his crew, Raa Kook and Arra Cooker. During the time of captain M'Cluer's ſtay at the iſlands, which was near a month, the utmoſt harmony and friendſhip prevailed, and the good old king liberally ſupplied them with fiſh and yams when the canoes came in, as he uſed to do to his former friends.

Captain M'Cluer has taken a ſon, and a daughter of the king's with him to China, and means to call at the iſlands again in his paſſage to Bombay. In his journal, the captain ſays, "having pitched my tent in a bay oppoſite to the ſhip, I found myſelf in a perfect paradiſe, and could have been happy to have continued here the remainder of my days."

Captain M'Cluer, when the Lord Thurlow left China, was preparing his courſe to Bougainville Strait, in order to trace the ſouth coaſt of New Guinea, the paſſage between Falſe Cape and Aroo iſlands, alſo weſtward between Timor and Weſſel iſlands, and Timor and New Guinea.

10. It is a fact worthy notice, that no rum or ſpirits of any kind were uſed on board the ſhip Brothers, captain Joſiah, in his late voyage from Philadelphia to Canton. His men were uncommonly healthy, and not a life was loſt between his leaving the Delaware, and his return to it. The conſtant drink of his ſailors was ſpruce-beer.

11. Francis Rodney and John Green were executed at Warwick on Saturday. Bartholomew Fiſher has been pardoned, and William Hands reprieved.

Dublin, Sept. 6. On the 27th ult. was tryed at Caſtlebar, an action brought by ſir Neal O'Donnel, bart. againſt

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againſt William Bellingham Swan, eſq. inſpector-general of Armagh, and others, revenue officers, for breaking open the doors of his houſe in Newport Pratt, on the 17th of November laſt, and forcibly and illegally carrying away wines, the property of the plaintiff, and this at a time when the plaintiff and all his family were in Dublin.—The jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff with 1000l. damages and coſts.

13. On Friday the magiſtrates of Glaſgow, committed a young man to Bridewell for habitual drunkenneſs; and, on the application of a huſband accuſing his wife of a like conduct, a proof was taken, and the fact being clearly ſuſtantiated, ſhe was committed to Bridewell for twelve months.

17. On Thurſday, about five o'clock in the morning, James Hogworth, the poſt-boy, carrying the mail from Warrington to Manchester, was murdered about a mile from Warrington: the mail was found open, and the letters in the following bags were taken out and carried away, viz. the bags from Cheſter for Manchester and Rochdale, which contained the letters of the 10th from Ireland for thoſe towns and places beyond; and the bags from Liverpool and Warrington for Rochdale.

21. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which commenced on the 14th, ended; when ſentence of death was paſſed upon ten capital convicts. After this a pardon was then read to 15 capital convicts, (who had formerly been reſpited during pleaſure) upon condition of their being tranſported for life to the eaſtern coaſt of New South Wales; and they were ſeverally aſked if they were willing to accept of his majeſty's clemency upon thoſe terms, which was readily accepted by them all, except Thomas Chatſeland, who poſitively refuſed the ſame, whereupon he was ordered to be cloſely confined in a ſeparate cell until his contumacy ſhall be reported to his majeſty; and the others were ordered to be tranſported accordingly.

22. Lord Petre has preſented a very handſome ſet of communion plate to the pariſh of St. Peter, at Thetford, in Norfolk, by the hands of W. Robert Mingay, eſq. the mayor. It was delivered to a ſelect veſtry, who returned his lordſhip a handſome letter of thanks by the rev. H. C. Manning:

"My Lord,

"The mayor has this morning delivered to a veſtry at St. Peter's church, your lordſhip's moſt liberal donation of a very elegant ſet of communion plate; a donation indeed ſo entirely unconnected with all local conſiderations, that it could originate alone in the pureſt and nobleſt motives. There needed not, however, this recent inſtance of munificence, to convince us of the generoſity of a mind ſuperior to all prejudice, or partial diſtinctions in the profeſſion of one common faith; and alone attentive to the general and dignified decency of its rites and ceremonies, under every denomination of chriſtianity. The pariſhioners have delegated to me the honour of returning your lordſhip their moſt grateful and ſincere acknowledgments; and with extreme ſatisfaction is it, that I diſcharge the truſt repoſed in me: preſuming, at the ſame time, to teſtify the warmth of my feelings, on an occaſion ſo peculiarly gratifying to your lordſhip's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

Thetford, Sept. 19, 1791. H. C. MANNING.

27. Advices received from the Havannah mention, that, on the 21ſt of June, there fell, at day-break, a very violent

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violent rain in the iſland of Cuba; which continued till the next day, at half paſt two in the afternoon, with ſuch force, as to cauſe the greateſt flood ever known in that country.

The tobacco-mills belonging to the king of Spain, were intirely carried away by the waters, and the village, in which they ſtood, is no more. Two hundred and fifty-ſeven of the inhabitants periſhed in it.

In the ſpot where the mills ſtood, the water, and, as it is thought, a ſlight earthquake, opened the ground to the depth of forty-five feet, and, in one of the openings, a river appeared of the pureſt water. In the ſite of a houſe, occupied by the count Baretto, cavities were diſcovered more than ſixty-feet deep, from one of which roſe a thick ſmoke.

At the diſtance of four leagues from thence, the torrent was ſo great, that none of the inhabitants eſcaped, and all the upper part of the ſoil, in which corn, or fruits were growing, was carried away. The number of deaths, or the extent of the misfortune, could not be immediately aſcertained; but the calculation was, that 3000 perſons had periſhed, with cattle of various kinds, to the number of 11,700.

Weymouth, Sept. 28. His majeſty in council was this day pleaſed to declare his conſent to a contract of matrimony between his royal highneſs the duke of York and her royal highneſs the princeſs Frederique Charlotte Ulrique Catherine of Pruſſia, eldeſt daughter of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia; which conſent his majeſty has alſo cauſed to be ſignified under the great ſeal.

Birmingham, Sept. 30. From ſome circumſtances which appeared from the evidence againſt William Hands, upon his trial, ſome gentlemen, who were led to apprehend that the whole truth reſpecting his conduct at Mr. Ryland's houſe, during the late riots, did not appear, and that the part he took there was to preſerve, and not to deſtroy Mr. Ryland's property, humanely united in obtaining and preſenting a petition to his majeſty in his favour, upon which a reſpite for fourteen days was granted: previous to the expiration of which, Mr. juſtice Bond was ſent down with another reſpite for ſeven days more, and to inveſtigate the allegation ſtated in the petition in favour of the priſoner: and, on Sunday ſe'nnight, very ſatisfactory evidence was adduced before the magiſtrates of this town, Mr. juſtice Bond, ſir Robert Lawley, bart. the high bailiff, and many of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen of this place, in ſupport of the favourable circumſtances ſtated on behalf of the priſoner, which were returned to the ſecretary of ſtate by Mr. Bond; the reſult of which has been, the arrival of another reſpite on Saturday, during his majeſty's pleaſure, and on Tueſday, of a free pardon.

OCTOBER.

1. Charles Alexander Cricket, eſq. M. P. for Ipſwich, and firſt partner in the Bank of Cricket, Meniſh, and Co. Chelmsford, is elected treaſurer of a new inſtitution, at that town, on Friday laſt, for the ſupport of the widows and orphans of ſchool-maſters, when a number of gentlemen of that profeſſion attended from different parts of the country. After the neceſſary regulations had been agreed upon, one guinea each was immediately ſubſcribed by upward of fifty perſons for the general uſes of the charity.

3. A very

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3, A very extraordinary and unhappy affair lately happened on board the Earl Fitzwilliam, one of the East Indiamen just arrived: a gentleman and his niece were passengers in the ship from Bengal, having part of the captain's cabin, or roundhouse, assigned to themselves for accommodation, and lived at the captain's table; the gentleman, a widower, about forty-five years of age, and his niece about thirty.

On Wednesday morning, the 28th ult. it was currently reported in the ship, that a passenger had, by looking through the key-hole of the door of their apartment on Tuesday afternoon, discovered them in an improper situation; that he had called another person to be witness of the same; that they alarmed the parties by knocking at the door, and retired. The affair being universally made known, a reserve took place at table, during dinner, between the gentlemen and the parties, and an explanation was so far gone into as to convince the latter that their guilt was public. They accordingly soon retired from table, and remained that day and Thursday in their apartment.

On Friday morning, upon a servant knocking at the door, and not being able to obtain admittance, a suspicion arose, and the gunner was desired to go over the ship's quarter, and look into their apartment, on which he discovered that they had destroyed themselves. The gentleman was found sitting in the quarter-gallery with a fusee and a pistol, with the latter of which he had shot himself through the head; the lady was lying in the balcony, and a discharged pistol near her, with which she had shattered her head in a shocking manner. They had been dead for some time, and it was about seven in the morning when this part of the melancholy business was publicly known in the ship. Their bodies were committed to the deep about noon.

5. Advices received from earl Cornwallis, by the Warren Hastings Indiaman, dated camp at Venkettingharry, April 21, 1791, that in the march from Velhout on the 5th of February, he had taken the forts of Colar and Ouscottah; that he had arrived before Bangalore on the 5th of March: that lieutenant-colonel Floyd having discovered the rear of Tippoo's line of march apparently in great confusion, had suffered himself to be tempted to attack them contrary to orders; that his success at first was great, but that the length and ardour of the pursuit having thrown his squadrons into confusion, they were charged by Tippoo's cavalry, and being out of all reach of support, were obliged to retire with precipitation, with the loss of above 200 men and 300 horses; colonel Floyd himself having received a severe wound in the face.

His lordship adds, that on the 21st he took Bangalore by storm, with a trifling loss; but that he had the misfortune to lose lieutenant-colonel Moorhouse, in the previous capture of the Pettah on the 7th; that upward of 100 pieces of ordnance (50 of which were brass) were taken, with a vast quantity of military stores; that Tippoo, though often near enough to cannonade his camp, had acted with such caution, that he had found it impracticable to bring him to an engagement; that to his repeated overtures of peace he had refused to listen but in concurrence with the allies; and that the success at Bangalore had tended to establish, in the general opinion of the natives, the superiority of the British arms, and, in particular, had made a great and favourable

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vourable impreſſion upon his allies.

Other advices mention, that, on the 5th of April, the fort of Durwar had ſurrendered to the Engliſh, in conjunction with the Mahrattas.

9. At the quarter ſeſſions at Sudbury, lately, a proſecution for an aſſault was tried, and the jury could not agree in their verdict; they remained together from noon till midnight, and then, compelled by hunger, burſt open the door of the room where they were locked up, and made off to their own houſes. Next morning they re-aſſembled; but being then no longer conſidered as the ſame jury, they were diſmiſſed by the court, who determined to apply to the attorney-general for his advice in this curious predicament.

Glaſgow, Oct. 12. In conſequence of very heavy rains, which we had for the two preceding days, the river Clyde yeſterday, overflowed its banks, and roſe to ſuch a height as to lay all the lower part of this city ſeveral feet under water. The furniture and goods in the houſes which the water reached have been very much damaged; and as the harveſt is not yet quite got in in this country, great quantities of cut corn have been ſweeped away by the flood from the lands overflowed by the river. The water roſe ſo high as to reach the cells of the madhouſe. The inſtantaneous effect which the dread of the water had upon the lunatics, was very remarkable—the whole of them, even the moſt furious, were rendered quiet and tractable, and allowed themſelves, trembling like children, to be conducted to apartments on the upper ſtory, where they remained calm and peaceable, as long as the court-yard remained covered by the water.

12. On Monday Mary Davis, a girl, only 13 years of age, was brought before the lord Mayor, upon a charge of having put ſome copperas into ſome cold tea, with intent to poiſon an infant child of Mr. Wheelright, her maſter. By the teſtimony of Mr. Wheelright and his wife, it appeared, that the priſoner was bound apprentice to him by the pariſh of Camberwell; ſoon after which her conduct betrayed a miſerable depravity of mind. In the courſe of his buſineſs, Mr. Wheelright uſed copperas, which he kept in a bottle, and particularly cautioned the priſoner not to meddle with it; notwithſtanding which ſhe took an opportunity to put ſome of it into ſome cold tea, and gave it to her maſter's child, who has ever ſince been extremely ill. The priſoner, upon being cloſely taxed, confeſſed the fact, and ſaid her intention was to kill two of her maſter's children. She was committed till the child recovers. Being brought up, on a ſubſequent day, and the child pronounced out of danger, ſhe was ſent to Bridewell, to receive the correction of the houſe.

Windſor, Oct. 17. Their majeſties and the princeſs royal, princeſs Auguſta, and princeſs Elizabeth, ſet out from Glouceſter Lodge, Weymouth, on Saturday morning a little before ſix o'clock, and arrived here at ſix in the afternoon, in perfect health. *Lond. Gaz.*

Vienna, Sept. 7. The ratifications of the treaty of peace, and of the convention between his imperial majeſty and the Ottoman Porte, were exchanged on the 23d ult. at Siſtova, by the Auſtrian and Turkiſh plenipotentiaries, in due form. And on the 5th of his month, ſir Robert Murray Keith, his Britannic majeſty's plenipotentiary at the above con-

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congreſs, returned to this city.—*Lond. Gaz.*

24. On Saturday, at four in the morning, the watch at the Bank diſcovered a fire in that part of the buildings which is lately appropriated for ovens to burn the uſeleſs papers; a large beam which ran acroſs the chimney took fire, and communicated to the carpenters' workſhops, which in an hour were wholly deſtroyed. The fire was then got under, and no farther damage enſued. Several bank directors, attended. It may be neceſſary to add, that this fire in no way affected, or could affect, the repoſitories of the public accounts, &c. which are amply ſecured againſt the poſſibility of being injured by fire.

30. A young African prince is come over under the protection of Mr. Falconbridge, who was four or five years ago engaged in the ſlave-trade as ſurgeon of a Guineaman, but left that employ from revolt at the ſcenes it exhibits, of which he gave a deſcription before the houſe of commons. The Sierra Leone company, finding this gentleman a man of great integrity and principle, made choice of him to promote their views in Africa, where they have purchaſed, of the king of Robana, the prince's father, a diſtrict of about 20 miles in extent, through which the river Sierra Leone paſſes, and gives it a name. Mr. Falconbridge was in ſuch eſtimation with the king of Robana, that it was in vain the traders in ſlaves endeavoured to diſſuade him from truſting his ſon to his care to viſit a foreign country ſo remote as Britain. The ſlave-traders might naturally be expected to oppoſe his coming to England, as one of the objects of it is to promote a growing confidence between the two countries, by placing the prince under the protection of a company inſtituted for the purpoſe of undermining the ſlave trade, by giving the African powers an example of the ſuperior advantages of cultivating their own country to that of ſelling their people.

NOVEMBER.

1. Yeſterday, the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended, when ſentence of death was paſſed on eighteen priſoners convicted of various crimes.

At this ſeſſion, a young man was convicted of a miſdemeanor, in writing and ſending an obſcene and ſcandalous letter to a lady of reputation and credit in the vicinity of Spitalfields, and received ſentence for the ſame, to pay a fine of 1s. and to be impriſoned three months in Newgate.

Thomas Chaſeland, a capital convict, reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure, who was laſt ſeſſion pardoned on condition of his being tranſported to New South Wales for the term of his natural life, and having then refuſed to comply with the ſaid condition, was ordered to remain, but having this ſeſſion accepted the ſame, he was yeſterday ordered to be tranſported accordingly.

Warſaw, Oct. 1. His majeſty, the king of Poland, and his ſiſters have ſtood ſponſors to the new-born child of M. d'Engeſtroem, the Swediſh ambaſſador. Hiſtory never before furniſhed us with an example of a king of Poland's ſtanding godfather for a proteſtant.

2. This day, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city, went to St. James's, with an addreſs to his majeſty on the marriage of the duke and ducheſs of York.

3. Mr. Hippiſley, as recorder of Sudbury, has given his opinion reſpecting the jury of that place who broke

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broke out of the room where they were confined, without returning a verdict on the caſe with which they were charged. They are liable, in judgment, to attachment or indictment for the miſdemeanor; he recommends, however, that the circumſtance may be paſſed over. The trial muſt be *de novo*.

Briſtol, Nov. 7. A monſter has lately made his appearance here, charged with having wounded ſeveral females.

Stockholm, Oct. 11. A Mr. d'Aiken, a phyſician of Orebo, has invented a powder, which, being infuſed in water, will extinguiſh the moſt dreadful fires. A number of experiments have already been made with great ſucceſs, and he is to repeat them, in preſence of his majeſty, at Drotningholm, where a number of houſes have already been built for that purpoſe.

11. This day came on, in the court of king's-bench, a long depending cauſe on behalf of the ſeamen of the late commodore Johnſtone's ſquadron, and the troops on board that ſquadron, under the command of general Medows. The queſtion had been argued ſix times. It originated from a meditated attack upon the Cape of Good Hope in the late war, and the capture of a Dutch veſſel in Saldanha Bay, which the lords and commiſſioners of appeal had determined to be 'good and lawful prize to the king,' and which the court of king's-bench affirmed.

14. Advices having been received from the earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica, of a dreadful inſurrection, at St. Domingo, of the French negroes, who had deſtroyed upward of 200 plantations, maſſacred many of the white people, and threatened the extirpation of the whole colony, the Weſt India merchants of London, apprehenſive of the ſame ſpirit in the Britiſh iſlands, applied to Mr. Pitt, requeſting that a reinforcement of troops might be ſent to the Weſt Indies. After ſeveral applications, anſwers, and conſequent meetings on the ſubject, they received, on Saturday, the following letter from lord Grenville:

'To RICHARD NEAVE, Eſq.

'Sir,

'I have the honour to inform you, that, in conſideration of the late advices from the Weſt-Indies, and the application of the planters and merchants, his majeſty has been pleaſed, for the preſent, to give orders for ſending one regiment of foot from Barbadoes to Jamaica.

I am, ſir, your's, &c.

GRENVILLE.'

After ſome debates, the merchants, (although they were far from thinking this letter ſatisfactory) came to the following reſolution:

"That the meeting muſt approve of any meaſures which his majeſty may be pleaſed to direct for the ſecurity of the Weſt India Iſlands, but cannot think it adviſeable to make a permanent detachment of force from the windward iſlands, the ſituation of them being ſuch, as perhaps, to require an augmentation of troops."

This reſolution was ordered to be preſented to lord Grenville by the committee, with thanks for the communication contained in his lordſhip's letter.

16. A ſhort time ago, a patent paſſed the great ſeal to Mr. Hare, brewer, of Lime-houſe, for his invention of an apparatus for effectually retaining and applying to uſe the eſſential oil of hops during the boiling of worts for beer, which was formerly loſt in the air. By the ſame apparatus, water in a veſſel of any ſize may be heated to boiling-

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heat, without the application of fire, quicker than it could be heated by actual fire.

19. On Tuesday a case of considerable importance to the public, came before the court of king's bench, upon a special verdict. The circumstances were these:—An action had been commenced against the defendant, Mr. Smith, as the publisher of a newspaper called The World, for inserting in it, on the 29th of January 1791, an advertisement, purporting to be proposals for the house of Shergold and Co. by way of scheme for the ensuing lottery; and another advertisement, to the like effect, for messrs. Margray and Co. against the form of the statute, and by which the defendant forfeited the sum of 100l.—that is to say, two penalties of 50l. each, specified by the act.

Upon this issue was taken by the parties, and the cause was tried before lord Kenyon.

The facts being proved, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff for 100l. the penalties incurred.

It was agreed at the trial, that the opinion of the court should be taken on this case, on the point of law arising out of it, namely, "Whether the publisher of a newspaper was liable to the payment of those penalties for the insertion of these illegal paragraphs or advertisements; or whether the penalties applied solely to those who had a beneficiary interest in those schemes?"

After counsel had been heard on both sides, the court said, that the defendant was unquestionably within the meaning of the act.—This was not the first case in which the doctrine was laid down, that printers and publishers of newspapers were responsible for the publication of those articles, whether in the shape of advertisements, or otherwise, from which the public were injured. Public policy required, that the deluded multitude should not be ruined by inadvertent publications. By advertising those illegal schemes, the poison was widely diffused, and crowds of ignorant people resorted to the shops of plunder and destruction; this was a disgrace even to the government of the country. It was scarcely possible to raise a doubt as to the illegality of these schemes; they were directly repugnant to the words and intent of the statute.

Lord Kenyon said, it was necessary that the public should understand, that the distribution of any hand-bills, announcing these schemes, was equally contrary to the statute. The other judges concurred entirely with his lordship.

21. On Saturday, a long depending cause between the magistrates of Surry and the city of London, came on before the court of king's-bench, upon a special verdict. Mr. Shepherd, who was appointed to argue the case on the part of the prosecution, stated the following facts:—A general meeting, in pursuance of the act 26th George the II. was held by the justices of Surry, on the 4th of September, for the purpose of granting licences to publicans; that the magistrates of London did not attend this meeting, but met on a subsequent day, and granted licences to certain publicans, who had been refused them by the justices of Surry. For this conduct the magistrates of London were indicted.

The question for the decision of the court was, "Whether the city of London had an exclusive jurisdiction to grant licences in the borough of Southwark, or possessed only a concurrent jurisdiction with the justices of Surry?"

After the case had been argued

on

on both sides, the court declared, that the question before them was, whether the magistrates of London had acted with decorum? For no man could doubt but that it was indecorous to run a race in order to grant licences. The true question was, whether the city of London had an exclusive, or only a concurrent jurisdiction in the Borough? There was no doubt that they had not an exclusive, but only a concurrent jurisdiction, and therefore they had acted illegally; they could not be ignorant of the general meeting, at which they might have attended as co-ordinate magistrates. As to the formal objections, the city of London, should they be advised, might bring them in argument before the court; but there appeared no foundation for them.

This long-depending case is therefore determined against the city of London.

Whitehall, Nov. 21. On Friday noon, the duke and duchess of York landed at Dover, and, arrived the day following, between five and six in the afternoon, at York-house, in perfect health. *Lond. Gaz.*

Her royal highness was presented, on Sunday afternoon, at the Queen's palace, by the prince of Wales. On going to kneel, her royal highness was affectionately prevented by his majesty, who saluted her, and then presented her to the queen and the six princesses. After this, their majesties, the duke and duchess of York, the duke of Clarence, and the six princesses, dined together.

23. Yesterday evening, at a quarter before eight, the duke of Clarence went to York-house, and was followed by the prince of Wales.

At ten minutes after eight, their majesties, accompanied by the princess royal, and princess Augusta, in one coach, and the princesses Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, and Amelia, attended by lady Charlotte Finch, in another, came to the great door of York-house, where they were received by the duke and duchess of York, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Clarence.

After reciprocal salutations in the great hall, their majesties, &c. were led to the lower apartment fronting the park, where tea and coffee, and other refreshments, were prepared.

At a quarter after ten, their majesties and the princesses returned to the queen's house, the prince of Wales, the duke and duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence attending their illustrious parents to their carriage.

After the departure of their majesties and the princesses, the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence returned into the house, and supped with the duke aud duchess of York.

24. At seven o'clock, yesterday evening, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the bishop of London, came to the queen's house. The archbishop attended by two pages and his train-bearer; and the lord chancellor in his full robes, with the great seal of England carried before him, and his train borne.

At half past eight o'clock, the prince of Wales, the duke and duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence, entered the queen's house, and were immediately conducted to her majesty's drawing-room.

The bishops and the chancellor were in a separate room for near three quarters of an hour, preparing the form of the register.

At nine o'clock, the bishops and the lord chancellor having intimated that they were ready, they were admitted into her majesty's drawing-room; upon which the procession, attended by the officers of the chapel

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royal, proceeded to the grand ſaloon. Books of the marriage ceremony were delivered to all the royal family by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

At the requeſt of the archbiſhop, a table was directed to be placed in the ſaloon, which was formed as an altar, and was narrow enough for the archbiſhop to reach acroſs, and join the hands of the royal pair.

At half paſt nine, the ceremony was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the biſhop of London: his majeſty ſtanding at one end of the altar, and her majeſty at the other extremity; the duke and ducheſs of York in the centre; the archbiſhop oppoſite to them, and the lord chancellor ſtanding behind him; the prince of Wales next to the ducheſs of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York. The princeſſes were ſeated on chairs at a diſtance from the altar, in the ſaloon.

As ſoon as the ceremony was finiſhed, the ducheſs of York went to his majeſty and attempted to kneel, which his majeſty with ſome difficulty prevented; and, raiſing her in his arms, affectionately embraced her.

The certificate of the marriage was then ſigned by their majeſties, the prince of Wales, the duke of Clarence, and laſtly by the lord chancellor. After which, the biſhops and the lord chancellor, retired, and immediately left the queen's houſe.

The royal family returned to the queen's drawing-room; and at a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the duke and ducheſs of York went to York-houſe; where they were accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence, an elegant ſupper having been provided by direction of the duke of York.

The prince of Wales gave the ducheſs away.

The ducheſs was dreſſed in white ſatin, with taſſels, and fringe of gold, and a number of diamonds; in her head dreſs ſhe wore feathers, and three brilliant pins preſented to her by the king at the royal viſit on Tueſday. The duke was in his regimentals—the prince was in a chocolate-colotured dreſſed ſuit, and the duke of Clarence in his full uniform.

Copenhagen, Oct. 25. In the month of June laſt, it was made known, that a dangerous ſhoal had been diſcovered in the Cattegat, between the iſland of Anholt and the town of Warberg in Sweden. The court of admiralty has now given orders to the keeper of the royal records of ſea charts, that the ſaid ſhoal (upon which is found only nineteen feet water, with a large ſtony or rocky bottom) ſhall be immediately engraved upon the plate of the ſurvey of the Cattegat for 1790, and there laid down exactly agreeable to the report of his Daniſh majeſty's officers, appointed this ſummer to ſurvey the ſe grounds.

It is further found, by the exact ſurveys lately made, that the iſland of Anholt and Anholt Reef are ſituated near one and one third of an Engliſh league more to the eaſtward, in the ſame latitude, than they are laid down in the aforeſaid charts of 1790. This error will be corrected in the new charts.

It is alſo ſaid, that the ſhoal in queſtion lies E. N. E. from Anholt light-houſe, and at about twenty Engliſh miles diſtance from it — *Lond. Gaz.*

25. Yeſterday, was a ſplendid drawing-room at St. James's, on account

count of the presenting of the duchess of York at court. The duke and duchess went in the same coach, accompanied by lady Anne Fitzroy. Her royal highness was handed from the carriage by H. Bunbury, esq. by whom she was conducted to the private chamber, where she was met by lady Sydney, lady Mary Howe, and lady Caroline Waldegrave, who led her into the drawing room, and presented her to their majesties and the princesses. The ceremony over, the nobility paid their respects to the illustrious stranger, and at half past three o'clock her highness returned to York-house. The duke did not leave the drawing-room till near five.

28. Yesterday, William Jolliffe, esq. M. P. for Petersfield, who had been convicted of printing and publishing a libel, pending a prosecution against him, reflecting upon the conduct of Mr. Fanshaw, the prosecutor, and tending to influence the minds of the jury; was sentenced to pay a fine of 100l. and to be imprisoned in the king's bench for six calendar months.

Mr. Jolliffe addressed the court, saying, that he apprised their lordships that he was a member of parliament, and that he should inform the house of commons of his being imprisoned.

To this lord Kenyon made this dignified answer, "Let him be committed in execution of his sentence."

The same day, Mr. Perry, proprietor of a morning paper called the Argus, was brought from the king's-bench prison into court, to receive judgment for a libel, reflecting upon his majesty's ministers.

The prisoner was sentenced to pay a fine of 100l. and to remain in prison, after the expiration of his former sentences of imprisonment, till the fine is paid.

On Saturday, came on to be argued, the question whether the sellers of Shergold's receipts were liable to be apprehended and committed as vagrants under the forestry act. The court determined, that the sellers of such receipts were vagrants within the true intent of the act.

Northampton, Nov. 26. The memorable Bow-bridge, which has long been visited by every curious stranger who has passed through Leicester, on account of its being the accidental monument over the grave of king Richard the Third's bones, fell on Saturday last, about eleven o'clock. Its foundation has been some time visibly decaying; and the late rains having swelled the waters which passed under it, probably took away its principal support on that end toward St. Austin's well, which occasioned its destruction.

30. This day, John Barnes Hart was taken from Newgate to Brentford, where he stood in the pillory from twelve till two, according to the sentence of the king's-bench, for having extorted money and defrauded several tradesmen, by pretending to compound penalties under the stamp act. The utmost care was taken to preserve the peace; and by great exertions of the sheriffs and officers, very little mischief happened.

DECEMBER.

1. Yesterday, advices were received by the Leopard, of 50 guns, from the Presidency of Fort St. George, dated June 21, that, on the 15th of May, earl Cornwallis had defeated Tippoo Sultan, and driven him, with his whole army, under the

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walls of Seringapatam; but that the want of forage, provision, and the reduced state of the cattle, had rendered it necessary for the army to return immediately to Bangalore; and that his lordship, for want of bullocks, had been under the necessity of destroying the batering train: so that, for the present, he was obliged to give up all thoughts of attacking Seringapatam, before the setting in of the Monsoons.

These advices mention farther, that general Abercromby had marched from Periapatam, on the twenty-third of May, and was proceeding toward the head of he Ghaut, in his retreat, leaving behind him four iron eighteen pounders which his cattle could not remove.

2. This day, was tried at Westminster-hall, the action commenced by the city of London, against the sheriff of Surry, for infringing their privileges, by executing writs within the town and borough of Southwark; when, on a mere objection in point of form, to the pleadings, and upon the defendant's refusal to waive it, the city was obliged to submit to a nonsuit.

3. The late unfortunate Mr. Sutherland's widow and two daughters have received 500l. and a pension of 100l. each, from the crown; and his son a gratuity of 1000l.

4. By an advertisement from the Bush tavern committee at Bristol, who offered a reward for apprehending the Monster, it appears, that a report which had been circulated, of his being known, and having with their connivance absconded, is without foundation. They declare,—that neither his rank, however, exalted; his station, however public; his property, however great; shall ever influence them to depart from their original pursuit; and that the reward of 100 guineas for his apprehension will be continued for three months.

24. On Wednesday morning, at half past eight, a fire broke out in a young lady's apartments, on the second floor in Richmond-house, Privy-gardens; which was occasioned by a spark having shot from the fire to the bed furniture, where the young lady lay asleep. The alarm being given, she was with difficulty conducted down stairs; the flames communicated to the roof, which soon after fell in, and by four o'clock the flames were got under, leaving the house reduced almost to a shell. The duke's valuable museum was saved.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 14, 1790, to December 13, 1791.

Christened	Males 9394	18496	Buried	Males 9577	18780	Increased in the Burials this Year 722.	
	Females 9102			Females 9183			
Died under 2 Years	6556	80 and 30 -	1332	60 and 70 -	1365	102 - -	
Between 2 and 5	1878	30 and 40 -	1641	70 and 80 -	949	104 - - 2	
5 and 10	589	40 and 50 -	1766	80 and 90 -	351	105 - -	
10 and 20	636	50 and 60 -	1654	90 and 100 -	50	107 - -	

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1791.

January 1. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkinſon, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

Feb. 1. Counteſs of Aylesford, a daughter.

6. Lady of ſir Richard Carr Glyn, a ſon.

11. Lady of Samuel Thornton, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

14. Lady Apſley, a ſon.

15. Lady Mary Palk, wife of Lawrence Palk, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

—. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a ſon.

—. Lady Deerhurſt, a ſon.

16. Her Catholic majeſty, a princeſs, baptiſed by the name of Maria Thereſa Philippa, &c. &c. to the number of ſixty names.

March. 24. Lady of William Adam, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

April. 5. Lady Leſlie, a daughter.

17. Marchioneſs of Saliſbury, a ſon and heir.

—. Lady Catharine Rodney, a daughter.

23. Sir James Tylney Long, bart. a daughter.

—. At the Hague, Lady Auckland, a ſon.

24. Counteſs of Tankerville, a daughter.

May. 4. Counteſs of Cavan, a ſon.

15. Marchioneſs de Choiſeul, a ſon. *See Vol. XI. page* (52.)

19. Lady of Reginald Pole Carew, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

21. Lady of Dr. Cleaver, biſhop of Cheſter, a daughter.

30. Lady of Geo. Finch Hatton, eſq. a ſon and heir.

31. Lady of Gerard Noel Edwards, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

June. 3. Ducheſs of Montroſe, a daughter.

8. Lady of Richard Joſeph Sulivan, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

14. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.

26. Lady M. Stuart, a daughter.

Lately, counteſs of Lincoln, a daughter.

July 4. Viſcounteſs Bayham, a daughter.

25. Lady of ſir William Foulis, a daughter.

28. Viſcounteſs Valletort, a daughter.

Aug. 3. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a ſon and heir.

4. Lady of James Lowther, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

5. Lady of ſir Thomas Rumbold, bart. a daughter.

—. Lady of the hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.

10. Lady of ſir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a ſon.

12. Lady Elizabeth Howard, lady of Bernard Howard, eſq. preſumptive heir to the duke of Norfolk, a ſon and heir.

13. Lady of lord Brownlow, a ſon.

21. Ducheſs of Leinſter, a ſon and heir.

Sept. 13. Ducheſs of Northumberland, a daughter.

15. Lady of Scrope Bernard, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

22. Lady of the hon. colonel Fox, a ſon.

—. Counteſs of Granard, a ſon.

29. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.

Oct. 9. Counteſs of Lauderdale, a daughter.

12. Lady Saltoun, a ſon.

16. Hon. Mrs. Drummond, of Perth, a ſon.

27. Counteſs Spencer, a ſon.

Nov. 4. Lady Suſannah Thorpe, a daughter.

6. Lady of ſir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.

13. Viſcounteſs Stopford, a ſon and heir.

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20. Countess of Harrington, a daughter.

21. Lady of sir William Wake, bart. a son and heir.

24. Viscountess Falmouth, a daughter.

27. Lady Balgonie, a son.

28. Lady of sir John Frederick, bart. a son.

Dec. 1. Lady of sir Cecil Bishopp, bart. a daughter.

Lately, countess Poulett, a son.

13. Lady of the hon. col. Rodney, a son.

14. Lady of viscount Gage, a son and heir.

20. Lady Compton, a daughter.

28. Lady of the hon. Edw. Foley, a son and heir.

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1791.

Jan. 5. Rt. hon. John Charles Villiers, to Miss Mary Forbes, daughter of the hon. admiral F.

6. Earl Fauconberg to Miss Cheshyre, daughter of the late John C. esq. of Bennington, Herts.

18. Lord Ducie to Mrs. Child.

—. Sir John Roger Palmer, bart. to Miss Altham.

24. Sir Henry Tempest, bart. to Miss S. Pritchard Lambert.

29. Viscount Stopford, to lady Mary Montagu Scott, daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

Feb. 16. Henry Augustus Leicester, esq. brother to sir John Fleming Leicester, bart. to Miss Letitia Sophia Smyth, daughter of Nicholas Owen Smyth Owen, esq. of Condover, Salop.

—. Rawson Hart Boddam, esq. late governor of Bombay, to Miss Tudor, of St. James's-street.

22. Benjamin Bond Hopkins, esq. M. P. to Miss Knight, sister of Robert Knight, esq. of Burrells, in Warwickshire.

24. Marcus Beresford, esq. son of the right hon. John Beresford, to lady Frances Arabella Leeson.

Rev. Miles Beevor, son of sir Thomas Beevor, bart. to Miss Beevor, daughter of James Beevor, esq. of Norwich.

March 25. Francis John Browne, esq. M. P. for Dorset, to Miss Baring, daughter of John Baring, esq.

29. John Sutton, esq. captain in the navy, to Miss Hotham, daughter of baron Hotham.

30. William Richardson, esq. accomptant-general to the East India company, to Elizabeth countess dowager of Winterton.

April 4. Lord Strathaven, to Miss Cope, sister to the duchess of Dorset.

16. Lord chief baron Eyre, to Miss Southwell.

25. Thomas Trywhitt Jones, esq. M. P. to Miss Harriet Williams, daughter of Edward Williams, esq. of Eaton, Shropshire.

—. George James earl of Cholmondeley, to lady Georgiana Charlotte Bertie, daughter of Peregrine, third duke of Ancaster.

26. Viscount Fielding, son to the earl of Denbigh, to Miss Powys, daughter of Thomas Powys, esq. M. P. for Northamptonshire.

28. James earl of Cardigan, to lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of John third earl Waldegrave.

29. Lionel earl of Dysart, to Miss Lewis, sister of Henry Greswold Lewis, esq.

May 6. Sir Sidney Stafford Northcote, bart. to Miss Baring, daughter of Charles Baring, esq.

16. Henry Charles, marquis of Worcester, to lady Charlotte Leveson Gower, daughter of the marquis of Stafford.

24. Rev. Edward Hay Drummond, brother to the earl of Kinnoul,

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noul, to Miſs Auriol, of Portugal-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare.

June 2. Francis Buller Yarde, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Halliday.

—. Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. to Lady Lucy Sherard.

4. Chambrey Brabazon Ponſonby, eſq. to Lady Harriot Taylor.

12. Robert Knight, eſq. of Barrils, Warwickſhire, to the hon. Miſs F. Dormer,

16. William Farrington, eſq. of Shaw Hall, Lancaſhire, to Miſs Wilbraham Bootle, daughter of Richard Wilbraham B. eſq.

17. Sir James Foulis, bart. to Miſs Dallas.

21. Thomas Smith, eſq. of the Inner Temple, to the hon. Miſs Mary Hely Hutchinſon, daughter of lord Donoughmore.

27. William Robert Philimore, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Sarah Henley Ongley, daughter of the late lord Ongley.

July 4. Philip lord Sherard, to Miſs Eleanor Monckton, daughter of the hon. John Monckton.

11. Sir Nelſon Rycroft, bart. to Miſs Read, daughter of the late Henry Read, eſq. of Crowood, Wilts.

13. John Chardin Muſgrave, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Philip Muſgrave, bart. to Miſs Filmer, daughter of the rev. Edward Filmer, rector of Crandale, Kent.

20. Lord William Beauclerk, to Miſs Carter Thelwall.

12. Lord Le Deſpencer, to Miſs Eliza Eliot, daughter of Samuel E. eſq. of Antigua.

21. Sir George Wombwell, bart. to lady Anne Bellaſyſe, daughter of the earl of Fauconberg.

31. Hon. Richard Chetwynd, eldeſt ſon of viſcount Chetwynd, to Miſs Charlotte Cartwright, daughter of the late Thomas Cartwright, eſq. of Aynho, Northamptonſhire,

Auguſt 1. Charles Milne, eſq. of Preſton hall, Kent, to Miſs Harriot Dyke, daughter of ſir John Dixon Dyke, bart.

4. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, to Miſs Boyle, daughter of the late hon. captain Robert Boyle Walſingham,

9. John Trevalyan, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir John Trevalyan, bart. to Miſs Maria Wilſon, daughter of lieutenant-general ſir Thomas Spencer Wilſon, bart.

15. William Plumer, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Jane Hamilton, daughter to the late hon. and rev. Dr. George Hamilton.

17. Colonel Greville, to Miſs Graham, ſiſter to ſir Bellingham Graham, bart.

19. Earl of Darnley, to Miſs Elizabeth Brownlow, daughter of the right hon. William Brownlow.

24. Hugh Barlow, eſq. M. P. for Pembroke, to Miſs Creſpigny, daughter of Philip Champion Creſpigny, eſq.

25. Captain Paget Bayly, brother to the earl of Uxbridge, to Miſs Colepeper.

29. Rev. ſir Richard Kaye, bart. dean of Lincoln, to Mrs. Mainwaring.

Sept. 6. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. to Miſs Harte.

15. Marquis of Blandford, to lady Suſan Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

29. The duke of York, to the princeſs royal of Pruſſia.

Oct. 1. The hereditary prince of Orange, to princeſs Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Pruſſia.

Lately, lord Grantley, to Miſs Midgley, daughter of the late Jonathan Midgley, eſq. of Beverley.

12. Timothy Shelly, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Pilfold, of Weſt Grinſtead.

13. Rev. William Sneyd, to Mrs. Emma Vernon, daughter of the late Thomas Vernon, eſq. of Hambury, Wor-

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Worceſterſhire and late wife of Henry Cecil, eſq.

Nov. 30. Margrave of Anſpach and Bareith, to Elizabeth lady Craven.

4. George William Rickets, eſq. of Biſhop's Sutton, Hants, to Miſs Letitia Mildmay, of Twyford.

12. Earl of Mount Caſhell, to to the hon. Miſs King, daughter of lord Kingſborough.

Dec. 6. Sir George Armytage, bart. to Miſs Mary Bowles, daughter of Oldfield Bowles, eſq. of North Aſton, Oxfordſhire.

9. Captain J. Smith, of the royal navy, to viſcounteſs dowager Dudley and Ward.

12. Col. Charles Gould, to the hon. Miſs Dormer.

DEATHS *in the Year* 1791.

Jan. 6. Lady of ſir William Young, Bart.

7. Lady Colquhoun, aunt to the counteſs of Sutherland.

18. Hon. Mr. Spencer, ſecond ſon of earl Spencer.

20. Rev. George Carleton, couſin to lord Dorcheſter.

—. Mary counteſs Verney.

25. George Auguſtus Selwyn, eſq. M. P.

26. Rear admiral John Houlton.

29. Lucy Knightly, eſq. late M. P. for Northamptonſhire.

30. James earl of Glencairn.

Feb. 1. The lady of ſir Charles Roſs, bart.

5. Lady Mary St. John, lady of the hon. major Frederick St. John.

10. Erſkine Douglas, M. D. brother of the late ſir John Douglas, of Kilhead, bart.

11. Hon. Miſs Leſlie, daughter of lord Balgonie.

14. Mary lady Savile, wife of Charles Morton, M. D. and mother of the late ſir George Savile, bart. and of the counteſs dowager of Scarborough.

Lately, Lady of Rowland Burdon, eſq. M. P.

28. Alicia counteſs dowager of Tankerville.

Lately, lady Jane Clifton, ſiſter of the earl of Abingdon.

28. Maſter William John Bouverie, eldeſt ſon of the hon. William Henry Bouverie.

March 4. In childbed, Lady Mary Palk.

6. Sir Robert Carr, bart.

10. William earl of Strafford.

20. Lord Spencer Hamilton, uncle to the duke of Hamilton.

20. Lady Barclay, mother of ſir James Barclay, bart. captain in the navy.

26. Edward Buller, eſq. of Port Looe, brother to judge Buller.

Lady of ſir William Wheler, bart.

30. Anne, dowager of Waſhington, fifth earl Ferrers.

31. Major-general ſir Archibald Campbell, K. B.

April 1. Ralph earl Verney.

2. Monſieur (late count) de Mirabeau, a celebrated orator in the French National Aſſembly.

9. Henriétta viſcounteſs St. Aſaph.

Lately, lady of Margaret Stewart, daughter of Charles, fourth earl of Traquair.

12. Sir Harry Burrard, bart.

—. Lady Charlotte Rich, daughter of Edward Rich, eighth earl of Warwick, and fifth earl of Holland, of that family.

20. John viſcount Arbuthnot.

May 1. Sir William Parſons, bart. M. P. for King's County, Ireland.

Lately, at Florence, the hon. Louiſa Beckford, relict of Peter Beckford, eſq. and daughter of George lord Rivers.

2. Sir

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2. Sir Samuel Bradstreet, bart. one of the judges of the court of kings-bench in Ireland.

3. Sir William Jones, bart. of Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire.

7. Lady Dryden, relict of sir John D. bart..

10. Lieutenant-general Robert Watson.

21. Lady Grosvenor.

—. Sir John Mylne, bart. of Barnton, North Britain.

21. Jane, dowager of George second lord Carpenter, grandmother of the earl of Tyrconnel, and mother of the countess dowager of Egremont.

23. Sir Gerard Vanneck, bart. of Heveningham Hall, in Suffolk.

—. Lady Egerton, relict of sir Thomas Egerton, bart. and mother of lord Grey de Wilton.

25. Lady Catharine Drummond.

26. Lady Emma Elizabeth Proby, daughter of the earl of Carysfort.

27. Dr. Thomas Thurlow, bishop of Durham.

—. John viscount Kilmorey.

June 1. Hon. John Knox, brother to lord Wells.

17. Selina countess dowager of Huntingdon.

Lately, sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B. late governor of Canada.

—. Mrs. Catharine Macauley Graham, sister to John Sawbridge, esq. and author of A History of England, &c.

20. Sir Francis Eliott, bart. of Stubbs.

23. Sir David Murray, bart.

25. Sir Lionel Lyde, bart.

26. Lady Anne Hamilton, relict of lord Anne Hamilton, son of James fourth duke of Hamilton.

—. Anne countess dowager of Aberdeen.

28. Sir Edward Manly Pryce, bart.

July 2. Lady of sir Thomas Champneys, bart.

6. James lord Down, son of the earl of Moray.

28. Randal marquis of Antrim.

30. Sir William Fitzherbert, bart.

Aug. 2. John Byron, esq. son of the late hon. admiral John Byron, and husband of the late Amelia baroness Conyers.

7. Benjamin Jennings, esq. husband to the viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.

10. Sir William Thomas Hanham, bart.

13. Lady of Joseph Smith, esq. private secretary to Mr. Pitt.

16. The dowager baroness Masley.

17. Sir Francis Vincent, bart. resident for the court of London at Venice.

—. Hon. Isabella Scott, widow of the late hon. John Scott, brother to the earl of Deloraine.

—. Mrs. Anne Thurlow, relict of the late bishop of Durham.

22. The celebrated professor Michaelis, at Gottingen.

Sept. 4. Sir Brook Bridges, bart. Lately, sir George Cayley, bart.

5. Major-general Humphry Stevens.

13. Catharine marchioness of Abercorn.

14. M. de la Luzerne, the French ambassador.

—. Honourable lieutenant-general George Lane Parker.

—. Sir Francis Gerrard, bart.

—. Margaret lady Dunsany.

15. Lady Elizabeth Hay, aunt to the earl of Kinnoul.

16. The victorious Russian general prince Potemkin.

25. Sir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

Oct. 1. George lord Haddo, by a fall from his horse.

2. William lord Craven.

—. In

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—. In Canada, sir William Erskine, bart.

6. Lieutenant-general John Mackenzie.

9. Elizabeth countess dowager of Glasgow.

10. Rear admiral Inglis.

—. William-Hall viscount Gage.

13. Elizabeth countess dowager of Effingham, wife of general sir George Howard, K. B.

—. Lady of Thomas earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica.

15. Rear admiral John Harrison.

20. Lady Georgiana Beauclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Alban's.

—. Honourable Thomas Henry Coventry, youngest son of lord Deerhurst.

31. Rev. Charles Isaac Yorke, son of the bishop of Ely.

Lately, sir Blaxton Conyers, bart.

Nov. 1. Bamber Gascoyne, esq. receiver-general of the customs.

Lately, Mrs. Midgley, mother of lady Grantley.

8. Mrs. Harrison, relict of the late admiral John Harrison.

Lately, sir William Ogilvie, bart.

9. Thomas Bathurst, esq. nephew of the late earl Bathurst.

10. Sir Thomas Rumbold, bart.

11. Miss Jenkinson, sister to lord Hawkesbury.

12. Lady of sir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of Gibraltar.

15. Sir William Fagg, bart.

19. Thomas earl of Effingham.

20. Sir Richard Acton, bart.

21. Lord Chetwynd.

—. Lady of sir William Wake, bart.

Lately, rev. John Shirley Fermor, brother-in-law to viscount Conyngham.

23. Sir John Baptist Hicks, bart.

27. Sir Henry George Ravensworth Liddell, bart.

30. William Dutton Napper, esq. brother to lord Shireborne.

Dec. 1. Francis Cockayne Cust, esq. M. P.

4. Evan Lloyd Vaughan, esq. M. P. for Merionethshire.

5. George earl of Orford.

Lately, Henry Flood, esq. the celebrated Irish orator.

8. Sir Robert Throckmorton, bart.

9. Sir Edward Winnington, bart.

11. Sir George Richardson, bart.

13. Hon. Mrs. Martin, sister to lord Fairfax.

18. Elizabeth Ormby Rowley, viscountess Langford, wife of the right hon. Hercules Langford Rowley.

19. Lady Mary Campbell, relict of Dougal Campbell, esq.

Mary lady Knollys, relict of sir Francis K. bart.

30. Hon. Charles Yorke, second son of the earl of Hardwicke.

—. Hon. Charles Hope Weir, uncle to the earl of Hopetown.

PROMOTIONS.

Jan. 5. John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, Harrie Innis, James Francis Perkins, and Maurice Wemyss, lieutenat-colonels of marines, Colonels in the army.

22. Sir Robert Chambers, knt. chief justice of the supreme court of judicature, at Fort-William, in Bengal.

—. William Dunkin, esq. one of the judges of that court.

21. Right hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, Lord St. Helen's of Ireland.

28. Arthur viscount Gosford, Governor of the county of Armagh.

Feb. 5. James earl of Cardigan, vernor of Windsor Castle.

12. Charles

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12. Charles Warre Malet, esq. resident at Poonah in the East Indies,—a baronet.

—. John Kennaway, esq. resident at Hydrabad in the East Indies,—a baronet.

21. Thomas Lighton, esq.—a baronet of Ireland.

Mar. 1. Right hon. Dudley Ryder and Thomas Steele, esq.—Paymaster-general of the forces.

5. Hon. Spencer Percival, clerk of the irons, and surveyor of the melting houses in the Tower.

—. Rev. Charles Manners Sutton,—Dean of Peterborough.

9. Thomas Steele, esq.—a privy-counsellor.

15. William Dunkin, esq. one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal,—a knight.

28. Lord Charles Henry Somerset—Gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

April 2. Right hon. Thomas Harley, lord lieutenant of Radnorshire.

9. Major-general Charles O'Hara colonel of the 74th regiment of foot.

—. Stephen Lushington, esq. a baronet.

16. Barne Barne, esq.—Commissioner of the taxes.

21. George viscount Parker, comptroller of his majesty's household—a privy-counsellor.

25. Major-general David Dundas—Colonel of the 22d regiment of foot.

30. Right hon. Thomas Orde—Governor of the Isle of Wight, and of Carisbrook Castle

May 1. William Wyndham, lord Grenville, right hon. William Pitt, and Henry Dundas, lord Frederick Campbell, James duke of Montrose, and the right hon. Thomas Steele—Commissioners of the affairs for India.

June 8. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. - a privy counsellor.

—. Right hon. Henry Dundas,—one of the principal secretaries of state.

10. Right hon. William Pitt, hon. Edward James Eliot, Richard earl of Mornington, John Jefferies viscount Bayham, and Richard Hopkins, esq.—Commissioners of the treasury.

—. Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Salisbury—Bishop of Durham.

11. Sir James Peachy, bart.—Master of his majesty's robes.

21. Walter James James, esq. of Langley-hall, Berks; lieutenant-general sir William Erskine, knt. Henry Martin, esq. of Lockinge, Berks; Charles William Boughton Rouse, of Rouse Lench, Worcestershire; Christopher Hawkins, esq. of Trewithen, Cornwall; John Call, esq. of Whiteford, Cornwall; George Jackson, esq. of Hartham House, Wilts; Ralph Woodford, esq. late envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen; Charles Pole, esq. of Wolverton, Hants; Robert Howell Vaughan, esq. of Nannau, Merionethshire; Rev. Dr. Charles Rich, (late Bostock) of Rose Hall, Suffolk; Charles Grave Hodson, esq. of Wanlish, Leicestershire; George Ivison Tapps, esq. of Hinton Admiral, Hants: George Chad, esq. Thursford, Norfolk; and Berney Brograve, esq. of Worsted House in the same county—Baronets.

25. John earl of Chatham, Charles George lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, hon. John Thomas Townshend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, Esqs.—Lords of the admiralty.

27. Arthur earl of Donegal—Marquis of Donegal, of Ireland.

—. Charles earl of Drogheda—marquis of Drogheda, of ditto.

—. Thomas

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—. Thomas lord Welles—Viſcount Northland, of ditto.

—. Arthur lord Harberton—Viſcount Harberton, of ditto.

28. Robert Boyd, eſq.—a Juſtice of the King's bench in Ireland.

30. James Allan Park, eſq.—Vice chanceſſor of the county palatine of Lancaſter.

July 2. Lord Hervey, envoy extraordinary at Florence—Miniſter plenipotentiary at that court.

12. Dr. John Douglas, biſhop of Carliſle—Biſhop of Saliſbury.

—. Major general Alured Clarke—Colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

27. Joſeph Hewitt, eſq.—a juſtice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

30. George earl of Morton—Baron Douglas, of Lochleven.

Aug. 13. William Woodley, eſq.—Governor of the Leeward Charibbee Iſlands.

20. Rev. Edward Venables Vernon, LL. D.—Biſhop of Carliſle.

—. Dr. James Cornwallis, biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry—Dean of Windſor and Wolverhampton, and regiſter of the order of the garter.

Oct. 22. Viſcounteſs Sydney, lady of the bed-chamber to the queen.

Nov. 1. Morton Eden, eſq.—Envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

—. Hon. William Eliot—Secretary of legation to the ſaid court.

5. Hugh Eliot, eſq.—Envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Dreſden.

—. David Gray, eſq.—Secretary of legation at the ſaid court.

19. Colonel Samuel Hulſe—Treaſurer to the prince of Wales.

—. J. Kemys Tynte, eſq.—Maſter and comptroller of his houſehold.

—. Colonel Charles Leigh—Groom of his bedchamber.

—. Hon. major George Hanger—equerry.

—. Major J. Doyle—Secretary for the duchy of Cornwall.

—. Captain J. W. Payne—his auditor and ſecretary.

—. Rev. Robert Darley Waddilove, M. A.—Dean of Rippon.

26. Francis James Jackſon, eſq.—Secretary of legation to the court of Madrid.

29. Thomas Stepney, eſq.—Groom of the bedchamber to the ducheſs of York.

—. Honourable lieutenant-colonel Charles Monſon—Equerry to her royal highneſs.

—. Lady Anne Fitzroy and lady Elizabeth Spencer—Ladies of her bedchamber.

Dec. 3. George Martin Leake, eſq.—Cheſter herald.

—. William Lindſay, eſq.—Reſident at Venice.

7. Earl of Radnor—Lord lieutenant of Berks.

—. Captain John W. Payne—Keeper of the privy-ſeal, and principal ſecretary to the prince of Wales.

10. Hon. Arthur Paget—Secretary of legation at the court of Peterſburgh.

—. Rev. Iſaac Milner, B. D.—Dean of Carliſle.

13. Lord Grenville—Ranger and keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks.

16. Morton Eden, eſq.—K. B.

24. David Hailes, eſq.—Envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen.

—. William Gardiner, eſq.—Miniſter plenipotentiary at Vienna.

SHERIFFS *appointed for* 1791.

Timothy Hare Earl, of Swallow-Field Place.

Bedfordſhire, F. Pym, of Haſeli-Hall, eſqs.

Bucks, ſir Robert Bateſon Harvey, of Langley-Park, bart.

Cumberland,

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Cumberland, Edmund Lamplugh Irton, of Irton.
Cheſhire, Charles Watkin John Shakerley, of Somerford.
Cambridge and Huntingdon, George Thornhill, of Diddington, eſqs.
Cornwalls, ſir William Moleſworth, of Pencarrow.
Dorſet, ſir Stephen Naſh, of Lewiston, baronets.
Devonſhire, Walter Palk, of Marleigh.
Dorſetſhire, John Calcraft, of Rempſton.
Derbyſhire, John Broadhurſt, of Foſton.
Eſſex, Donald Cameron, of Great Ilford.
Glouceſterſhire, Michael Hicks Breach, of Williamſtrip.
Herts, Mathew Raper, of Aſhlyns Hall.
Herefordſhire, Thomas Stallard Pennoyre, of the Moor.
Kent, James Crake Brockman, of Beechborough.
Leiceſterſhire, John Frewen, of Cold Overton.
Lincolnſhire, Robert Mitchell Robinſon, of Hanthorpe.
Monmouthſhire, William Harriſon, of Ragland.
Northumberland, J. Wood, of Beadnell.
Northamptonſhire, ſir William Wake, of Courteenhall, bart.
Norfolk, ſir John Fenn, of Eaſt Deof ham, Knt.
Nottinghamſhire, George de Ligne Gregory, of Lenton.
Oxfordſhire, J. P. Auriel, of Woodcot.
Rutlandſhire, Thomas Woods, the younger, of Brook.
Salop, Thomas Pardoe, of Fairitree.
Southampton, county of, Charles Pole, of Welverton.
Somerſet, William Elton, of Winford.
Staffordſhire, Moreton Walhouſe, of Hatherton, eſqs.
Suffolk, ſir William Rowley, of Stoke, bart.
Surry, Henry Byne of Carſhalton.
Suſſex, John Drew, of Chicheſter.
Warwickſhire, Charles Palmer, of Ladbrooke.
Worceſterſhire, Henry Wakeman, of Clalmes, eſq.
Wilts John Awdry, of Norton, eſqs.
Yorkſhire, ſir George Armytage, of Kirklees, bart.

WALES.

Carmarthen, George Griffith Williams, of Llywynywermood, eſq.
Pembroke, William Wheeler Bowen, of Lampſton.
Cardigan, David Hughes, of Veynog.
Glamorgan, John Richards, of Cardiff.
Brecon, Walter Jeffreys, of Brecon.
Radnor, Thomas Jones, of Penkerigg.
Angleſea, Herbert Jones, of Llynnon.
Carnarvonſhire, Thomas Lloyd, of Hendre Fenws.
Merioneth, Griffith Roberts, of Bodynllyn.
Montgomery, John Moxon, of Vaynor.
Denbighſhire, Jones Jones, of Cefncoch.
Flint, G. L. Wardle, of Hartſheath, eſqs.

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament June 10, 1794.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN cloſing the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, I cannot omit expreſſing my ſatisfaction in that zeal for the public intereſts with which you have applied yourſelves to the conſideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention.

The meaſures which have been adopted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the laſt year, in ſuch a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens, and the proviſions which have been made for the good government and proſperity of my ſubjects in Canada, call for my particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the readineſs with which you have granted the ſupplies neceſſary for the public ſervice, and for the proof of your affectionate attachment, in enabling me to provide for a part of the charges of the younger branches of my family, out of the conſolidated fund.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am not yet enabled to inform you of the reſult of the ſteps which I have taken with a view to the reeſtabliſhment of peace between Ruſſia and the Porte: it is my earneſt wiſh, that this important object may be effectuated in ſuch a manner as may contribute to the preſervation and maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe. I feel, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the confidence which you have repoſed in me; and my conſtant endeavours will be directed to the purſuit of ſuch meaſures as may appear to me beſt calculated to promote the intereſts and happineſs of my people, which are inſeparable from my own.

Speech of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, January 20.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have ſome pleaſure in acquainting you, by the king's command, that the differences which had ariſen between his majeſty and the court of Spain have happily been brought to an amicable termination. Copies of the declarations exchanged between his majeſty's ambaſſador and the miniſter of the Catholic king, and of the convention which has been ſince concluded, will be laid before you.

Had

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Had the honour of his majesty's crown, and the protection of the rights and interest of the empire, involved this kingdom in the calamities of war, the zeal manifested by all his subjects, and by none more than his loyal people of Ireland, had left him no doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support. It is a source of peculiar satisfaction to his majesty, that those objects have been accomplished without any actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you, fully relying upon your accustomed zeal to provide for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

I have also ordered an account of the extraordinary expences of government, which have been incurred during the negociation which Spain, to be laid before you; and I trust you will find that the confidence you reposed in me has not been misplaced.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your disposition to facilitate the business of commerce, and to consult the ease of the merchants, will induce you to consider, and if possible to accomplish, during this session, such regulations as may tend to simplify the collection of the various articles of the public revenue.

The Speech of the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, May 5, 1791.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty having directed an augmentation to be made of his naval forces, in order to add weight to his representations for the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte, has commanded me to communicate this circumstance to his parliament of Ireland, on whose zealous and affectionate attachment to the interests of his majesty's crown his majesty places the firmest reliance.

The unremitted application you have given to your parliamentary duties, enables me now to close the session, and to relieve you from any further attendance. And I have the king's direction to express his perfect satisfaction in the zeal and dispatch with which you have brought the public business to a conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His majesty directs me to thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the maintenance of the establishments, and the honourable support of his government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have observed, with peculiar satisfaction, the attention you have shewn to the interests of your country, by facilitating the business of the merchants in the payment of duties, by providing accommodations for the shipping and trade of the metropolis, and by extending the operation of national credit. The salutary provisions you have made to check the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, afford the strongest proof of your regard for the public welfare. Success in this desirable measure can alone be expected from your continued and well-directed efforts.

1791.

I therefore truſt, that in your reſpective counties, you will particularly apply yourſelves to give efficacy to the regulations you have adopted upon this ſubject. On my part, no endeavours ſhall be wanted to enforce the execution of laws ſo judiciouſly calculated to preſerve the healths and amend the morals of the people, and to advance the induſtry and proſperity of Ireland. To theſe objects my exertions are directed by his majeſty's commands, and by every impulſe of inclination and duty.

Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, to the Duke of York, Dec. 19.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, ever firmly attached to the houſe of Brunſwick, feel the moſt lively ſatisfaction in approaching your royal highneſs with our ſincere congratulations on your marriage with the princeſs royal of the auguſt houſe Pruſſia.

Zealous as we are on every occaſion to ſhew our loyalty and attachment to your illuſtrious family, we feel a peculiar ſatisfaction in the preſent opportunity to teſtify our ſincere joy at your highneſs's union with a princeſs ſo truly diſtinguiſhed.

That a union ſo auſpicious may long be a ſource of uninterrupted felicity to your highneſs and your royal conſort, is the ardent wiſh of the citizens of London.

Signed by Order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

ANSWER.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

I return you my moſt hearty thanks for this Addreſs, ſo full of ſentiments of attachment to the Houſe Brunſwick, and of affection to me.

Your expreſſions of joy on the occaſion of my marriage give me the higheſt ſatisfaction, and the city of London may rely upon my unabating zeal for their welfare and proſperity, and my conſtant endeavours to preſerve their affection and regard.

Addreſs from the ſame to the Ducheſs of York, Dec. 19.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, with peculiar ſatisfaction embrace the earlieſt opportunity to greet your royal highneſs on your ſafe arrival in this kingdom, and to offer our warmeſt compliments of congratulation on your auſpicious nuptials with his royal highneſs the duke of York.

Truly happy to teſtify how ſincerely we participate in the general joy, on your royal highneſs's union with an illuſtrious ſon of our beloved ſovereign, we cannot but expreſs our ardent wiſh, that you may long experience every degree of felicity which can reſult from ſo diſtinguiſhed an alliance.

Signed by Order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

ANSWER.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

I thank you for your congratulations, ſo expreſſive of love and duty

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duty to the king, our ſovereign; and of affection to the duke of York and myſelf. They make a great impreſſion on my mind; and it ſhall be my conſtant and unremitting ſtudy, to continue to deſerve the eſteem of the city of London.

Addreſs to his Majeſty, from the High Bailiff, Clergy, and other principal Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects the high bailiff, clergy, and other principal inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Birmingham, deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal care of all your ſubjects, beg leave moſt humbly to approach your royal throne, with hearts full of gratitude for the recent inſtance of that care which your majeſty graciouſly condeſcended to afford us during the late riots in this place, by commanding ſuch particular attention to be paid to our ſecurity, and directing ſuch ample relief for our neceſſities.

Rejoicing alſo in every opportunity of teſtifying our loyalty to the beſt of ſovereigns, and our firm attachment to that noble fabric the conſtitution of this country, the envy of all other nations, as it is the glory of our own; we cannot neglect this occaſion of pledging ourſelves to ſupport your majeſty's illuſtrious houſe, and to defend that happy conſtitution both in church and ſtate, againſt every attempt at innovation, at the riſk of every thing dear to us.

The Addreſs of the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the ſame Town.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majeſty's loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the proteſtant diſſenters in the town of Birmingham, beg leave to approach your majeſty in a moment of ſerious affliction and concern, ariſing not only from our recent aggravated ſufferings, but from our painful apprehenſions leſt the calumnies of our enemies ſhould influence your royal mind, and inſinuate ſuſpicions of our loyalty and affection.

Aſſured not of our innocence alone, but of our unalterable attachment to your auguſt perſon, and to the ſucceſſion of your royal houſe, we reſpectfully claim your majeſty's continued protection and favour, and beg leave moſt earneſtly to aſſure your majeſty, we have no thoughts of diſturbing the conſtitution. We are the deſcendants of thoſe to whom (as the annals of our country will teſtify) the revolution, which ſecured to your illuſtrious houſe the crown of theſe kingdoms, was greatly indebted. The civil conſtitution of our country is our glory; which we have been taught from our infancy to revere, and which we would die to preſerve. Indeed, Sire, though deeply afflicted by the late riotous deva[illegible]tations, and by the want of energy in the civil power, yet we ſpeak from hearts that are actuated by the love of law, of peace, of order, and good government. Senſible of your majeſty's goodneſs, in the vigorous meaſures which have been adopted for ſuppreſſing the outrages, which a lawleſs banditti were ſpreading through this place and its environs, we offer you the warmeſt tribute of our gratitude, for the happy deliverance we have experienced, by the wiſdom of the meaſures planned by your majeſty's miniſters, and by the energy and promptitude with which they were ſo ſucceſsfully executed.

We feel ourſelves deeply thank-

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ful to your majesty, for this very beneficial and decisive instance of your royal attention; and likewise to your great goodness, in the measures which have since been adopted for discovering and bringing to exemplary punishment, as well the instigators, as the perpetrators of the late atrocious violences; and we firmly and dutifully rely upon your majesty for the continuance of it, as well as for the exercise of that candour and magnanimity, which will resist the calumnies of our enemies, and continue to us that protection, favour, and confidence, to which we know ourselves justly entitled.

That your majesty may long reign in peace and glory; that your royal honours may for ages continue to descend to your latest posterity; and that the happiness of Britain may prosper and improve itself under their auspicious influence, is the honest wish and fervent prayer of, Sire,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects.

Proclamation for the Discovery of the Publishers of a certain seditious Paper, circulated, on the 11th of July, in the Town of Birmingham.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it hath been represented unto us, that on the 11th day of this instant July, a certain scandalous and seditious paper was printed and published in the town of Birmingham, and published in the parts thereunto adjacent, in our counties of Warwick and Worcester, of the following tenor: "My countrymen! the second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At "the commencement of the third, "on the 14th of this month, it is "devoutly to be wished that every "enemy to civil and religious des"potism would give his sanction to "the majestic common cause, by a "public celebration of the anni"versary. Remember that, on "the 14th of July, the Bastile, that "high altar and castle of despotism, "fell. Remember the enthusiasm "peculiar to the cause of liberty, "with which it was attacked. Re"member that generous humanity "that taught the oppressed, groan"ing under the weight of insulted "rights, to save the lives of oppres"sors. Extinguish the mean pre"judices of nations, and let your "numbers be collected, and sent as "a free-will offering to the national "assembly. But is it possible to for"get that your own parliament is "venal! Your ministers hypocritical! Your clergy legal oppressors! "The reigning family extravagant! "The crown of a certain great per"sonage becoming every day too "weighty for the head that wears "it, too weighty for the people who "gave it! Your taxes partial and "excessive—Your representation a "cruel insult upon the sacred rights "of property, religion, and free"dom. But on the 14th of this "month, prove to the political sy"cophants of the day that you re"verence the olive branch, that you "will sacrifice to public tranquil"ity, till the majority shall exclaim, "The peace of slavery is worse "than the war of freedom. Of "that moment let tyrants beware!" We, therefore, in order to bring to a speedy condign punishment the publishers of the paper aforesaid, and that practices so highly dangerous to the public tranquility and welfare may hereafter be prevented, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our council, to publish this

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this our royal proclamation, hereby requiring and enjoining all juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, conſtables, and all other our loving ſubjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the utmoſt of their power, in detecting, apprehending and bringing to juſtice the publiſhers of the paper aforeſaid: and for the better detection of the ſaid publiſhers, we are graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, that if any perſon ſhall diſcover any other perſon or perſons concerned in publiſhing the printed paper aforeſaid, by diſtributing the ſame, or otherwiſe, ſo as the perſons diſcovered may be brought to juſtice for the ſame, ſuch diſcoverers ſhall have and receive as a reward, upon conviction of ſuch offender or offenders, the ſum of one hundred pounds for each and every ſuch offender, and alſo our gracious pardon, in caſe the perſon making ſuch diſcovery ſhall himſelf be liable to be proſecuted for the ſame, except the perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering be the author or authors of the paper aforeſaid: and the commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of our exchequer are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the ſaid rewards.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 27th day of July 1791, in the thirty-firſt year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

Letter of Inſtructions from M. Montmorin, Miniſter of France for Foreign Affairs, ſent by Order of the King, to all his Miniſters at Foreign Courts, April 23.

SIR,

The king has charged me to inform you of his earneſt deſire, that you make known his ſentiments reſpecting the revolution and the French conſtitution to the court at which you reſide. The ſame orders are tranſmitted to the ambaſſadors and miniſters of France, at all the courts of Europe, to the end that no doubt may remain with regard to his majeſty's intentions, his free acceptation of the new form of government, or his irrevocable oath to maintain it. His majeſty convoked the ſtates-general of his kingdom, and reſolved in his council, that the commons ſhould, in that aſſembly, have a number of deputies equal to thoſe of the two other orders there exiſting. This act of provisional legiſlation, which the circumſtances of the times did not allow to be more favourable, ſufficiently announced his majeſty's wiſh to reſtore to the nation all its rights.

The ſtates-general met, and took the title of the National Aſſembly; and in a ſhort ſpace of time, a conſtitution fit to ſecure the happineſs of France, and of the monarch, took place of the ancient order of things, under which the apparent power of the kingdom only ſerved to conceal the real power of the abuſes of certain ariſtocratic bodies.

The national aſſembly, the form of a repreſentative government, conjoined with an hereditary monarchy, the legiſlative body, was declared to be permanent; the choice of the miniſters of public worſhip, of magiſtrates, and judges, was given to the people; the executive power was conferred on the king, the formation of laws on the legiſlative body, and the power of ſanction on the monarch; the public force, both internal and external, was organized on the principles, and in conformity to the fundamental diſtinction of powers: ſuch is the new conſtitution of the kingdom.

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That which is called a revolution, is no more than the abrogation of numerous abuſes, that have been accumulating for ages, through the errors of the people, or the power of the miniſters, which was never the power of the king. Thoſe abuſes were no leſs prejudicial to the monarch than to the nation. Thoſe abuſes, authority, under happy reigns, had never ceaſed to attack, but without the power to deſtroy. They exiſt no longer. The nation, now the ſovereign, has no citizens but ſuch as are equal in rights; no deſpot but the law; no miniſters but public miniſters, and of thoſe miniſters the king is the chief. Such is the French revolution.

This revolution muſt naturally have for its enemies all thoſe who, in the firſt moment of error, regret, on account of their private intereſt, the abuſes of the ancient government. Hence the apparent diviſion in the kingdom, which is daily becoming leſs; hence perhaps ſome ſevere laws and circumſtances which time will correct; but the king, whoſe true power can never be diſtinct from that of the nation, who has no aim but the happineſs of the people, and no authority but that which is delegated to him; the king has adopted, without heſitation, a happy conſtitution, which will at once regenerate his authority, the nation, and the monarchy. All his powers are preſerved to him, except the dreadful power of making laws. He remains charged with the power of negociating with foreign powers, with the care of defending the kingdom, and repelling its enemies; but the French nation will in future have no external enemies but its aggreſſors, no internal enemies but thoſe who, ſtill flattering themſelves with vain hopes, believe that the will of twenty-four millions of men, reſtored to their natural rights, after having organized the kingdom in ſuch a manner as to leave only the memory of ancient form and abuſes, is not an immoveable and irrevocable conſtitution.

The moſt dangerous of thoſe enemies are they who affect to diſſeminate doubts of the intentions of the monarch. They are much to blame, or much deceived. They ſuppoſe themſelves the only friends of the king, and they are the only enemies of royalty. They would have deprived the king of the love and the confidence of a great nation, if his principles and his probity had been leſs known. What has the king not done to ſhew that he conſidered both the revolution and the French conſtitution as his titles to glory? After having accepted and ſanctioned all the laws, he has neglected no means of cauſing them to be executed. Since the month of February, of the year preceding, he has promiſed in the midſt of the national aſſembly to maintain them. He has taken an oath to do ſo in the midſt of the general federation of the kingdom. Dignified by the title of the Reſtorer of French Liberty, he will tranſmit to his ſon more than a crown—he will tranſmit a Conſtitutional Royalty.

The enemies of the conſtitution are conſtantly repeating that the king is not happy; as if it were poſſible for a king to enjoy any happineſs but the happineſs of his people. They ſay that his authority is leſſened, as if authority founded on force, were not leſs powerful, and more precarious, than authority founded on law. They ſay that the king is not free—a calumny atrocious, if they ſuppoſe that his will muſt be conſtrained: abſurd, if they take for a want of freedom the

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the conſent repeatedly expreſſed by his majeſty to remain among the citizens of Paris; a conſent that was due to their patriotiſm, even to their fears, but above all to their love.

Thoſe calumnies, however, have reached foreign courts; they have been repeated there by Frenchmen, who are voluntary exiles from their country, inſtead of ſharing its glory, and who, if they were not enemies, have deſerted their ſtation as citizens. The king, ſir, charges you to defeat their intrigues and their projects. The ſame calumnies, while they ſpread the falſeſt ideas reſpecting the French revolution, have rendered the intentions of French travellers ſuſpected by ſeveral nations; and the king expreſsly orders you to protect and defend them. Repreſent the French conſtitution in the ſame light as that in which the king views it; and leave no doubt of his intention to maintain it to the utmoſt of his power. By ſecuring the liberty and the equality of the citizens, that conſtitution founds the national proſperity on the moſt immoveable baſis; it confirms the royal authority by the law; it prevents, by a glorious revolution, the revolution which the abuſes of the old government would probably ſoon have effected by a diſſolution of the empire; and finally, it will conſtitute the happineſs of the king. To juſtify it, to defend it, and to conſider it as the rule of your conduct, ought to be your firſt and moſt important duty.

I have frequently before communicated to you his majeſty's ſentiments on this head; but, after the information he has received of the opinion endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed in foreign courts reſpecting what is paſſing in France, he has ordered me to make known the contents of this letter to the court at which you reſide; and that it may be ſtill more public, his majeſty has ordered it to be printed.

(Signed) MONTMORIN.

April 23, 1791.

The King's Proclamation on his Departure from Paris, June 20.

While the king could hope to ſee order and happineſs reſtored by the means employed by the national aſſembly, and by his own reſidence near that aſſembly, he ſubmitted to every ſacrifice; he was even content to bear the loſs of his liberty, of which he has been deprived ſince the month of October 1789; but now, when the reſult of all theſe obſervations is found to be the deſtruction of royalty, the violation of property, the invaſion of perſonal ſecurity, the eſtabliſhment of a complete anarchy in every part of the empire, without any appearance of an authority ſufficient to reſtrain it; the king, after proteſting againſt all the acts extorted from him during his captivity, thinks proper to ſubmit to the eyes of Frenchmen an account of his conduct.

In the month of July, 1789, the king, relying on his own integrity, came, without any apprehenſion, among the Pariſians. In the month of October of the ſame year, fully informed of the intentions of the factious, he dreaded leſt a handle ſhould be made of this departure, in order to foment a civil war. It is univerſally known with what impunity crimes were then committed.

The king yielded to the wiſh expreſſed by the army of Pariſians; came, with his family, to reſide in the palace of the Thuilleries; nothing was prepared for his recep-

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tion; and the king, far from meeting with the accommodations to which in his other palaces he was accuſtomed, did not even poſſeſs common conveniencies. In ſpite of every conſtraint, he thought proper, the day after his arrival, to give the provinces aſſurance of his reſidence at Paris. A more painful ſacrifice was ſtill exacted; he was obliged to remove his Gardes du Corps, of whoſe fidelity he was aſſured; two of them were maſſacred, and ſeveral wounded in executing the orders, which they had received, not to fire. All the art of the factious was employed to repreſent, in the worſt light, a faithful queen, whoſe conduct had been uniformly unexceptionable; it is even evident that all theſe machinations were directed againſt the king himſelf. It is to the ſoldiers of the French guards, and the Pariſian national guard, that the care of the king's perſon has been committed under command of the municipality of Paris, from whom the commander-general derives his authority. The king has thus found himſelf a priſoner in his own ſtate; for what other name can be given to him, who is forcibly ſurrounded by perſons whom he ſuſpects? It is not in order to criminate the Pariſian national guard that he repeats this detail, but in order to ſtate the real facts; on the contrary, he is ready to do juſtice to their attachment, when not under the influence of the factious. The king ordered the convocation of the ſtates-general; to the third eſtate, he granted the privilege of a double repreſentation. The union of the orders, the ſacrifices of the 23d of June, all have been his work; but his efforts have been ſlighted and perverted. When the ſtates-general aſſumed the name of the national aſſembly, they revived the plots of the factious in ſeveral provinces; they revived thoſe attempts that had been made to reverſe the inſtructions of their conſtituents, which appointed laws to be enacted in concert with the king. The aſſembly have removed the king from the conſtitution, by denying him the privilege of ſanctioning conſtitutional acts; in which claſs they ranked whatever acts they thought proper, reſtricting to the third legiſlative body the privilege of refuſing its ſanction. They have given him twenty-five millions, which are entirely abſorbed by the neceſſary expences of his houſehold. They have left him the profits only of certain domains, ſaddled with oppreſſive forms; and have deprived him of the patrimony of his anceſtors; they took care not to comprehend, in the article of expence, thoſe ſervices done to the king, as if they were not inſeparable from thoſe of the ſtate. Let the different parts of the adminiſtration be examined, it will be found that the king has no longer a ſhare; he has no part in enacting laws; he can only intreat the aſſembly to direct their attention to ſuch and ſuch ſubjects. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, nothing is left for him, but to diſpatch the commiſſions of the judges, and to name the commiſſaries of the king, whoſe functions are much leſs conſiderable than thoſe of the ancient procurators-general. The public part has been committed to new officers; and one perogative ſtill remaining, the moſt valuable of all, that of pardoning and remitting puniſhments, has been taken away from the king, and is now veſted in juries, in conſequence of their privilege of explaining, according to their pleaſure, the ſenſe of the law. Thus the royal majeſty is impaired, to which the people formerly had recourſe,

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recourſe, as to the common centre of goodneſs and beneficence. The internal adminiſtration of the departments is embarraſſed by wheels which obſtruct the motion of the machine; and the ſuperintendance of miniſters is reduced to nothing.

The ſocieties of friends of the conſtitution are much more powerful, and engroſs every part of the active adminiſtration. The king has been declared ſupreme head of the army; however, every thing has been done by the committees of the national aſſembly, without his participation; they have granted to the king the nomination of ſome places, yet the choice which he has made, has experienced contradictions; he has been obliged to reviſe the operations of the general officers of the army, becauſe their choice diſpleaſed clubs; to them only are to be attributed the greater number of the revolts of the regiments: when an army no longer reſpects its officers, it becomes the terror and firebrand of the ſtate; the king has always been of opinion that officers ought to be puniſhed as ſoldiers, and that the road to promotion ought no leſs to be open to the latter, according to their deſert. As to the foreign affairs, they have granted to the king the nomination of ambaſſadors, and the conduct of negotiations; but they have taken from him the right of making war; they ought not however to have ſuſpected that he would ever declare war without ſpecial reaſon. The right of making peace is of a different ſort. The king wiſhes only to act in concert with the nation; but what power will enter into negociations, when the right of reviſing them ſhall belong to the national aſſembly?

Independently of the neceſſary ſecrecy, which it is impoſſible to preſerve in an aſſembly whoſe deliberations are public, who would chooſe to ſtipulate engagements, except the perſons with whom they were formed had the power of ratifying them? With reſpect to finances, the king has recognized before the ſtates-general the right which the nation has of granting ſubſides, and in this reſpect he complied, on the 23d of June, with every thing that had been demanded. On the 4th of February, the king requeſted the aſſembly to take into conſideration the ſtate of the finances; they deferred it too long; they have not yet a juſt ſtatement of the receipt and expenditure; they allowed themſelves to go into hypothetical calculations; the ordinary taxes are in arrear, and the reſource which has been employed of the twelve hundred millions of aſſignats is almoſt exhauſted; they have left to the king nothing upon this occaſion but a barren nomination; he knew the difficulty of this part of the adminiſtration; and if it were poſſible that this machine could have been put in motion without his direct ſuperintendance, his majeſty would only have regretted that there was no diminution of the impoſts; an object which he deſired, and in which, had it not been for the American war, he ſhould moſt certainly have ſucceeded.

The king has been declared ſupreme head of the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and he has been able to change nothing without the deciſion of the aſſembly. The chiefs of the prevailing party have thrown out ſuch defiance againſt the agents of the king, and the penalties denounced againſt prevarications have occaſioned ſo much alarm, that theſe agents have remained without force. The form of government is in two reſpects particularly faulty; the aſ-

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ſembly exceeds the limits of its power in interfering in juſtice and the internal adminiſtration: by its committee of reſearches it exerciſes the moſt barbarous of all deſpotiſms. It has eſtabliſhed aſſociations, known by the name of friends of the conſtitution, which preſent corporations infinitely more dangerous than the ancient; they deliberate on every part of the government, and exercife a power of ſuch preponderance, that all the bodies, and even the aſſembly itſelf, can do nothing except by their order. The king does not think it poſſible to preſerve ſuch a government. In proportion as the period of the labours of the aſſembly approaches, the ſages of whom it is compoſed loſe their credit. The new regulations, inſtead of pouring balm upon the wounds, on the contrary inflame their malignity; a thouſand journals and libellous pamphlets perpetuate the diſorder, which the aſſembly is unable to remedy: their labours tend only to a government, metaphyſical in its principles, and impracticable in its execution.

Frenchmen! is it this which you intended by ſending your repreſentatives? Did you deſire that the deſpotiſm of clubs ſhould replace the monarchy under which the kingdom has proſpered during fourteen hundred years? The attachment of Frenchmen to their monarch is ranked among the number of their virtues. He has received marks of it too affecting to be ever forgotten. The king would not bring forward the following, were it not to repreſent to his faithful ſubjects the diſpoſition of the factious. The people kept in pay for the triumph of M. Necker, affected not to pronounce the name of king; they, at this period, perſecuted the archbiſhop of Paris; a courier of the king was ſtopped, ſearched, and the letters which he carried broke open; at this time the aſſembly ſeem to inſult the king; it was determined to carry to Paris the words of peace; during his journey, they ſtopped, in order to ſuppreſs any cry of Vive le Roi. They even made a motion to carry off, and to put the queen in a convent; this motion was applauded. On the nights of the 4th and 5th, when it was propoſed to the aſſembly to repair to the king, it was replied that, conſiſtently with its dignity, it could not remove: from this moment the ſcenes of horror were renewed. On the arrival of the king at Paris, an innocent perſon was maſſacred almoſt within his ſight, in the garden of the Thuilleries; all thoſe who had declared againſt religion and the throne, received the honours of a triumph. At the Fœderation, upon the 14th of July, the national aſſembly declared, that the king was the chief, by which it was implied, that they had a right to name another. His family was placed in a ſituation apart from himſelf, but that was, notwithſtanding, one of the happieſt moments they have paſſed ſince their ſtay in Paris.

Afterward, when, on account of their religion, Meſdames, the king's aunts, wiſhed to go to Rome, their journey was oppoſed, in contradiction to the declaration of rights; and both at Bellevue and Arnay le Duc, the orders of the aſſembly were neceſſary to releaſe them, thoſe of the king being deſpiſed. In the tumult factiouſly excited at Vincennes, the perſons who remained about the king were ill treated, and they carried their audacity ſo far as to break the arms of theſe perſons in the preſence of his majeſty.

Upon the king's recovery from his

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his illneſs, he intended to go to St. Cloud, and was detained. In vain did M. de la Fayette endeavour to protect his departure; the faithful ſervants who ſurrounded his majeſty were torn away from him, and he was taken back to his priſon. Afterward he was obliged to diſmiſs his confeſſor, to approve the letter of the miniſter to the foreign powers, and to attend maſs performed by the new rector of St. Germain Auxerrois. Thus, perceiving the impoſſibility of averting any public evil, by his influence, it is natural that he ſhould ſeek of place a ſafety for himſelf.

Frenchmen! and you the good inhabitants of Paris, diſtruſt the ſuggeſtions of the factious; return to your king, who will always be your friend; your holy religion ſhall be reſpected; your government placed upon a permanent footing; and liberty eſtabliſhed upon a ſecure baſis.

Paris, June 20, 1791.

(Signed) LOUIS.

P. S. The king forbids his miniſters to ſign any order in his name, until they ſhall have received his further directions; and enjoins the keeper of the ſeals, to ſend them to him, when required, on his behalf.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Addreſs on the ſame Subject, from the National Aſſembly to the French Nation.

A great attempt has juſt been made. The national aſſembly was near the concluſion of its long labours; the conſtitution was almoſt completed; the tumults of the revolution were about to ceaſe; and the enemies of the public welfare were eager, therefore, to ſacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king and the royal family were carried off on the 20ſt inſt. But your repreſentatives will triumph over all theſe obſtacles. They eſtimate calmly the extent of the duties impoſed upon them. The public liberty ſhall be maintained; conſpirators and ſlaves ſhall underſtand the intrepidity of the French nation, and we make, in the name of the nation, a ſolemn engagement to avenge the law, or to die.

France would be free, and ſhe ſhall be ſo. It is intended to make the revolution recede, but it recedes not. It is the effect of your will, and nothing can retard its progreſs. It is neceſſary to accommodate the law to the ſtate of the kingdom. The king, in the conſtitution, exerciſes the power of the royal ſanction over the decrees of the legiſlative body; he is the head of the executive power, and, in that capacity, cauſes the laws to be executed by his miniſter.

If he quits his poſt, although carried off againſt his will, the repreſentatives of the nation have the right to ſupply his place. The national aſſembly has in conſequence decreed, that the ſeal of ſtate, and the ſignature of the miniſters of juſtice, ſhall be added to all its decrees to give them the character of laws. As no order of the king would have been executed, without being counterſigned by the reſponſible miniſter, nothing was neceſſary but a ſimple delegation by the aſſembly to authoriſe him to ſign the orders, and thoſe only iſſued by them. In this circumſtance they have been directed by the conſtitutional law relative to a regency, which authoriſes them to perform the functions of the executive power, until the nomination of a regent.

By theſe meaſures your repreſentatives have enſured order to the interior part of the kingdom; and,

to

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to repulſe any attack from without, they add to the army a reinforcement of three hundred thouſand national guards.

The citizens then have, on all ſides, the means of ſecurity. Let them not be overcome by their ſurpriſe; the conſtituent aſſembly is upon its duty; the conſtituted powers are in activity; the citizens of Paris, the national guards, whoſe patriotiſm and fidelity are above all praiſe, watch round your repreſentatives; the active citizens throughout the kingdom are in arms, and France may wait for its enemies.

Are they to fear the conſequences of a writing, forced before his departure, from a ſeduced king? It is difficult to conceive the ignorance and blindneſs that have dictated this writing, which may deſerve to be further diſcuſſed hereafter; at preſent, your repreſentatives content themſelves with examining ſome particular ſentiments.

The national aſſembly has made a ſolemn proclamation of political truth, and of rights, the acknowledgment of which will one day produce the happineſs of the human race; to engage them to renounce this declaration of rights, the theory of ſlavery itſelf has been preſented to them.

Frenchmen! we have no fear in recalling to your memories the famous day of the 23d June 1789, that day on which the chief of the executive power, the firſt public functionary of the nation, dared to dictate his abſolute will to your repreſentatives, charged by your orders to form a conſtitution. The national aſſembly lamented the diſorders committed on the 5th of October, and directed the proſecution of the perſons guilty of them; but, becauſe it was difficult to diſcover ſome rioters among ſuch a multitude of people, they are ſaid to have approved all their crimes. The nation is, however, more juſt. It has not reproached Louis XVI. with the violences that have occurred under his reign and thoſe of his anceſtors.

They are not afraid to call to your recollection the federation of July. What are the ſtatements of the perſons who have dictated the letter of the king, with reſpect to this auguſt act? That the firſt public functionary was obliged to put himſelf at the head of the repreſentatives of the nation, in the midſt of the deputies of all the kingdom. He took a ſolemn oath to maintain the conſtitution. If the king does not hereafter declare, that his good faith has been ſurpriſed by ſeditious perſons, he has, of courſe, announced his own perjury to the whole world! Is it neceſſary to go through the fatigue of anſwering the other reproaches of this letter?

The king is ſaid to have experienced ſome inconveniences in his reſidence at Paris, and not to have found the ſame pleaſures as formerly; by which it is implied, no doubt, that a nation ought to regenerate itſelf without any agitation, without diſturbing for an inſtant the pleaſures and the indulgences of courts. As to the addreſſes of congratulation and adherence to your decrees, theſe, ſay they, are the work of the factious—Yes—no doubt, of twenty ſix millions of the factious!

It was neceſſary to reconſtitute all powers, becauſe all the powers were corrupted, and becauſe the alarming debts accumulated by the deſpotiſm and the diſorders of government, would have overwhelmed the nation. But does not royalty exiſt for the people? And if a great nation obliges itſelf to maintain it, is it

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it not ſolely becauſe it is believed to be uſeful? The conſtitution has left to the king this glorious prerogative, and has confirmed to him the only authority which he ſhould deſire to exerciſe. Would not your repreſentatives have been culpable, if they had ſacrificed twenty-ſix millions to the intereſt of one man?

The labour of citizens ſupports the power of the ſtate; but the maxim of abſolute power is to conſider the public contributions as a debt paid to deſpotiſm. The national aſſembly has regulated its expences with the ſtricteſt juſtice; they thought themſelves bound, when acting in the name of the nation, to act munificently, and when they were to determine what part of the public contributions ſhould be allowed to the firſt functionary, thirty millions were allotted for him and the royal family; but this is repreſented as a trifling ſum!

The decrees upon the ſubject of peace and war have taken from the king and his miniſters the power of ſacrificing the people to the caprices of courts, and the definitive ratification of treaties is reſerved to the repreſentatives of the nation. The loſs of a prerogative is complained of. What prerogative? That of not being obliged to conſult the national will, when the blood and the fortunes of citizens were to be ſacrificed. Who can know the wiſh and the intereſts of the nation better than the legiſlative body? It is wiſhed to make war with impunity. But have we not had, under the ancient government, ſufficient experience of the terrible effects produced by the ambition of miniſters?

We are accuſed of having deſpoiled the king, in forming the judicial power, as if he, king of a great nation, ought to appear in the adminiſtration of juſtice, for any other purpoſe than that of cauſing the law to be obſerved, and its judgments executed? It is wiſhed that he ſhould have the right of granting pardons and changing puniſhments; but does not all the world know, how ſuch a right would be exerciſed, and upon whom the benefit of it would fall? The king could not exerciſe it by himſelf, and after having prohibited royal deſpotiſm, it was very natural to prohibit that of the miniſters.

The neceſſity of circumſtances has ſometimes obliged the national aſſembly to interfere contrary to its inclination, in the affairs of adminiſtration. But ought it not to act, when the government remained in blameable inertneſs? Is it, therefore, neceſſary to ſay, that neither the king, nor the miniſters, have the confidence of the nation?

The ſocieties of friends of the conſtitution have ſupported the revolution; they are more neceſſary than ever; and ſome perſons preſume to ſay that they govern the adminiſtrative bodies and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies!

Frenchmen! all the powers are organized; all the public functionaries are at their poſts; the national aſſembly watches over the ſafety of the ſtate; may you be firm and tranquil! One danger alone threatens us. You have to guard againſt the ſuſpenſion of your labours; againſt delay in the payment of duties; againſt any inflammatory meaſures which commence in anarchy, and end in civil war. It is to theſe dangers, that the national aſſembly call the attention of citizens. In this criſis, all private animoſities and private intereſts ſhould diſappear.

Thoſe who would preſerve their liberty ſhould ſhew that tranquil firm-

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firmness which appals tyrants. May the factious, who hope to see every thing overturned, find order maintained, and the conſtitution confirmed and rendered more dear to Frenchmen, by the attacks made upon it. The capital may be an example to the reſt of France. The departure of the king excited no diſorders there, but, to the confuſion of the malevolent, the utmoſt tranquility prevails in it. To reduce the territory of this empire to the yoke, it will be neceſſary to deſtroy the whole nation. Deſpotiſm, if it pleaſes, may make ſuch an attempt. It will either fail, or at the concluſion of its triumphs, will find only ruins.

The French Conſtitution, as finally ſettled by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly, and preſented to the King, the 3d Sept. 1791.

Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of the Citizens.

The repreſentatives of the French people, formed into a national aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or contempt of the rights of men, are the ſole cauſes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have reſolved to exhibit, in a ſolemn declaration, the natural, unalienable, and ſacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, ever preſent to all the members of the ſocial body, may inceſſantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the end that the acts of the legiſlative power, and thoſe of the executive power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political inſtitutions, may acquire the more reſpect; in order alſo that the remonſtrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on ſimple and inconteſtable principles, may evertend to maintain the conſtitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reaſon, the national aſſembly recognizes, and declares in the preſence, and under the auſpices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of men and of citizens:

ARTICLE I.

All men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: ſocial diſtinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

II. The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man: theſe rights are liberty, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion.

III. The principle of *ſovereignty* reſides eſſentially in the nation: *no body* of *men*, *no individual*, can exerciſe an authority that does not emanate expreſsly from that ſource.

IV. *Liberty* conſiſts in the power of doing every thing except that which is hurtful to another: hence, the exerciſe of the natural rights of every man, has no other bounds than thoſe that are neceſſary to enſure to other members of ſociety the enjoyment of the ſame rights: thoſe bounds to be determined by the law only.

V. The law has a right to forbid thoſe actions alone, that are hurtful to ſociety. Whatever is not forbidden by the law, cannot be hindered; and no perſon can be conſtrained to do that which the law ordaineth not.

VI. The law is the expreſſion of the general will: all the citizens have a right to concur perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, in the formation of the law: it ought to be the ſame for all, whether it protect, or whether it puniſh. All citizens

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citizens being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admiſſible to public honour, places and offices, according to their capacity, and without any other diſtinction but that of their virtue, or their talents.

VII. No man can be accuſed, arreſted, or detained, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law hath preſcribed. Thoſe who ſolicit, diſpatch, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be puniſhed; but every citizen that is ſummoned, or ſeized, in virtue of the law, ought to obey inſtantly—he becomes culpable by reſiſtance.

VIII. The law ought to eſtabliſh ſuch puniſhments only as are ſtrictly and evidently neceſſary; and no perſon can be puniſhed but in virtue of a law eſtabliſhed and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being preſumed innocent till ſuch time as he has been declared guilty, if it ſhall be deemed abſolutely neceſſary to arreſt a man, every kind of rigour employed, not neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, ought to be ſeverely puniſhed by the law.

X. No perſon ſhall be moleſted for his opinions, even ſuch as are religious, provided that the manifeſtation of thoſe opinions does not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by the law.

XI. The free communication of thought, and of opinion, is one of the moſt precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may freely ſpeak, write, and publiſh his ſentiments; ſubject, however, to anſwer for the abuſe of that liberty, in caſes determined by the law.

XII. The guarantee of the rights of men and citizens involves a neceſſity of *public force*. This force is then inſtituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular utility of thoſe to whom it is confided.

XIII. For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expences of adminiſtration, a common contribution is indiſpenſably neceſſary: this contribution ſhould be equally divided amongſt all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himſelf, or by his repreſentatives, to decide concerning the neceſſity of the public contribution; to conſent to it freely; to look after the employment of it; to determine the quantity, the diſtribution, the collection, and duration.

XV. Society has a right to demand from every public agent, an account of his adminiſtration.

XVI. That ſociety in which the guarantee of rights is not aſſured, nor the ſeparation of powers determined, has *no conſtitution*.

XVII. Property being a right inviolable and ſacred, no perſon can be deprived of it, except when the public neceſſity, legally aſcertained, ſhall evidently require it, and on condition of a juſt previous indemnification.

The national aſſembly, deſirous of eſtabliſhing the French conſtitution on the principles which it has juſt now recogniſed and declared, aboliſhes, irrevocably, thoſe inſtitutions which are injurious to liberty, and equality of rights.

There is no longer any *nobility*, nor *peerage*, nor *hereditary diſtinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal government*, nor *patrimonial juriſdiction*, nor any of the *titles*, *denominations* and *prerogatives* which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of *chivalry*, *corporations*, or *decorations*, for which proofs of nobility were required; nor any kind

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kind of ſuperiority, but that of public functionaries in the exerciſe of their functions.

No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchaſable*.

No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth poſſeſs any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

There are no more *wardenſhips* or *corporations*, in profeſſions, arts, or trades.

The law recogniſes no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the conſtitution.

TITLE I.

Fundamental Regulations guaranteed by the Conſtitution.

The conſtitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

1. That all the citizens are admiſſible to places and employments, without any other diſtinction than that of *virtue* and *talents*.

2 That all taxes ſhall be equally divided among all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

3. That the ſame crimes ſhall be ſubject to the ſame puniſhments, without any diſtinction of perſons.

The conſtitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights, liberty to every man to go, ſtay, or depart, without being arreſted, or detained, except according to the forms determined by the conſtitution.

Liberty to every man to ſpeak, write, print and publiſh his thoughts, without the writings being ſubjected to cenſure or inſpection before their publication, and to exerciſe the religious worſhip to which he is attached.

Liberty to the citizens to aſſemble peaceably, and without arms, in complying with the laws of police.

Liberty to addreſs to the conſtituted authorities, petitions ſigned by individuals.

The legiſlative power can make no law which would attack, or impede the exerciſe of the natural and civil rights expreſſed in the preſent title, and guaranteed by the conſtitution; but as liberty conſiſts only in the power of doing whatever neither injures the rights of another, nor the public ſafety, the law may eſtabliſh penalties againſt acts, which, attacking either the rights of others, or the public ſafety, would be injurious to ſociety.

The conſtitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a juſt and previous indemnity for that, of which, public neceſſity, legally proved, ſhall require the ſacrifice.

Property, deſtined to the expence of worſhip, and to all ſervices of public utility, belongs to the nation, and ſhall at all times be at its diſpoſal.

The conſtitution guarantees all the alienations which have been, or which ſhall be made according to the forms eſtabliſhed by the law.

The citizens have a right to elect or chuſe the miniſters of their religions.

There ſhall be created and organiſed, a general eſtabliſhment of *public aid* for the education of deſerted children, to relieve the infirm poor, and to procure work for the healthy poor, who have not been able to find it for themſelves.

There ſhall be created and organiſed, a *public inſtruction*, common to all citizens, gratuitous with regard to thoſe parts of tuition indiſpenſable for all men, and of which the eſtabliſhments ſhall be gradually diſtributed, in a proportion combined

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ed with the diviſion of the kingdom.

There ſhall be eſtabliſhed, *national feſtivals*, to preſerve the remembrance of the French revolution, to keep up fraternal affection amongſt the citizens, and attachment to the conſtitution, the country, and the laws.

There ſhall be drawn up, a code of civil laws, common to all the kingdom.

TITLE II.

Of the Diviſion of the Kingdom, and the State of the Citizens.

I. The kingdom is *one* and *indiviſible*; its territory is divided into eighty-three departments; every department into diſtricts; each diſtrict into cantons.

II. Thoſe are *French Citizens*,

Who are born in France, of a French father;

Who, having been born in France, of a foreign father, have fixed their reſidence in the kingdom;

Who, having been born in a foreign country, of a French father, have returned to ſettle in France, and have taken the civic oath.

In fine, who having been born in a foreign country, being deſcended, in whatever degree, from a Frenchman or Frenchwoman who had left their country from religious motives, come to reſide in France, and take the civic oath.

III. Thoſe who having been born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, but reſide in France, become French citizens, after five years of continued reſidence in the kingdom; if, beſides, they have acquired immoveable property, or married a Frenchwoman, or formed an eſtabliſhment of agriculture or commerce, and if they have taken a civic oath.

IV. The legiſlative power may, from important conſiderations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other condition than that of reſiding in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is, "*I ſwear to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King; and to maintain, with all my power, the conſtitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly, in the years* 1789, 1790, and 1791.

VI. The quality of a French citizen is loſt:

1ſt, By naturalization in a foreign country;

2d, By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the perſon condemned be not re-inſtated;

3d, By a ſentence of contumacy, provided the ſentence be not annulled;

4th, By an aſſociation with any foreign order of chivalry, or any foreign body, which ſhall ſuppoſe either proofs of nobility, or diſtinction of birth, or require religious vows.

VII. The law regards *marriage* ſolely as a *civil contract*. The legiſlative power ſhall eſtabliſh for all the inhabitants, without diſtinction, the mode by which births, marriages, and deaths, ſhall be aſcertained, and ſhall appoint the public officers, who ſhall receive and preſerve the certificates of them.

VIII. French citizens, conſidered with reſpect to thoſe local relations which ariſe out of their aſſociation in cities, and in certain diviſions of territory in the country, form the *communities*.

The legiſlative power may fix the extent and boundary of each community.

IX. The citizens who compoſe each community, have a right of chooſing, for a time, according to the forms preſcribed by the law, thoſe among them, who, under the name of municipal officers, are charged with the management of

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the particular affairs of the community.

To the *municipal officers* may be delegated, certain functions relative to the general intereſt of the ſtate.

X. The rules which the municipal officers ſhall be bound to follow in the exerciſe, both of the municipal functions, and of thoſe which ſhall be delegated to them for the general intereſt, ſhall be fixed by the laws.

TITLE III.

Of the Public Powers.

I. The *ſovereignty* is one, indiviſible, inalienable, and impreſcriptible; it belongs to the nation: no ſection of the people, nor any individual, can aſſume to itſelf the exerciſe of it.

II. The nation, from which alone flow all the powers, cannot exerciſe them, but by delegation.

The French conſtitution is *repreſentative*; there preſentatives are the legiſlative body and the king.

III. The legiſlative power is delegated to a national aſſembly, compoſed of temporary repreſentatives, freely choſen by the people, to be exerciſed by this aſſembly, with the ſanction of the king, in manner afterwards determined.

IV. The government is monarchical; the executive power is delegated to the king, to be exerciſed under his authority, by miniſters and other reſponſible agents, in manner afterwards determined.

V. The judicial power is delegated to judges choſen for a time by the people.

CHAP. I.

Of the National Legiſlative Aſſembly.

I. The national aſſembly, forming the legiſlative body, is permanent, and conſiſts of one chamber only.

II. It ſhall be formed by new elections every two years.

Each period of two years ſhall form one legiſlature.

III. The diſpoſitions of the preceding articles ſhall not take place with reſpect to the enſuing legiſlative body, whoſe powers ſhall ceaſe the laſt day of April 1793.

IV. The renewal of the legiſlative body ſhall be matter of full right.

V. The legiſlative body cannot be diſſolved by the king.

SECTION I.

Number of Repreſentatives—Baſes of Repreſentation.

I. The number of repreſentatives to the legiſlative body is ſeven hundred and forty-five, on account of the eighty-three departments of which the kingdom is compoſed, and independent of thoſe that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The repreſentatives ſhall be diſtributed among the eighty-three departments, according to the three proportions of territory, of population, and of direct contribution.

III. Of the 745 repreſentatives, 247 are attached to the territory.

Of theſe each department ſhall nominate three, except the department of Paris, which ſhall only nominate one.

IV. Two hundred and forty-nine repreſentatives are attributed to the population.

The total maſs of the active population of the kingdom is divided into 249 parts, and each department nominates as many of the deputies as it contains parts of the population.

V. Two hundred and forty-nine repreſentatives are attached to the direct contribution.

The ſum-total of the direct contribution of the kingdom is likewiſe divided

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divided into 249 parts; and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

Section II.

Primary Aſſemblies—Nomination of Electors.

I. In order to form a national legiſlative aſſembly, the active citizens ſhall meet every two years, in primary aſſemblies, in the towns and cantons.

The primary aſſemblies ſhall form themſelves, of full right, the ſecond Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked ſooner by the public officers eſtabliſhed by law.

II. To be an active citizen, it is neceſſary,

To be born, or to have become a Frenchman;

To be twenty-five years of age complete;

To have reſided in the city or canton during the time determined by the law;

To pay, in any part of the kingdom, a direct contribution, at leaſt equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance;

Not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a ſervant receiving wages;

To be inſcribed in the municipality of the place of his reſidence, in the liſt of the national guards;

To have taken the civic oath.

III. Every ſix years the legiſlative body ſhall fix the minimum and the maximum of the value of a day's labour, and the adminiſtrators of the the departments ſhall determine the rate for every diſtrict.

IV. None ſhall exerciſe the right of an active citizen in more than one place, nor employ another as his ſubſtitute.

V. Thoſe ſhall be excluded from the rights of an active citizen,

Who are in a ſtate of accuſation;

Who, after having been conſtituted in a ſtate of failure, or inſolvency, proved by authentic documents, ſhall not produce a general diſcharge from their creditors.

VI. The primary aſſemblies ſhall name electors in proportion to the number of active citizens reſiding in the town or canton.

There ſhall be named one elector for a hundred active citizens preſent or not, in the aſſembly.

There ſhall be named two for 131 to 250; and ſo on in this proportion.

VII. No man can be named elector, if along with the conditions neceſſary in order to be an active citizen, he does not join the following:—In towns of more than 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor or life-renter of a property valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of 200 days labour; or of renting a houſe, valued on the ſame rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of 150 days labour.

In towns below 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor, or life-renter of a property, valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days labour; or of renting a houſe, valued on the ſame rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of 100 days labour.

And, in the country, that of being proprietor or life-renter of a property, valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days labour; or of being a farmer of lands, valued on the ſame rolls, at the value of 400 days labour.

With reſpect to thoſe who ſhall be at the ſame time proprietors or life-renters on one hand, and tackſ-

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men or farmers on the other, their powers on these different accounts shall be added together, to establish their eligibility.

Section III.

Electoral Assemblies—Nomination of Representatives.

I. The electors named in each department shall convene in order to chuse that number of representatives, whose nomination shall belong to their department, and a number of substitutes equal to the third of the representatives.

The electoral assemblies shall form themselves, of full right, the last Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked sooner by the public officers appointed by law.

II. The representatives and substitutes shall be chosen by an absolute majority of votes, and cannot be chosen but from amongst the active citizens in the department.

III. All the active citizens, whatever be their condition, profession, or contribution, may be chosen representatives of the nation.

IV. Those, however, shall be obliged to decide between one or other situation—Ministers, and other agents of the executive power, removeable at pleasure; Commissioners of the national treasury; Collectors and receivers of direct contributions; Superintendants of the collection, or management of indirect contributions, and national domains, and those who, under any denomination whatever, are attached to the employs of the military or civil household of the king.

The administrators, sub-administrators, municipal officers, and commandants of the national guards, shall also be obliged to make a choice.

V. The exercise of judiciary functions shall be incompatible with those of a representative of the nation, during all the continuance of the legislature.

The judges shall be replaced by their substitutes, and the king shall provide, by briefs of commission, for the replacing of his commissaries at the tribunals.

VI. The members of the legislative body may be re-elected to the next legislature; but not afterwards, till after an interval of one legislature.

VII. The representatives named in the departments, shall not be representatives of a particular department, but of the whole nation, and no mandate can be given them.

Section IV.

Session and Regulation of the Primary and Electoral Assemblies.

I. The functions of the primary and electoral assemblies are limited, to the right of electing; and as soon as the elections are over, they shall separate, and shall not form themselves anew, but when they shall be convoked; if it be not in the case of Sect II. Art. I. and of Sect. III. Art. I. above.

II. No active citizen can enter or vote in an assembly, if he is armed.

III. Armed force cannot be introduced in the meeting, except at the express desire of the assembly, unless in the case of actual violence, when the order of the president shall be sufficient to call in the aid of public force.

IV. Every two years, there shall be drawn up in each district, lists by cantons of the active citizens; and the list of each canton shall be published and posted up two months before the meeting of the Primary Assembly. The protests which shall be made either against the right of citizens, named in the list, or on the part of those who shall affirm that they

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they are unjuſtly omitted, ſhall be carried to the tribunals, to be there ſummarily decided upon.

The liſt ſhall ſerve to regulate the admiſſion of citizens in the next Primary Aſſembly, in every point that ſhall not have been aſcertained by a ſentence pronounced before the ſitting of the aſſembly.

V. The Electoral Aſſemblies have the right of verifying the qualifications and powers of thoſe who ſhall preſent themſelves there; and their deciſions ſhall be proviſionally executed, with a reſerve for the ſentence of the legiſlative body at the time of the verification of the powers of deputies.

VI. In no caſe, and under no pretext, ſhall the king, or any agents named by him, interfere in queſtions relative to the regularity of the convocations, the ſitting of aſſemblies, the form of elections, or the political rights of citizens. Without prejudice, however, to the functions of the commiſſaries of the king, in the caſes determined by law, where queſtions relative to the political rights of citizens ought to be carried to the tribunals.

Section V.

Meeting of the Repreſentatives in the National Legiſlative Aſſembly.

I. THE repreſentatives ſhall aſſemble on the firſt Monday of May, in the place of the meeting of the laſt legiſlature.

II. They ſhall form themſelves, proviſionally, into an aſſembly, under the preſidence of the eldeſt, to verify the powers of the repreſentatives preſent.

III. As ſoon as theſe may be verified, to the number of 373 members, they ſhall conſtitute themſelves under the title of the *National Legiſlative Aſſembly*; they ſhall name a preſident, vice-preſident, and ſecretaries, and enter upon the exerciſe of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of repreſentatives preſent fall ſhort of 373, the Aſſembly ſhall not perform any legiſlative act. They may iſſue an arret, enjoining the abſent members to attend to their functions within fifteen days at fartheſt, under a penalty of 3000 livres, if they do not produce an excuſe which ſhall be deemed lawful by the legiſlative body.

V. On the laſt day of May, whatever be the number of members preſent, they ſhall conſtitute themſelve a National Legiſlative Aſſembly.

VI. The repreſentatives ſhall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people, the oath, "*to live free or die.*"

They ſhall then individually take the oath, *to maintain, with all their power, the conſtitution of the kingdom; decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly, during the years* 1789, 1790, and 1791; *to propoſe or aſſent to nothing in the courſe of the legiſlature, which may at all tend to infringe it; and to be, in every reſpect, faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King.*

VII. The repreſentatives of the nation are inviolable; they cannot be examined, accuſed, or adjudged at any time with reſpect to what they have ſaid, written, or done, in the exerciſe of their functions of repreſentatives.

VIII. They may for a crime be ſeized in the act, or in virtue of an order of arreſt; but notice ſhall be given of it, without delay, to the legiſlative body; and the proſecution ſhall not be continued, till after the

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Legiſlative body ſhall have decided that there is ground for accuſation.

CHAP. II.

Of the Royalty, the Regency, and the Miniſters.

SECTION I.

Of the Royalty and the King.

I. The Royalty is indiviſible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of women and their deſcendants.

Nothing is prejudged reſpecting the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne.

II. The perſon of the king is ſacred and inviolable: his only title is *King of the French.*

III. There is no authority in France ſuperior to that of the law. The king reigns only by it, and it is only in the name of the law that he can require obedience.

IV. The king, on his acceſſion to the throne, or at the period of his majority, ſhall take to the nation, in the preſence of the legiſlative body, the oath, "*To be faithful to the Nation, and to the Law; to employ all the power delegated to him, to maintain the Conſtitution decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791; *and to cauſe the laws to be executed.*"

If the legiſlative body ſhall not be aſſembled, the king ſhall cauſe a proclamation to be iſſued, in which ſhall be expreſſed this oath, and a promiſe to repeat it as ſoon as the legiſlative bodies ſhall aſſemble.

V. If, one month after an invitation by the legiſlative body, the king has not taken this oath, or if after taking it he ſhall retract, he ſhall be deemed to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himſelf at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it againſt the nation, or if he do not oppoſe, by a formal act, any ſuch enterprize undertaken in his name, he ſhall be deemed to have abdicated.

VII. If the king, having gone out of the kingdom, do not return, on the invitation of the legiſlative body, and within the delay fixed by the proclamation, which cannot be leſs than two months, he ſhall be deemed to have abdicated.

The delay ſhall commence from the day when the proclamation of the legiſlative body ſhall have been publiſhed in the place of its ſitting; and the miniſters ſhall be obliged, under their reſponſibility, to perform all the acts of the executive power, the exerciſe of which ſhall be ſuſpended in the hands of the abſent king.

VIII. After abdication, expreſs or legal, the king ſhall be in the claſs of citizens, and may be accuſed and tried like them, for acts poſterior to his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which the king poſſeſſes at his acceſſion to the throne, are irrevocably united to the domain of the nation; he has the diſpoſition of thoſe which he acquires on his own private account; if he has not diſpoſed of them, they are in like manner united at the end of the reign.

X. The nation makes proviſion for the ſplendour of the throne by a civil liſt, of which the Legiſlative body ſhall fix the ſum at the commencement of each reign, for the whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king ſhall appoint an adminiſtrator of the civil liſt, who ſhall commence all ſuits for the king, and

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and againſt whom all actions for debts of the king ſhall be carried on, and judgments given and executed. Sentences of condemnation, obtained by the creditors of the civil liſt, ſhall be executed againſt the adminiſtrator perſonally and his private fortune.

XII. The king ſhall have, independent of the honorary guard which ſhall be furniſhed him by the citizens, national guards of the place of his reſidence, a guard paid from the funds of the civil liſt. It ſhall not exceed 1200 foot, and 600 horſe.

The degrees and rules of advancement ſhall be the ſame in it as amongſt the troops of the line. But thoſe who compoſe the king's guards, ſhall paſs through all the degrees excluſively amongſt themſelves, and cannot obtain any in the army of the line.

The king cannot chuſe his guards, but among thoſe who are at preſent in active ſervice in the troops of the line, or amongſt the citizens who have ſerved a year in the national guards, provided they are reſidents in the kingdom, and that they have previouſly taken the civic oath.

The king's guards cannot be ordered or required for any other public ſervice.

SECTION II.

Of the Regency.

I. The king is a minor till the age of eighteen complete; and during his minority, there ſhall be a regent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the relation of the king, who is the next in degree according to the order of ſucceſſion to the throne, and who has attained the age of twenty five, provided he be a Frenchman reſident in the kingdom, and not preſumptive heir to any other crown, and have taken the civic oath.

Women are excluded from the regency.

III. If a minor king have no relations who unite the above qualities, the regent of the kingdom ſhall be elected as is directed in the following article:

IV. The Legiſlative body ſhall not elect the regent.

V. The electors of each diſtrict ſhall aſſemble in the chief place of their diſtrict, after a proclamation, which ſhall be iſſued in the firſt week of the new reign, by the legiſlative body if convened; and if ſeparated, the miniſter of juſtice ſhall be bound to make that proclamation in the ſame week.

VI. The electors ſhall name in every diſtrict, by individual ſcrutiny, and abſolute plurality of votes, a citizen eligible, and reſident in the diſtrict, to whom they ſhall give by the proces-verbal of the election, a ſpecial mandate, limited to the ſole function of electing the citizen whom he ſhall judge in his heart and conſcience the moſt worthy of being regent of the kingdom.

VII. The citizens having theſe mandates, elected in the diſtricts, ſhall be bound to aſſemble in the town where the legiſlative body holds its ſeat, the fortieth day at fartheſt, counting from that of the advancement of the minor king to the throne; and they ſhall form there the electoral aſſembly, who ſhall proceed to the nomination of the regent.

VIII. The election of the regent ſhall be made by individual ſcrutiny and abſolute plurality of votes.

IX. The electoral aſſembly cannot employ itſelf, but relative to this election, and ſhall ſeparate as ſoon as

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the election is finished—Every other act which it shall attempt, is declared unconstitutional and of no effect.

X. The electoral assembly shall make its president present the proces-verbal of the election to the legislative body, who after having verified the regularity of the election, shall make it public over all the kingdom by a proclamation.

XI. The regent exercises, till the king's majority, all the functions of royalty, and is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

XII. The regent cannot begin the exercise of his functions, till after taking to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, an oath, "*To be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exercise is confided to him during the minority of the king, to maintain the constitution decreed by the national constituent assembly, in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791, *and to cause the laws to be executed.*"

If the legislative body is not assembled, the regent shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall be met.

XIII. As long as the regent is not entered on the exercise of his functions, the sanction of the laws remains suspended; the ministers continue to perform, under their responsibility, all the acts of the executive power.

XIV. As soon as the regent shall take the oath, the legislative body shall fix his allowance, which shall not be altered during his regency.

XV. If on account of the minority of the relation called to the regency, it has devolved to a more distant relation, or been settled by election, the regent who shall have entered on the exercise of it, shall continue his functions till the majority of the king.

XVI. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the person of the minor king.

XVII. The care of the minor king shall be confided to his mother; and if he has no mother, or if she be married again at the time of her son's accession to the throne, or if she marry again during the minority, the care of him shall be delegated by the legislative body.

Neither the regent, nor his descendants, nor a woman, can be chosen as guardian of the minor king.

XVIII. In case of the king's insanity, notoriously admitted, legally proved, and declared by the legislative body, after three successive deliberations held monthly, there shall be a regency, as long as such incapacity continues.

SECTION III.

Of the Royal Family.

I. The presumptive heir shall bear the name of *Prince Royal.* He cannot go out of the kingdom, without a decree of the legislative body, and the king's consent.

If he is gone out of it, and if, being arrived at eighteen years of age, he do not return to France, after being required by a proclamation of the legislative body, he is held to have abdicated the right of succession to the throne.

II. If the presumptive heir be a minor, the relation of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reside within the kingdom. In case of his going out of it, and not returning on the requisition of the legis-

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legiſlative body, he ſhall be held to have abdicated his right to the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elected, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge.

If the mother of the preſumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, ſhe cannot even after her return, have the care of her minor ſon, become king, but by a decree of the legiſlative body.

IV. A law ſhall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir preſumptive.

V. The members of the royal family called to the eventual ſucceſſion to the throne enjoy the rights of an active citizen, but are not eligible to any places, employs, or functions, in the nomination of the people.

Excepting the places of miniſters, they are capable of offices and employs in the nomination of the king; however they cannot be commanders in chief of any army or fleet, nor fulfil the functions of ambaſſadors, without the conſent of the legiſlative body, granted on the propoſition of the king.

VI. The members of the royal family, called to the eventual ſucceſſion to the throne, ſhall add the denomination of *French Prince*, to the name which ſhall have been given them in the civil act, ſtating their birth; and this name can neither be patronymic, nor formed of any of the qualifications aboliſhed by the preſent conſtitution.

The denomination of *Prince* cannot be given to any other individual, and ſhall convey no privilege, nor any exception, to the common rights of all Frenchmen.

VII. The acts by which ſhall be legally ſtated the births, marriages, and deaths of the French princes, ſhall be preſented to the legiſlative body, who ſhall command the depoſit of them in their archives.

VIII. No real apanage (in land) ſhall be granted to the members of the royal family.

The younger ſons of the king ſhall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which ſhall be fixed by the legiſlative body, and which ſhall terminate with the extinction of their male heirs.

Section IV.

Of Miniſters.

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and revocation of miniſters.

II. The members of the preſent national aſſembly, and ſucceeding legiſlatures, the members of the tribunal of annulment, and thoſe who ſhall ſerve in the high jury, cannot be advanced to the miniſtry, nor receive any offices, gifts, penſions, ſalaries, or commiſſions from the executive power, or its agents, during the continuance of their functions, nor during two years after having finiſhed the exerciſe of them.

The ſame ſhall be the caſe with reſpect to thoſe who ſhall be inſcribed in the liſt of the high jury, during all the time that their inſcription ſhall continue.

III. No one can enter upon the exerciſe of any employ, either in the bureaux of miniſters, or in thoſe of the adminiſtrations of public power, without having taken the civic oath, and having verified his having taken it.

IV. No order of the king can be executed, if it be not ſigned by him, and counterſigned by the miniſter or comptroller of the department.

V. The miniſters are reſponſible for

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for all the offences committed by them against the national safety and the constitution;

For every attack on individual property and liberty;

For every waste of the money allotted for the expences of their department.

VI. In no case can the written or verbal order of a king shelter a minister from responsibility.

VII. The ministers are bound to present every year to the legislative body, at the opening of the session, the state of the expences of their department; to give an account of the employment of the sums destined for that purpose, and to mention the abuses which may have crept into the different parts of the government.

VIII. No minister in or out of place, can be criminally prosecuted for any transaction of his administration, without a decree of the legislative body.

CHAP. III.

Of the Exercise of the Legislative Power.

SECTION I.

Powers and Functions of the National Legislative Assembly.

I. The constitution delegates exclusively to the legislative body, the powers and functions following:

1. To propose and decree laws: the king can only invite the legislative body to take an object into consideration.

2. To fix the public expences.

3. To establish the public contributions—to determine their nature, quantity, duration, and mode of collection.

4. To divide the direct contribution amongst the departments of the kingdom—to superintend the employ of all the public revenue, and to demand an account of it.

5. To decree the creation or suppression of public offices.

6. To determine the quality, weight, impression, and name of the coin.

7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of the kingdom.

8. To fix annually, after the proposition of the king, the number of men and ships of which the land and naval armies shall be composed; the pay and number of individuals of each rank; the rules of admission and promotion; the forms of inrolment and discharge; the formation of naval equipments; the admission of foreign troops, or naval forces into the service of France; and the pay of troops, in case of their being disbanded.

9. To regulate the administrative government, and the alienation of the national domains.

10. To prosecute before the high national court, the ministers and principal agents of the executive power, in what relates to their responsibility.

To accuse and prosecute before the same court, those who shall be charged with any attack or conspiracy against the general safety of the state, or against the constitution.

11. To establish the laws, according to which marks of honour or decoration, purely personal, shall be granted to those who have rendered services to the state.

12. The legislative body have the right to decree public honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be determined on, but by a decree of the legislative body passed on the formal and neces-

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neceſſary propoſition of the king, and ſanctioned by him.

In the caſe of imminent or commenced hoſtilities, of an ally to be ſupported, or a right to be preſerved by force of arms, the king ſhall notify the ſame without delay to the legiſlative body, and ſhall declare the reaſons of it.

If the legiſlative body be not ſitting, the king ſhall aſſemble it immediately.

If the legiſlative body decide that war ought not to be made, the king ſhall immediately take meaſures to ſtop or prevent all hoſtilities, the miniſters being reſponſible for delays.

If the legiſlative body find that the hoſtilities commenced are a palpable aggreſſion on the part of miniſters, or any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggreſſion ſhall be proſecuted criminally.

During the whole courſe of war, the legiſlative body may require the king to negociate peace, and the king is bound to yield to this requiſition.

On the immediate concluſion of war, the legiſlative body ſhall fix the time within which the troops levied above the peace eſtabliſhment, ſhall be diſcharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary ſtate.

III. It belongs to the legiſlative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, and no treaty ſhall have effect but by this ratification.

IV. The legiſlative body has the right of determining the place of its ſittings, of continuing them as long as it ſhall think neceſſary, and of adjourning; at the commencement of each reign, if it be not ſitting, it ſhall be bound to meet without delay.

It has the right of police in the place of its ſitting, and to ſuch extent around it as ſhall be determined.

It has the right of diſcipline over its members; but it can pronounce no heavier puniſhment than cenſure, arreſt for eight days, or impriſonment for three.

It has the right of diſpoſing, for its ſafety, and the reſpect that is due to it, of the forces which ſhall be placed, by its conſent, in the city where it ſhall hold its ſittings.

V. The executive power cannot march, or quarter or ſtation any troops of the line within thirty thouſand toiſes of the legiſlative body, except on its requiſition, or by its authority.

Section II.

Holding of the Sittings, and Form of deliberating.

I. The deliberations of the legiſlative body ſhall be public, and the proceedings of its ſittings ſhall be printed.

II. The legiſlative body, may, however, on any occaſion, form itſelf into a *general committee.*

Fifty members ſhall have a right to demand this.

During the continuance of the general committee, the aſſiſtants ſhall retire, the chair of the preſident ſhall be vacant, and order ſhall be maintained by the vice-preſident.

III. No legiſlative act can be debated and decreed, except in the following form:

IV. The plan of a decree ſhall be read thrice, at three intervals, the ſhorteſt of which cannot be leſs than eight days.

V. The diſcuſſion ſhall be open after every reading; nevertheleſs, after

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after the first or second reading, the legislative body may declare that there is reason for adjournment, or that there is no need for deliberation; in this last case, the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the same session.

Every plan of a decree shall be printed and distributed before the second reading of it can be commenced.

VI. After the third reading, the president shall be bound to propose it to deliberation; and the legislative body shall decide, whether they are qualified to pass a definitive decree, or would rather chuse to postpone their decision; in order to gather more ample information on the subject.

VII. The legislative body cannot deliberate, if the meeting do not consist of at least two hundred members: and no decree shall be made, except by the absolute majority of votes.

VIII. No plan of a law, which, after having been submitted to discussion, shall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the same session.

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree shall announce, first the dates of those sittings at which the three readings of the plan of the decree were made; second, the decree by which it shall have been appointed, after the third reading, to decide definitely.

X. The king shall refuse his sanction to decrees whose preamble shall not attest the observance of the above forms; if any of those decrees be sanctioned, the ministers shall neither put to it the seal, nor promulgate it, and their responsibility in this respect shall continue six years.

XI. Excepting from these regulations, decrees recognized, and declared urgent by a previous deliberation of the legislative body; but they may be modified, or revoked, in the course of the same session.

The decree by which a matter shall have been declared urgent, shall announce the reasons of it, and there shall be mention made of this previous decree in the preamble of the definitive decree.

Section III.

Of the Royal Sanction.

I. The decrees of the legislative body are presented to the king, who may refuse his assent to them.

II. In the case of a refusal of the royal assent, that refusal is only *suspensive*.

When the two following legislatures which shall follow that in which the decree was presented, shall successively represent the same decree in the same terms in which it was originally conceived, the king shall be deemed to have given his sanction.

III. The assent of the king is expressed to each decree, by the following *formula*, signed by the king: *The king consents, and will cause it to be executed.*

The suspensive refusal is thus expressed: *The king will examine.*

IV. The king is bound to express his assent, or refusal, to each decree, within two months after it shall have been presented.

V. No decree to which the king has refused his assent, can be presented to him by the same legislature.

VI. The decree sanctioned by the king, and those which have been presented to him by three successive legislatures, alone have the force of a law, and bear the name and title of *laws*.

VII.

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VII. There shall be, however, executed as laws, without being subjected to sanction, those acts of the legislative body which relate to its constitution as a deliberating assembly;

Its interior police, and that which it may exercise in the external space, which it shall have determined;

The verification of the powers of the members present;

The injunctions to absent members;

The convocation of the primary assemblies in case of delay;

The exercise of constitutional superintendance over the administrators, and municipal officers;

Questions of eligibility, or the validity of elections.

Exempting likewise from sanction, acts relative to the responsibility of ministers, and all decrees importing that there is ground of accusation.

VIII. The decrees of the legislative body, concerning the establishment, prorogation, and collection of public contributions, shall bear the name and title of laws; they shall be promulgated and executed without being subject to sanction, except with respect to those dispositions, which should establish other penalties than pecuniary fines and constraints.

These decrees cannot be passed but after the observation of the formalities prescribed by the articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of sect. II. of the present chapter; and the legislative body shall not insert in them any dispositions foreign to their object.

Section IV.

Connection of the Legislative Body with the King.

I. When the legislative body is definitively constituted, it shall send a deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the session, and propose the objects, which, during its continuance, he thinks ought to be taken into consideration; this form, however, is not to be considered as *necessary* to the activity of the legislative body.

II. When the legislative body wishes to adjourn longer than fifteen days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at least eight days previous.

III. A week, at least, before the end of each session, the legislative body shall send a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it proposes to terminate its sittings. The king may come, in order to close the session.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the state, that the session be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place only for a shorter time, he may send a message to this effect, on which the legislative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king shall convoke the legislative body, during the interval of its session, at all times when the interest of the state shall appear to him to require it, as well as in those cases which the legislative body shall have foreseen and determined, previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king shall visit the place of meeting of the legislative body, he shall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any except the prince royal and the ministers.

VII. The president can in no case form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legislative body shall cease to be a deliberating body whilst the king shall be present.

IX. The

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IX. The acts of correſpondence of the king with the legiſlative body, ſhall be always counterſigned by a miniſter.

X. The miniſters of the king ſhall have admiſſion into the national legiſlative aſſembly; they ſhall have a place aſſigned to them; they ſhall be heard always when they demand it on objects relative to their adminiſtration, or when they ſhall be required to give information. They ſhall alſo be heard on objects foreign to their adminiſtration, when the national aſſembly ſhall grant them liberty to ſpeak.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Exerciſe of the Executive Power.

I. The *ſupreme* executive power reſides excluſively in the hands of the king.

The king is the ſupreme head of the general adminiſtration of the kingdom: the care of watching over the maintenance of public order and tranquillity is entruſted to him.

The king is the ſupreme head of the land and ſea forces.

To the king is delegated the care of watching over the exterior ſecurity of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions.

II. The king names ambaſſadors, and the other agents of political negotiations.

He beſtows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of marſhal of France and admiral.

He names two thirds of the rear-admirals, one half of the lieutenant-generals, camp marſhals, captains of ſhips, and colonels of the national gendarmerie.

He names a third of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and a ſixth of the lieutenants of ſhips—the whole in conformity to the laws with reſpect to promotion.

He appoints, in the civil adminiſtration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treaſurers of the arſenals, the maſters of the works, the under-maſters of civil buildings, half of the maſters of adminiſtration, and of the under-maſters of conſtruction.

He appoints the commiſſaries of the tribunals.

He appoints the chief ſuperintendants of the adminiſtration of indirect contributions, and the adminiſtration of national domains.

He ſuperintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers entruſted with this ſuperintendance in the general commiſſion and the mints.

The effigy of the king is ſtruck on all the coinage of the kingdom.

III. The king orders letters patent, brevets, and commiſſions, to be delivered to all the public offices that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a liſt of penſions and gratifications to be made out, for the purpoſe of being preſented to the legiſlative body each ſeſſion, and decreed, if there is reaſon for it.

SECTION I.

Of the Promulgation of Laws.

I. The executive power is charged with ordering the ſeal of ſtate to be put to laws, and cauſing them to be promulgated.

It is equally charged with cauſing to be promulgated and executed, thoſe acts of the legiſlative body which have no need of the ſanction of the king.

II. Two copies of each law ſhall be

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be made, both signed by the king, countersigned by the minister of justice, and sealed with the seal of state. The one shall be deposited in the archives of the seal, and the other shall be sent to the archives of the legislative body.

III. The promulgation of laws shall be thus expressed:

"N. (the king's name) by the "grace of God, and the constitu- "tional law of the state, king of the "French, to all present and to "come, greeting. The national "assembly has decreed, and we "will and ordain as follows:

(Here a literal copy of the decree shall be inserted, without any variation.)

"We command and ordain to "all administrative bodies and "courts of justice, to cause these "presents to be transcribed on their "registers, read and published, and "posted up in their departments "and respective place of resort, and "executed as a law of the realm; "in which we have signed these pre- "sents, to which we have caused "the seal of the state to be put."

IV. If the king be a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts proceeding from the royal authority during the regency, shall be conceived in these terms:

"N. (the name of the regent) "regent of the kingdom, in the "name of N. (the king's name) by "the grace of God and the consti- "tutional law of the state, king of "the French, &c."

V. The executive power is bound to send the laws to the administrative bodies and courts of justice, to be certified that they are so sent, and to answer for it to the legislative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even provisional, but merely proclamations, conformable to the laws, to ordain or enforce the execution.

Section II.

Of the Interior Administration.

I. There is in each department a superior administration, and in each district a subordinate administration.

II. The administrators have no character of representation.

They are agents, chosen for a time by the people, to exercise, under the superintendance and the authority of the king, the administrative functions.

III. They can neither interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, nor suspend the execution of the laws, nor assume any authority over judicial proceedings, nor over military regulations or operations.

IV. The administrators are essentially charged with the repartition of the direct taxes, and with the superintendance of the funds arising from all the contributions and public revenues in their territory.

It belong to the legislative power to determine the rules and mode of their functions, both with respect to the objects above mentioned, as well as with respect to all the other parts of the interior administration.

V. The king has the right of annulling such acts of the administrators of department, as are contrary to the law, or the orders he has transmitted to them.

He may, in case of obstinate disobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the public, suspend them from their functions.

VI. The administrators of department have also the right of annulling the acts of the sub-administrators,

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tors of district, contrary to the laws or to the arrets of administrators of department, or to the orders which the latter shall have given or transmitted.

They may likewise, in case of an obstinate disobedience on the part of the sub-administrators, or if the latter endanger, by their acts, the public safety or tranquillity, suspend them from their functions, with the reserve of informing the king, who may remove or confirm the suspension.

VII. The king, if the administrators of department shall not use the power which is delegated to them in the article above, may directly annul the acts of sub-administrators, and suspend them in the same cases.

VIII. Whenever the king shall pronounce or confirm the suspension of administrators, or sub-administrators, he shall inform the legislative body. This body may either remove or confirm the suspension, or even dissolve the culpable administration; and if there be ground, remit all the administrators, or some of them, to the criminal tribunals, or enforce against them the decree of accusation.

Section III.

Of External Connections.

I. The king alone can keep up foreign political connections, conduct negociations, make preparations of war, proportioned to those of the neighbouring states; distribute the land and sea forces, as he shall judge most suitable, and regulate their direction in case of war.

II. Every declaration of war shall be made in these terms: *By the king of the French, in the name of the nation.*

III. It belongs to the king to resolve and sign with all foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, and other conventions, which he shall judge necessary for the welfare of the state, with a reserve for the ratification of the legislative body.

CHAP. V.

Of the Judicial Power.

I. The judicial power can in no case be exercised, either by the legislative body, or the king.

II. Justice shall be gratuitously rendered, by judges chosen for a time by the people, instituted by letters patent of the king, who cannot refuse to grant them. They cannot be deposed, but for forfeiture duly judged; nor suspended, but for an accusation admitted.

The public accusers shall be named by the people.

III. The tribunals cannot either interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or suspend the execution of the laws, or undertake the administrative functions, or cite before them the administrators, on account of their functions.

IV. The citizens cannot be withdrawn from the judges whom the law assigns to them by any commission, or by any other attributions or evocations than those which are determined by the laws.

V. The right of the citizens to terminate definitively their disputes by the way of arbitration, shall receive no infringement from the acts of the legislative power.

VI. The ordinary courts of justice cannot receive any civil action, until it be certified to them that the parties have appeared, or that the pursuer has cited the opposite party to appear before *mediators*, to endeavour

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vour to bring about a reconciliation.

VII. There shall be one or more justices of peace in the canton and in the towns. The number of them shall be determined by the legislative power.

VIII. It belongs to the legislative power to regulate the number and extent of jurisdiction of the tribunals, and the number of judges, of which each tribunal shall be composed.

IX. In *criminal* matters, no citizen can be tried, but on an accusation received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pursue the accusation.

After the admission of the accusation, the fact shall be recognised and declared by a jury.

The accused shall have a right to refuse, as far as twenty jurors, without assigning reasons.

The jury which declares the fact, cannot be of fewer than twelve members.

The application of the law shall be made by judges.

The instruction of the process shall be public, and the assistance of counsel cannot be refused to the accused.

No man acquitted by a lawful jury, can be retaken or accused on account of the same fact.

X. No man can be seized upon, but in order to be conducted before an officer of police: and no man can be arrested or detained, but in virtue of a mandate of the officers of police; of an order for personal arrestation by a tribunal; of a decree of accusation of the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pronounce; or of a sentence of imprisonment or detention for the sake of correction.

XI. Every man seized upon and conducted before an officer of police, shall be examined immediately, or at latest in twenty-four hours.

If it result from the examination, that there be no ground for blame against him, he shall be directly set at liberty; or if there be ground to send him to a house of arrest, he shall be conducted there with the least delay possible, and that in any case cannot exceed three days.

XII. No man arrested can be detained if he give sufficient bail, in all cases where the law permits a man to remain free under bail.

XIII. No man, in the cases when detention is authorised by the law, can be conducted or detained any where, but in those places legally and publickly marked out as houses of arrest, of justice, or prisons.

XIV. No guard nor jailor can receive or detain any man, but in virtue of a mandate, order of arrest, decree of accusation, or sentence, mentioned in the tenth article above, nor without transcribing them in his own register.

XV. Every guard or jailor is bound, and no order can release him from the obligation, to produce the person detained to the civil officer who superintends the police of the house of arrest, as often as it shall be required of him.

The production of the person detained, cannot also be refused to his relations and friends, who bring an order from a civil officer, who shall be bound always to grant it, unless the guard or jailor produce an order form a judge, transcribed in his register, to keep the person arrested secret.

XVI. Every man, whatever be his place or occupation, except those to whom the law confides the right of arrestation, who shall give, sign, execute, or make to be executed, an order to arrest a citizen; or who-

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ever, even in the cases of arrestation authorised by the law, shall conduct, receive, or detain a citizen, in a place of detention not publicly and legally marked out; and every guard or jailor who shall act in opposition to the disposition of the above XIV. and XV. articles; shall be culpable of the crime of arbitrary detention.

XVII. No man can be taken up, or prosecuted, on account of the writings which he has caused to be printed or published, whatever be their subject, if he has not *designedly* provoked disobedience to the law, outrage to the established powers, and resistance to their acts, or any of the actions declared crimes or offences by the law.

The censure of all the acts of the established powers is permitted; but voluntary calumnies against the probity of public officers, and against the rectitude of their intentions in the exercise of their functions, may be prosecuted by those who are the subject of them.

Calumnies or injurious sayings against any kind of persons, relative to the actions of their private life, shall be punished by prosecution.

XVIII. No man can be judged, either civilly or criminally, for acts of writing, printing or publishing, except it has been recognised and delared by a jury, 1st, that there is an offence in the writing denounced: 2d, that the person prosecuted is guilty of it.

XIX. There shall be, for the whole kingdom, one only tribunal of annulment, established near the legislative body. Its functions shall be, to pronounce.

On demands of annulment of judgments given in the last resort by the tribunals;

On demands of being remitted from one tribunal to another, for lawful causes of suspicion;

On regulations respecting judges, and suits against a whole tribunal.

XX. In questions of annulment, the tribunal of annulment shall never take cognizance of the affair itself; but after having annulled the sentence which shall have been pronounced in a process, and in which the forms have been violated, or which shall contain an express contradiction to the law, it shall remit the original affair to the tribunal which ought to decide on it.

XXI. When, after being twice annulled, a sentence pronounced by a third tribunal shall be attacked on the same grounds as at first, the question shall no more be judged by the tribunal of annulment, without having been submitted to the legislative body, who shall pass a decree declarative of the law, to which the tribunal of annulment shall be bound to conform.

XXII. Every year, the tribunal of annulment shall be bound to send to the bar of the legislative body, a deputation of eight of its members, to present a state of the decisions passed; on the margin of each of which shall be placed a short account of the affair, and the text of the law which shall have determined the decision.

XXIII. A high national court, formed of the members of the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, shall take cognizance of offences committed by the ministers and principal agents of the executive power, of those crimes which attack the general safety of the state, after the legislative body shall have passed a decree for accusation.

It shall not be assembled but at the proclamation of the legislative body, and at the distance of thirty thousand toises at least from the place where the legislative body holds its meetings.

XXIV. The

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XXIV. The orders issued for executing the judgments of the tribunals, shall be conceived in these terms:

"N. (the name of the king) by "the grace of God, and by the "constitutional law of the state, "king of the French, to all present "and to come, greeting. The tri- "bunal of —— has passed the "following judgment:" [Here shall following a copy of the judgment, in which shall be mentioned the names of the judges.]

"We charge and enjoin all of- "ficers, upon the present demand, "to put the said judgment into "execution, our commissaries of "the tribunals to enforce the same, "and all the commanders and of- "ficers of the public force to be "assisting with their force, when "it shall be legally required: In "witness of which, the present "judgment has been signed by the "president of the tribunal, and by "the register."

XXV. The functions of the king's commissaries in the tribunals, shall be, to require the observance of the laws in the judgments to be given, and to cause them to be executed after they are passed.

They shall not be public accusers; but they shall be heard on all accusations, and shall require, during process, regularity of forms, and, before judgment, application of the law.

XXVI. The king's commissaries in the tribunals shall denounce to the director of the jury, either officially, or according to orders given them by the king;

Offences against the individual liberty of citizens, against the free circulation of provisions and other objects of commerce, and against the collection of contributions:

Offences by which the execution of orders given by the king, in the exercise of the functions delegated to him, shall be disturbed or impeded;

Infringements on the laws of nations; opposition to the execution of judgments; and to all executive acts proceeding from established powers.

XXVII. The minister of justice shall denounce to the tribunal of appeal, by means of the king's commissary, and without prejudice to the rights of the parties interested, the acts in which the judges have exceeded the bounds of their power.

The tribunal shall annul these acts; and if they give ground for forfeiture, the fact shall be represented to the legislative body, which shall pass the decree of accusation if there be ground, and refer the parties informed against to the high national court.

TITLE IV.

Of the Public Force.

I. The public force is instituted to defend the state against external enemies, and to maintain internal order and the execution of the laws.

II. It is composed,

Of the land and sea armies;

Of the troops specially destined for home service;

And, subsidiarily, of the active citizens, and their children of age to bear arms, registered in the roll of national guards.

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an institution in the state; they are the citizens themselves, called to assist the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themselves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a legal requisition of authority.

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V. They are subject in this quality to an organization, to be determined by the law.

They shall be distinguished in the whole kingdom, by only one form of discipline, and one uniform.

Distinctions of rank and subordination, subsist only relative to the service, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are chosen for a time, and cannot again be chosen till after a certain interval of service as soldiers.

None shall command the national guard of more than one district.

VII. All the parts of the public force employed for the safety of the state from foreign enemies, shall act under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can enter the house of a citizen, if it be not on purpose to execute the orders of police and of justice, or in cases formally provided for by the law.

X. The requisition of the public force, in the internal part of the kingdom, belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legislative power.

XI. When any department is throughout in a state of commotion, the king shall issue, under the responsibility of ministers, the necessary orders for the execution of laws, and the re-establishment of order; but with the reserve of informing the legislative body if it be assembled, and of convoking it if it be not sitting.

XII. The public force is *essentially obedient*; no armed body can deliberate.

XIII. The land and sea armies, and the troops destined to preserve internal security, are subjected to particular laws, both for the maintenance of discipline, and for the manner of judgments, and the nature of punishments, on occasion of military offences.

TITLE V.

Of Public Contributions.

I. Public contributions shall be debated and fixed every year by the legislative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the last day of the following session, if they are not expressly renewed.

II. The funds necessary to the discharge of the national debt, and the payment of the civil list, can, under no pretext, be refused or suspended.

The salaries of the ministers of the catholic religion, who are paid, preserved, elected, or named in virtue of the decrees of the national constituent assembly, form a part of the national debt.

The legislative body cannot, in any case, charge the nation with the payment of the debts of any individual.

III. The accounts at full length of the ministerial department, signed and certified by the ministers or commissioners, shall be made public, by being printed at the commencement of the session of each legislature.

So shall also the state of receipts of the different taxes, and all the public revenues.

The state of receipt and expenditure shall be distinguished according to their nature, and shall express the sums received and disbursed, year by year, in each district.

The private expences of each department, and those relative to the tri-

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tribunals, the adminiſtrative bodies and other eſtabliſhments, ſhall alſo be made public.

IV. The adminiſtrators of department, and ſub-adminiſtrators, can neither eſtabliſh any public contribution, nor make any diſtribution beyond the time and the ſums fixed by the legiſlative body; nor deliberate, or permit, without being authoriſed by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

V. The executive power directs and ſuperintends the collection and paying in of contributions, and gives all the neceſſary orders to this effect.

TITLE VI.

Of the Connection of the French Nation with other Nations.

The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view to make conqueſts, and will never employ its forces againſt the liberty of any people.

The conſtitution no longer admits the Droit d'Aubaine.

Foreigners, whether ſettled in France or not, inherit the property of their parents, whether foreigners or Frenchmen.

They can contract, acquire, and receive, property ſituated in France, and diſpoſe of it as well as any French citizen, in every mode authoriſed by the laws.

Foreigners in France are ſubject to the ſame criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens, with a reſerve for conventions agreed on with foreign powers. Their perſons, effects, induſtry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

TITLE VII.

Of the Reviſion of Conſtitutional Decrees.

I. The National Conſtituent Aſſembly declares, that the nation has an impreſcriptible right to change its conſtitution; and nevertheleſs, conſidering that it is moſt ſuitable to the national intereſt to make uſe, only by means appointed by the conſtitution itſelf, of the right of reforming thoſe articles which experience ſhall demonſtrate the invenience of, decrees, that the aſſembly of reviſion ſhall proceed in the following manner:

II. When three following legiſlatures ſhall have declared an uniform wiſh for the change of any conſtitutional article, the reviſion demanded ſhall take place.

III. The enſuing legiſlature (that commencing in 1791) cannot propoſe the reform of any conſtitutional article.

IV. Of the three legiſlatures who ſhall ſucceſſively propoſe any changes, the firſt two ſhall not occupy themſelves relative to that object, but in the laſt two months of their laſt ſeſſion, and the third at the end of its firſt annual ſeſſion, or at the beginning of the ſecond.

Their deliberations on that matter ſhall be ſubjected to the ſame forms as the legiſlative acts; but the decrees by which they ſhall have expreſſed their deſires, ſhall not be ſubjected to the ſanction of the king.

V. The fourth legiſlature, augmented by two hundred and forty-nine members choſen in each department, by doubling the ordinary number which it furniſhes for its population, ſhall conſtitute the aſſembly of reviſion.

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These two hundred and forty-nine members shall be elected after the nomination of representatives to the legislative body shall have been terminated, and there shall be formed a separate proces-verbal of it.

The assembly of revision shall not be composed of more than one chamber.

VI. The members of the third legislature, who shall have demanded a change, cannot be elected in the assembly of revision.

VII. The members of the assembly of revision, after having pronounced all at once the oath, "*to live free or die*," shall individually swear, *to confine themselves to decide on the objects which shall have been submitted to them by the unanimous wish of three preceding legislatures; and to maintain, in other respects, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791; *and to be in all faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king.*

VIII. The assembly of revision shall be bound to occupy itself afterwards, and without delay, in the objects which shall have been submitted to its examination; and as soon as this task is finished, the two hundred and forty-nine new members, named over and above, shall retire, without taking a part in any case in the *legislative acts*.

The French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, although they make a part of the French empire, are not included in the present constitution.

None of the powers instituted by the constitution have a right to change it in its whole, or in its parts, except the reforms which may be made in it by the mode of revision, conformably to the regulations of Title VII. above.

The National Constituent Assembly commits the deposit of it to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the king, and of the judges, to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives and to mothers, to the attachment of young citizens, to the courage of all Frenchmen.

The decrees passed by the national assembly, which are not included in the act of constitution, shall be executed as laws; and those anterior laws which it has not altered, shall also be observed so long as they shall not be revoked or modified by the legislative power.

(Signed) VERNIER, President. POUGEARD, COUPPE, MAILLY, CHATEAURENARD, CHAILLON, AUBRY, (Bishop of the Department of the Meuse) DARCHE, Secretaries.

Sept. 3, 1791. The national assembly having heard the *constitional act* above read, after approving of it, declare, that the constitution is finished, and that it can make no change in it. There shall be named immediately, a deputation of sixty members, to offer, the same day, the constitutional act to the king.

(Signed as before)

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, announcing his Resolution to accept the Constitution, Sept. 13.

Gentlemen,

I Have attentively examined the constitutional act, which you have pre-

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preſented for my acceptance. I accept it, and I will cauſe it to be executed. At another time this declaration might have been ſufficient; at preſent, I owe to the intereſts of the nation, I owe to myſelf, to make known my motives.

I have always, ſince the commencement of my reign, deſired the reform of abuſes, and in all acts of government wiſhed to be regulated by the public opinion. Different cauſes, among the number of which may be placed the ſituation of the finances at my acceſſion to the throne, and the immenſe expences of an honourable war, long ſupported without increaſe of impoſts, had eſtabliſhed a conſiderable diſproportion betwen the revenues and the expences of the ſtate.

Impreſſed with the extent of the evil, I not only ſought the means of remedying it; I felt the neceſſity of preventing its return. I had formed the project of ſecuring the happineſs of the people upon a fixed baſis, and of ſubjecting to invariable rules, even that authority of which I was the depoſitary. I called on the nation to execute it.

In the courſe of the events of the revolution, my intentions never varied. When, after having reformed the ancient inſtitutions, you began to ſubſtitute in their ſtead the firſt eſſays of your work, I did not delay the expreſſion of my ſentiments till the whole conſtitution ſhould be known to me; I favoured the eſtabliſhment of its parts, even before I could judge of the whole: and if the diſorders which have attended almoſt all the periods of the revolution, have too frequently afflicted my heart, I hoped that the law would reſume force in the hands of new authority; and that, in approaching the term of your labours, every day would reſtore to it that reſpect, without which the people can neither enjoy liberty nor happineſs. I long perſevered in this hope, and my reſolution only changed at the moment when it abandoned me. Let every one recollect the moment at which I quitted Paris; the conſtitution was almoſt completed; and, nevertheleſs, the authority of the laws ſeemed to diminiſh every day; opinion, far from concentring in any point, was divided into a number of parts. The moſt violent counſels alone ſeemed to be received with any degree of favour; the licentiouſneſs of the preſs was at its height; no power was reſpected.

I could no longer perceive the expreſſion of the general will in the laws which I every where ſaw without force, and without effect. Then, I am bound to declare, if you had preſented to me the conſtitution, I ſhould have been of opinion that the intereſt of the people (the conſtant and uniform rule of my conduct) did not permit me to accept it. I had only one ſentiment; I formed only one project; I wiſhed to get at a diſtance from all parties, and learn what was the real wiſh of the nation.

The motives by which I was then influenced no longer ſubſiſt; ſince that time, the inconveniences and the evils of which I complained have ſtruck you in the ſame light as me; you have teſtified an inclination to re-eſtabliſh order; you have direct your attention to the want of diſcipline in the army; you have perceived the neceſſity of reſtraining the abuſes of the preſs. The reviſion of your labour has placed among the number of laws of regulation, ſeveral articles which had been preſented to me as conſtitutional. You have eſtabliſhed legal forms, for the reviſion of thoſe which you have placed in the conſtitution. In fine, the ſentiments of the people appear to me no longer doubtful: I

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have seen them at once displayed, both by their adherence to your work, and by their attachment to the support of monarchical government.

I accept then the constitution; I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it against attacks from abroad, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts in my power.

I declare that, informed of the adherence of the great body of the people to the constitution, I renounce the right of concurring, which I had claimed in this work, and being responsible only to the nation, no other, while I renounce it, can have a right to complain.

I should, however, deviate from truth, if I affirmed that I perceived in the means of execution and administration, all the energy necessary to give motion and preserve the unity in all the parts of so vast an empire; but since opinions are divided upon these subjects, I consent that the decision should be left to the test of experience alone. While I shall have faithfully employed all the means which are entrusted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whose interest alone ought to be the supreme rule, will explain itself by those means which the constitution has reserved to it.

But, gentlemen, for the security of liberty, for the stability of the constitution, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, there are interests in which an imperious duty prescribes to us to combine all our efforts: these interests are, respect for the laws, the re establishment of order, and the re-union of all citizens. Now that the constitution is definitively settled, Frenchmen living under the same laws ought to know no enemies but those who infringe them.—Discord and Anarchy; these are our common enemies.

I will oppose them with all my power: it is necessary that you and your successors second me with energy; that the law, without attempting to establish its dominion over the mind, may equally protect all those who submit their conduct to it; that those, whom the fears of persecution and of trouble have driven from their country, be assured of finding at their return safety and tranquillity. And, in order to extinguish the animosities, to soften the evils which a great revolution always brings in its train; that law may, from this day, begin to receive a full execution, let us consent to an oblivion of the past. Let those accusations and prosecutions which originate solely from the events of the revolution, be for ever extinguished in a general reconciliation. I speak not of those who have been solely influenced by their attachment to me—can you regard them as criminals? As to those who by excesses, in which I can perceive personal injuries have brought upon them the prosecution of the laws, I shall prove in my conduct to them, that I am the king of all the French.

(Signed) LOUIS.

P. S. I was of opinion, gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my solemn acceptance of the constitution in the very place in which it was formed—of consequence I shall come in person to-morrow at noon to the national assembly.

The King's Speech to the National Assembly on accepting the Constitution, Sept. 14.

"Gentlemen,

I COME to consecrate, in this place, solemnly, the acceptance which

which I have given to the constitutional act: in consequence of which I swear to be faithful to the nation and the law; and to employ all the power that is delegated to me, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituting national assembly. May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-establishment of peace and union, and become the surety of the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the empire.

The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

ABUSES of long standing, which had triumphed over the good intentions of the best of kings, and had incessantly braved the authority of the throne, oppressed France. Depositary of the wishes, rights, and power of the people, the national assembly has established, by the destruction of all abuses, the solid basis of public prosperity. Sire, what this assembly has decreed, the national concurrence has ratified. The most complete execution of its decrees, in all parts of the empire, attests the general sentiment. It deranges the weak plans of those whom discontent has too long kept blind to their own interests. It promises to your majesty, that your wishes for the welfare of the French will no longer be vain.

The national assembly has nothing more to desire, on this ever-memorable day, in which you complete, in its bosom, by the most solemn engagement, the acceptation of constitutional royalty. It is the attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which confers upon you that pure and respectable title to the most desirable crown in the universe; and what secures it to you, sire, is the unperishable authority of a constitution freely decreed. It is the invincible force of a people who feel themselves worthy of liberty. It is the necessity which so great a nation will ever have for an hereditary monarchy.

When your majesty, waiting from experience the lights which are about to be spread by the practical result of the constitution, promises to maintain it at home, and to defend it from external attack, the nation, trusting to the justice of its rights, and to the consciousness of its force and courage, as well as *to the loyalty of your co-operation*, can entertain no apprehension of alarms from without, and is about to contribute, by its tranquil confidence, to the speedy success of its internal government.

What ought to be great in your eyes, sire, dear to our hearts, and what will appear with lustre in our history, is, the epoch of this regeneration; which gives to France, citizens—to the French, a country—to you, as king, a new title of grandeur and of glory—and to you again, as a man, a new source of enjoyment, and new sensations of happiness.

The King's Speech to the National Assembly, the last Day of their Meeting, Sept. 30.

Gentlemen,

YOU have terminated your labours; the constitution is finished. I have promised to maintain it, to cause it to be executed; it is proclaimed by my orders. This constitution, from which France expects prosperity, this fruit of your cares and watchings will be your recompence. France, made happy by your labours, will communicate her happiness to you.

Return to your homes, and tell your

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your fellow-citizens, that the happineſs of the French ever has been, and ever will be, the object of my wiſhes; that I neither have, nor can have, any intereſt but the general intereſt; that my proſperity conſiſts only in the public proſperity; that I ſhall exert all the powers entruſted to me to give efficacy to the new ſyſtem; that I ſhall communicate it to foreign courts; and ſhall, in every thing, prove that I can be happy only in the happineſs of the people of France.

Tell them alſo, that the revolution has reached its period, and that the firmeſt ſupport of the conſtitution is now the re-eſtabliſhment of order. You, gentlemen, in your ſeveral departments, will undoubtedly ſecond my vigilance and care with all your power; you will give the firſt example of ſubmiſſion to the laws which you have framed; in the capacity of private citizens you will diſplay the ſame character as in the capacity of public men; and the people, ſeeing their legiſlators exerciſe, in private life, thoſe virtues which they have proclaimed in the national aſſembly, will imitate them, diſcharge with pleaſure the obligations which the public intereſt impoſes on them, and cheerfully pay the taxes decreed by their repreſentatives. It is by this happy union of ſentiments, of wiſhes, and exertions, that the conſtitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it guarantees.

The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

Sire,

THE adherence of the nation ratifies the conſtitution decreed by the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the nation. Your majeſty has accepted it, and the public joy is a ſufficient teſtimony of the general aſſent. It promiſes that your majeſty will no longer deſire in vain the happineſs of the French. On this memorable day, the national aſſembly has nothing more to wiſh; and the nation, by its tranquil confidence, is ready to co-operate for the prompt ſucceſs of its internal government.

His Majeſty's Proclamation, Sept. 30.

LOUIS,

By the grace of God, and by the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French. To all citizens—greeting:

I HAVE accepted the conſtitution: I will uſe all my endeavours to maintain it, and cauſe it to be executed.

The revolution is completed. It is time that the re-eſtabliſhment of order ſhould give to the conſtitution the ſupport which is ſtill moſt neceſſary; it is time to fix the opinion of Europe on the deſtiny of France, and to ſhew that the French are worthy to be free.

But my vigilance and my cares ought ſtill to be ſeconded by the concurrence of all the friends of their country, and of liberty. It is by ſubmiſſion to the laws; it is by abjuring the ſpirit of party, and all the paſſions which accompany it; it is by a happy union of ſentiments, of wiſhes, and of endeavours, that the conſtitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it ſecures.

Let every idea of intolerance then be abandoned for ever; let the raſh deſire of independence no longer be confounded with the love of liberty; let thoſe pernicious terms of reproach, with which it has been attempted to inflame the people, be irrevocably baniſhed; let religious opinions

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nions no longer be a ſource of perſecution and animoſity; let all who obſerve the laws be at liberty to adopt that form of worſhip to which they are attached; and let no party give offence to thoſe who may follow opinions different from their own from motives of conſcience. But it is not ſufficient to ſhun thoſe exceſſes to which you might be carried by a ſpirit of violence; you muſt likewiſe fulfil the obligations which are impoſed by the public intereſt. One of the firſt, one of the moſt eſſential, is the payment of the contributions eſtabliſhed by your repreſentatives. It is for the obſervance of engagements, which national honour has rendered ſacred, for the internal tranquillity of the ſtate, for its external ſecurity; it is for the ſtability of the conſtitution itſelf that I remind you of this indiſpenſable duty.

Citizens, armed for the maintenance of the law; national guards, never forget that it is to protect the ſafety of perſons and of property, the collection of public contributions, the circulation of grain and proviſions, that the arms which you bear have been delivered into your hands. It belongs to you to feel that juſtice and mutual utility demand, that, between the inhabitants of the ſame empire, abundance ſhould be applied to the aid of indigence; and that it is the duty of public force to promote the advancement of commerce, as the means of remedying the intemperance of ſeaſons, correcting the inequality of harveſt, uniting together all the parts of the kingdom, and eſtabliſhing a community of the various productions of their ſoil and induſtry.

And you, whom the people have choſen to watch over their intereſts: you alſo, on whom they have conferred the formidable power of determining on the property, the honour, and the life of citizens; you too whom they have inſtituted to adjuſt their differences, members of the different adminiſtrative bodies, judges of tribunals, juſtices of peace, I recommend to you to be impreſſed with the importance and dignity of your functions. Fulfil them with zeal, with courage, with impartiality. Labour with me to reſtore peace, and the government of laws; and, by thus ſecuring the happineſs of the nation, prepare for the return of thoſe whoſe abſence has only proceeded from the fear of diſorder and violence.

And all you, who from different motives have quitted your country, your king invites you to return to your fellow-citizens; he invites you to yield to the public wiſh and the national intereſt. Return with confidence under the ſecurity of laws; and this honourable return, at the moment when the conſtitution is definitively ſettled, will render more eaſy, and more expeditious, the reeſtabliſhment of order and of tranquillity.

And you, French people, a nation illuſtrious for ſo many ages, ſhow yourſelves magnanimous and generous at the moment when your liberty is confirmed; reſume your happy character; let your moderation and wiſdom revive among you the ſecurity which the diſturbances of the revolution had baniſhed; and let your king henceforth enjoy without inquietude, and without moleſtation, thoſe teſtimonies of attachment and fidelity which can alone ſecure his happineſs.

Done at Paris the 28th Sept. 1791.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(and underneath) De Lessart.

His

His Majesty's Speech to the New National Assembly, Oct. 7.

Gentlemen,

ASSEMBLED by virtue of the constitution to exercise the powers which it delegates to you, you will undoubtedly consider as among your first duties, to facilitate the operations of government; to confirm public credit; to add, if possible, to the security of the engagements of the nation; to shew that liberty and peace are compatible; and, finally, to attach the people to their new laws, by convincing them that those laws are for their good.

Your experience of the effects of the new order of things, in the several departments from which you come, will enable you to judge of what may be yet wanting to bring it to perfection and make it easy for you to devise the most proper means of giving the necessary force and activity to the administration.

For my own part, called by the constitution to examine, as first representative of the people, and for their interest, the laws presented for my sanction, and charged with causing them to be executed, it is also my duty to propose to you such objects as I think ought to be taken into consideration in the course of your session.

You will see the propriety of fixing your immediate attention on the state of the finances, and you will feel the importance of establishing an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure, of accelerating the assessment and the collection of taxes, of introducing an invariable order into all parts of this vast administration, and thus providing at once for the support of the state, and the relief of the people.

The civil laws will also demand your care, which you will have to render conformable to the principles of the constitution. You will also have to simplify the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, and render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

You will perceive the necessity of establishing a system of national education, and of giving a solid basis to public spirit. You will encourage commerce and industry, the progress of which has so great an influence on the agriculture and the wealth of the kingdom; and you will endeavour to make permanent dispositions for affording work and relief to the indigent.

I shall make known my firm desire for the re-establishment of order and discipline in the army; and I shall neglect no means that may contribute to restore confidence among all who compose it, and to put it into a condition to secure the defence of the realm. If the laws in this respect are insufficient, I shall make known to you the measures, that seem to me to be proper, and you will decide upon them.

I shall in the same manner communicate my sentiments respecting the navy, that important part of the public force, destined to protect trade and the colonies.

We shall not, I hope, be troubled with any attack from abroad. I have taken from the moment that I accepted the constitution, and I still continue to take, the steps that appear to me the most proper to fix the opinion of foreign powers in our favour, and to maintain with them the good intelligence and harmony that ought to secure to us the continuance of peace. I expect the best effects from them; but this expectation does not prevent me from pursuing, with activity, those measures of precaution, which prudence ought to dictate.

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Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal may produce the effects expected from them, it is neceſſary that conſtant harmony and unalterable confidence ſhould reign between the legiſlative body and the king. The enemies of our repoſe are but too ſtudious to diſunite us: the love of our country muſt therefore rally us, and the public intereſt render us inſeparable. Thus the public force will be exerted without obſtruction, the adminiſtration will not be haraſſed by vain alarms, the property and the religion of every man will be equally protected, and no pretext will be left for any perſon to live at a diſtance from a country where the laws are in vigour, and men's rights reſpected.

It is on this great baſis of order that the ſtability of the conſtitution, the ſucceſs of your labours, the ſafety of the empire, the ſource of all kinds of proſperity, muſt depend. It is to this, gentlemen, that we all ought to turn our thoughts in this moment with the utmoſt poſſible vigour; and this is the object that I recommend the moſt particularly to your zeal, and to your patriotiſm.

The PRESIDENT's ANSWER.

Sire,

YOUR preſence in the midſt of us is a new engagement which you take to the country. A conſtitution is eſtabliſhed, and with it the liberty of Frenchmen. You are to cheriſh it as a citizen; as king you are to maintain and to defend it. Inſtead of violating, it aſcertains your power; it has given you, as friends, all thoſe who formerly called themſelves only your ſubjects. *(Here a burſt of applauſe.)* You have reaſon to be beloved by Frenchmen. You ſaid ſo, ſire, ſome days ago, in this temple of the country, and we alſo have reaſon to love you. *(The plaudits are reiterated.)* The conſtitution has made you the firſt monarch in the world. Your love for it places your majeſty in the rank of the moſt favoured kings, and the welfare of the people will make you the moſt happy. May our mutual union make us ſpeedily feel its happy influence, purify legiſlation, re-confirm public credit, overthrow anarchy. Such is our duty, ſuch are our wiſhes, ſuch are your's, ſire. Such are our hopes, and the benediction of Frenchmen will be our reward.

Meſſage from the National Aſſembly to the King, Nov. 29.

Sire,

SCARCE had the national aſſembly caſt their eyes on the ſituation of the kingdom, when they perceived that the troubles which ſtill agitate it have their ſource in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants.

Their audacity is ſupported by German princes who miſunderſtand the treaties ſigned between them and France, and who affect to forget, that to the empire of France, they are indebted for the treaty of Weſtphalia, which guarantees their rights and their ſafety.

Their hoſtile preparations—their menaces of invaſion call for armaments that abſorb immenſe ſums which the nation would have joyfully paid to its creditors.

To you, Sire, it belongs to put a ſtop to them; to hold to foreign powers the language that becomes the king of the French. Tell them that wherever preparations againſt France are permitted, France can ſee only enemies; that we will religiouſly obſerve the oath to make no con-

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conquests; that we offer them the good neighbourhood, the inviolable amity of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we insist upon our own being respected. Tell them, that if the German princes continue to favour preparations directed against the French, we will carry among them not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what may be the consequences of the alarm of nations.

For two years that French patriots have been persecuted on the frontiers, and that rebels have there found succour, what ambassador has spoken in your name as he ought? Not one.

If the French who were driven from the country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes had assembled in arms on the frontiers, if they had been protected by the princes of Germany, Sire, we appeal to you, what would have been the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth? Would he have suffered such assemblings? Would he have permitted succours given by princes who, under the name of allies, act like enemies? What he would have done for his authority, let your majesty do for the safety of the empire, and the maintaining of the constitution.

Sire, your interest, your dignity, the insulted greatness of the nation, all dictate a language very different from that of your ambassadors. The nation expects from your energetic declarations to the circles of the Upper and the Lower Rhine, the electors of Treves and Mentz, and the bishop of Spire.

Let them be such as that the hordes of the emigrants may be instantly dispersed. Prescribe an early period beyond which no dilatory answer shall be received. Let your declaration be supported by movements of the forces entrusted to you, and let the nation know who are its friends and its enemies. In this splendid measure we shall recognise the defender of the constitution.

You will thus assure the tranquillity of the empire, inseparable from your own; and you will hasten those days of national prosperity, in which peace shall restore order and the reign of the laws, in which your happiness shall be united with that of all the French.

ANSWER.

I Will take the message of the national assembly into the most serious consideration. You know that I have omitted nothing to secure the public tranquillity at home, to maintain the constitution, and to make it respected abroad.

The King's Speech to the National Assembly, Decem. 14.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE taken your message of the 29th of last month into deep consideration. In a case that involves the honour of the French people, and the safety of the empire, I thought in my duty to be myself the bearer of my answer. The nation cannot but applaud these communications between its elected and its hereditary representative.

You have invited me to take decisive measures to effect a cessation of those external assemblages which keep up a hateful disquiet and fermentation in the bosom of France, render necessary an oppressive augmentation of expence, and expose liberty to greater danger than an open

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open and declared war. You desire me to cause declarations to be made to the neighbouring princes, who, contrary to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the principles of the law of nations, protect these assemblages, that the nation can no longer suffer this want of respect and these sources of hostility. Finally, you have given me to understand, that one general sensation is felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French is for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience.

Gentlemen, I have long thought that our circumstances required great circumspection in our measures; that having scarcely yet weathered the agitations and storms of a revolution, and in the first essays of an infant constitution, no means ought to be neglected that could preserve France from the incalculable evils of war. These means I have always employed. On the one hand, I have done every thing to recal the French emigrants to the bosom of their country, and induce them to submit to the new laws which a great majority of the nation has adopted; on the other, I have employed amicable intimations; I have caused formal and precise requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their rash designs.

The emperor has done all that was to be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his states.

My measures at the courts of other princes, have not been equally successful. Unaccommodating answers have been given to my requisitions.

These unjust refusals call for resolutions of another kind. The nation has manifested its wishes. You have collected them, you have weighed the consequences, you have expressed them to me by your message. Gentlemen, you have not anticipated me. As the representative of the people, I felt the people's injuries; and I am now to inform you of the resolution I have taken to pursue demand (repeated applauses and shouts of *vive le roi*).

I have caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he do not put a stop, within his states, to all collecting of troops, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the French, who have taken refuge in them, I shall no longer consider him but as the enemy of France. (Shouts of applause, and *vive le roi.*) I shall cause similar declarations to be made to all who favour assemblages contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and, by securing to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I shall have a right to demand a speedy and complete reparation of all the injuries which Frenchmen may have received.

I have written to the emperor to engage him to continue his good offices, and, if necessary, to exert his authority as head of the empire, to avert the evils which the obstinacy of certain members of the Germanic body, if longer persisted in, cannot fail to occasion. Much may undoubtedly be expected from his interposition, supported by the powerful influence of his example; but I am, at the same time, making the most proper military arrangements to render these declarations respected.

And if they shall not be attended to, then, gentlemen, it will only remain for me to propose war; war, which a people, who have solemnly

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solemnly denounced conquest, never make without neceſſity; but which a nation, happy and free, know how to undertake when their ſafety — when honour commands.

But in courageouſly abandoning ourſelves to this reſolution, let us haſten to employ the only means that can aſſure its ſucceſs. Turn your attention, gentlemen, to the ſtate of the finances; confirm the national credit; watch over the public fortune. Let your deliberations, ever governed by conſtitutional principles, take a grand, high-ſpirited, and authoritative courſe, the only one that befits the legiſlators of a great empire. Let the conſtituted powers reſpect themſelves to be reſpected; let them give mutual aid inſtead of mutual impediment; and, finally, let it appear that they are diſtinct, but not enemies (*applauded*). It is time to ſhew to foreign nations that the French people, their repreſentatives, and their king, are but one (*applauded*).

It is to this union, and alſo, let us never forget it, to the reſpect we pay to the government of other ſtates, that the ſafety, conſequence, and glory of the empire are attached.

For my part, gentlemen, it would be in vain to endeavour to ſurround with diſguſts the exerciſe of the authority which is confided to me. In the face of all France I declare, that nothing ſhall weary my perſeverance, or relax my efforts. It ſhall not be owing to me that the law does not become the protection of the citizen and the terror of the diſturber (ſhouts of *vive le roi*). I ſhall faithfully preſerve the depoſit of the conſtitution, and no conſideration ſhall determine me to ſuffer it to be infringed (*applauded*). If men, who only wiſh for diſcord, and trouble, take occaſion from this firmneſs, to calumniate my intentions, I will not ſtoop to repel by words the injurious ſuſpicions they may chooſe to circulate. Thoſe who watch the progreſs of government with an attentive, but unprejudiced eye, muſt ſee that I never depart from the conſtitutional line, and that I feel profoundly how glorious it is to be the king of a free people.

The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

The aſſembly will take the propoſitions you have made into conſideration, and communicate their determination by a meſſage.

Addreſs from the National Aſſembly to the King, Dec. 16.

Sire,

IN the language which you, majeſty held to them, the national aſſembly recognize the king of the French. They feel more than ever how truly valuable is harmony between the two branches of power, and a frank communication, which is the deſire, and will be the welfare of the empire.

Sire, the aſſembly will fix all their attention on the deciſive meaſures which you announce, and, if the order of events ſhall make theſe meaſures neceſſary, they promiſe to your majeſty more true glory than was ever obtained by any of your anceſtors.

They promiſe to Europe the new ſpectacle of a great people, outraged in its immutable love of liberty, arming the hand in union with the heart.

Every where the French people will oppoſe themſelves with vigour to their enemies, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the Ocean. All French ſhall be covered

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covered by the regards of a good king, and by ſoldiers intrepid and faithful.

Behold, ſire, the family that deſerve your heart—theſe are your friends—theſe will never abandon you.

All the repreſentatives of the French people—all true Frenchmen guarantee, on their heads, the defence of a conſtitution to which they have ſworn, and of a beloved king whoſe throne they have eſtabliſhed.

The Speech of George Waſhington, Preſident of the United States of America, to both Houſes of Congreſs, October 25, 1791.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

I MEET you, upon the preſent occaſion, with the feelings which are naturally inſpired by a ſtrong impreſſion of the proſperous ſituation of our common country, and by a perſuaſion equally ſtrong, that the labours of the ſeſſion, which has juſt commenced, will, under the guidance of a ſpirit no leſs prudent than patriotic, iſſue in meaſures conducive to the ſtability and increaſe of national property.

Numerous as are the providential bleſſings which demand our grateful acknowledgments, the abundance with which another year has again rewarded the induſtry of the huſbandman is too important to eſcape recollection.

Your own obſervations in your reſpective ſituations will have ſatisfied you of the progreſſive ſtate of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. In tracing their cauſes, you will have remarked with particular pleaſure the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public, as well as private, to which the conſtitution and laws of the United States have ſo eminently contributed; and you will obſerve, with no leſs intereſt, new and deciſive proofs of the increaſing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheleſs, cannot fail to derive ſatisfaction from the confirmation of theſe circumſtances, which will be diſcloſed in the ſeveral official communications that will be made to you in the courſe of your deliberations.

The rapid ſubſcriptions to the bank of the United States, which completed the ſum allowed to be ſubſcribed in a ſingle day, is among the ſtriking and pleaſing evidences which preſent themſelves, not only of confidence in the government, but of reſource in the community.

In the interval of your receſs, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects which were ſpecially provided for by the laws and reſolutions of the laſt ſeſſion.

Among the moſt important of theſe is the defence and ſecurity of the weſtern frontiers. To accompliſh it on the moſt humane principles, was a primary wiſh.

Accordingly, at the ſame time that treaties have been proviſionally concluded, and other proper means uſed to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendſhip the well-diſpoſed tribes of Indians—effectual meaſures have been adopted to make thoſe of a hoſtile deſcription ſenſible, that a pacification was deſired upon terms of moderation and juſtice.

Theſe meaſures having proved unſucceſsful, it became neceſſary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to puniſh their depredations: offenſive operations have therefore been directed—to

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be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The expeditions which have been completed were carried on under the authority, and at the expence of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky, whose enterprise, intrepidity, and good conduct, are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion in future may cease, and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary—

That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice.

That the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made.

That commerce with them should be permitted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment toward them, and that such rational experiments should be made for imparting to them the blessings of civilization as may from time to time suit their condition.

That the executive power of the United States should be enabled to employ the means to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace. And,

That efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties, and endanger the peace of the union.

A system, corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy toward an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the sub-divisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation, as would conciliate a reasonable competency, with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped, that the circumspection which has been used, will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects; but it is probable, that with a view to the first, in some instances, a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impressions with which this law has been received by the community have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens,

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tens, from the propriety and neceſſity of the meaſure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a conſiderable part of the United States, and a miſconception of ſome of its proviſions, have given occaſion, in particular places, to ſome degree of diſcontent. But it is ſatisfactory to know, that this diſpoſition yields to proper explanations and more juſt apprehenſions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence that it will, in all, give way to motives which ariſe out of a juſt ſenſe of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumſtances in the law, which, conſiſtently with its main deſign, may be ſo varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exiſt, it will conſiſt with a wiſe moderation to make the proper variations. It is deſirable, on all occaſions, to unite, with a ſteady and firm adherence to conſtitutional and neceſſary acts of government, the fulleſt evidence of a diſpoſition, as far as may be practicable, to conſult the wiſhes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundation of the public adminiſtration in the affections of the people.

Purſuant to the authority contained in the ſeveral acts on that ſubject, a diſtrict of ten miles ſquare, for the permanent ſeat of the government of the United States, has been fixed and announced by proclamation; which diſtrict will comprehend lands on both ſides of the river Potowmac, and the towns of Alexandria and George-town. A city has alſo been laid out, agreeable to a plan which will be placed before Congreſs: and as there is a proſpect, favoured by the rate of ſales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the neceſſary buildings, there is every expectation of their due progreſs.

The completion of the cenſus of the inhabitants, for which proviſion was made by law, has been duly notified (excepting in one inſtance, in which the return has been informal; and another, in which it has been omitted or miſcarried); and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleaſing aſſurance, that the preſent population of the United States borders on four millions of perſons.

It is proper alſo to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and a half of florins has been completed in Holland, the terms of which are ſimilar to thoſe of the one laſt announced, except as to a ſmall reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for ſix millions of florins, had been ſet on foot, under circumſtances that aſſured immediate completion.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

Two treaties, which have been proviſionally concluded with the Cherokees, and ſix nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your conſideration and ratification.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

In entering upon the diſcharge of your legiſlative truſt, you muſt anticipate, with pleaſure, that many of the difficulties, neceſſarily incident to the firſt arrangement of a new government for an extenſive country, have been happily ſurmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predeceſſors, in co-operation with the other branch of the legiſlature. The important objects which remain to be accompliſhed, will, I am perſuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehenſive, and equaly well

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calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act, making provision for the debt of the United States, having expired, statements from the proper department will, as soon as possible, apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is already known, to afford an assurance that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording, at the same time, proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective States, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt of the United States which remains unsubscribed will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supersede, for the present, the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention, is a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged, and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made; of all which a proper estimate will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

I shall content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution:—their importance will recal them to your attention; and I trust that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them, of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention—these are, the militia—the post-office and post-roads—the mint—weights and measures—a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order. In connexion with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement, exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post-office and post-roads, on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government, which, while it conserves

butes to the security of the people, serves, also, to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross posts, especially to some of the important points in the Western and Northern parts of the union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a mint. Measures have been taken pursuant to that resolution for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

An uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution; and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations—that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt—that, if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burdening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal—and that, being free to discharge the principal but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

Letters from Arthur Phillip, Esquire, Governor of New South Wales, to Lord Sydney, laid before the House of Commons, March 1, 1791.

NUMBER I.

Sydney Cove, Feb. 12, 1788.

When the Supply left Norfolk Island, the people were all very healthy, and they had vegetables in the greatest abundance. They get fish, when the weather permits the boat to go without the reef, and, at times, in such quantities, that fish is served to the people in lieu of salt provisions. They make their lines from the flax plant; but, unfortunately, we have not any person who understands how to dress it.

Half a pod of cotton being found on the island (supposed to be brought there by a bird) and a cocoa nut which was perfectly sound, and appeared to have been but a short time in the water, being thrown upon the beach, have given some reason to suppose that both these articles will be found in some island at no great distance.

Lord Howe Island has been examined; but no fresh water, or good anchorage, being found, it can be of no other advantage to this settlement, than occasionally supplying a few turtle.

I had the honour of informing your lordship, that a settlement was intended to be made at a place I named Rose Hill. At the head of this harbour there is a creek, which, at half flood, has water for large boats to go three miles up; and one mile higher the water is fresh, and the soil is good. A very industrious man whom I brought from England, is employed there at present, and has under his direction one hundred convicts, who are employed in clearing and cultivating the ground. A barn, granary, and other necessary buildings, are erected; and twenty-

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seven acres in corn promise a good crop. The soil is good; and the country for twenty miles to the westward, as far as I have examined it, lies well for cultivation: but then the labour of clearing the ground is very great; and I have seen none that can be cultivated without cutting down the timber, except some few particular spots, which, from their situation (lying at a distance from either of the harbours) can be of no advantage to us at present: and, I presume, the meadows mentioned in captain Cook's voyage, were seen from the high grounds about Botany Bay, and from whence they appear well to the eye, but, when examined, are found to be marshes, the draining of which would be waste of time, and not to be attempted by the first settlers. The captain's guard, which, until lately did duty at Rose Hill, is now reduced to a lieutenant and twelve privates, and intended merely as a guard to the store which contains the provisions, and which is the redoubt; for I am now sensible there is nothing to be apprehended from the natives; and the little attendance which had been desired of the officers, more than what was immediately garrison duty, when at Rose Hill, is now no longer required.

At Sydney Cove all the officers are in good huts, and the men in barracks; and, although many unforeseen difficulties have been met with, I believe there is not an individual, from the governor to the private soldier, whose situation is not more eligible at this time, than he had any reason to expect it could be in the course of the three years station; and it is the same with the convicts; and those who have been any ways industrious, have vegetables in plenty. The buildings now carrying on are of brick and stone. The house intended for myself was to consist of only three rooms; but, having a good foundation, has been enlarged, contains six rooms, and is so well built, that I presume it will stand for a great number of years.

The stores have been lately overrun with rats; and they are equally numerous in the gardens, where they do considerable damage; and as the loss in the stores could only be known by removing all the provisions, that was ordered to be done, and many casks of flour and rice were found to be damaged, or totally destroyed. The loss, in these two articles, by the rats, since landing, has been more than twelve thousand weight.

Vegetables and provisions having been frequently stolen in the night from convicts, and others; twelve convicts were chosen as a night watch, and they have actually answered the end proposed, no robbery having been committed for several months; and the convicts, in general, have behaved better than I ever expected. Only two convicts have suffered death in the last year. Four were executed the first year.

As near two years have now passed, since we first landed in this country, some judgment may be formed of the climate; and I believe a finer, or more healthy climate, is not to be found in any part of the world. Of one thousand and thirty people, who were landed, many of whom were worn out by old age, the scurvy, and various disorders, only seventy two have died in twenty one months: and by the surgeon's return it appears, that twenty six of those died from disorders of long standing; and which, it is more than probable, would have carried them off much sooner in England. Fifty-nine children have been born in the above time. In December the corn at

Rose

Rose Hill was got in. The corn was exceedingly good; about two hundred bushels of wheat, and sixty of barley, with a small quantity of flax, Indian corn, and oats; all which is preserved for seed. Here I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that, if settlers are sent out, and the convicts divided among them, this settlement will very shortly maintain itself; but without which, this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage. At present I have only one person (who has about one hundred convicts under his direction) who is employed in cultivating the ground for the public benefit, and he has returned the quantity of corn above mentioned into the public store. The officers have not raised sufficient to support the little stock they have. Some ground I have had in cultivation, will return about forty bushels of wheat into store; so that the produce of the labour of the convicts employed in cultivation, has been very short of what might have been expected, and which I take the liberty of pointing out to your lordship in this place; to shew as fully as possible, the state of this colony, and the necessity of the convicts being employed by those who have an interest in their labour. The giving convicts to the officers has been hitherto necessary, but it is attended with many inconveniences, for which the advantages arising to the officers do not make amends; it will not therefore be continued after this detachment is relieved, unless particularly directed. The numbers employed in cultivation, will, of course, be increased, as the necessary buildings are finished, but which will be a work of time, for there are numbers in this settlement who do nothing towards their own support, except those employed for the public.

In November the Supply sailed for Norfolk Island, with some convicts, and returned, after being absent six weeks. All the people in that island were well; and their crops, after all they had suffered from rats, birds, and a worm, which had done them considerable damage, so good, that they had grain sufficient for six months (and bread for every one upon the island) reserving sufficient for their next year's crops.

Early in January, 1790, the Supply again sailed for Norfolk Island with more convicts; and in her passage left a small party on Lord Howe Island, to hunt turtle; but in fifteen days only three were taken, so that no great advantages will at present accrue from thence. The island has fresh water, but no good anchoring ground.

Since the deaths mentioned in a former part of this letter, one woman has suffered for a robbery; five children have died, and twenty-eight children have been born; making in all, seventy-seven deaths, and eighty-seven births.

NUMBER II.

Sydney Cove, Feb. 13, 1790.

In order to get a knowledge of the country round the settlement, frequent excursions have been made since the ships sailed in November, 1788; soon after which I went to Botany Bay, and the five days spent in that harbour confirmed me in the opinion I had first formed of it, that it afforded no eligible situation for fixing the settlement, and was a bad harbour, not affording good security for ships against the easterly winds, which frequently blow very hard in the winter; and which has been further proved by captain Hunter, and the first lieutenant of the Sirius, who went there to survey the Bay.

After having been several times

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with the boats to Broken Bay, in order to examine the different branches in that harbour, a river was found; but the want of provisions obliged us to return without being able to trace its source, which has since been done; and in the sixteen days we were then out, all those branches, which had any depth of water, were traced as far as the boats could proceed.

The breadth of this river, named the Hawkesbury, is from three hundred to eight hundred feet; and it appears, from the soundings we had, to be navigable, for the largest merchant ships, to the foot of Richmond Hill; but as the water, near the head of the river, sometimes rises, after very heavy rains, thirty feet above its common level, it would not be safe for ships to go far up; but fifteen or twenty miles below Richmond Hill they would lie in fresh water, and perfectly safe. I speak of Richmond Hill as being the head of the river, it there growing very shallow, and dividing into two branches.

The high rocky country which forms Broken Bay, is lost as you proceed up the Hawkesbury; and the banks of the river are there covered with timber; the soil a rich light mould; and, judging from the little we saw of the country, I should suppose it good land to a very considerable extent. The other branches of fresh water are shoal, but probably run many miles further into the country than we could trace them in our boats. On these rivers we saw great numbers of wild ducks, and some black swans: and on the banks of the Hawkesbury several decoys were set by the natives, to catch quails.

Richmond Hill (near the foot of which a fall of water prevented our proceeding further with the boats) is the southern extremity of a range of hills, which running to the northward, most probably join the mountains that lie nearly parallel to the coast, from fifty to sixty miles inland. The soil of Richmond Hill is good, and it lies well for cultivation. Our prospect from the hill was very extensive to the southward and eastward; the country appearing, from the height on which we were, a level covered with timber. There is a flat of six or seven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which separates Lansdown and Carmarthen Hills; and in this flat I suppose the Hawkesbury continues its course, but which could not be seen for the timber, that, with very few exceptions, covers the country, wherever the soil is good.

The great advantage of so noble a river, when a settlement can be made on its banks, will be obvious to your Lordship.

The settlement made at Port Jackson, and near the head of the harbour (Rose Hill) very fully answers my expectations; the soil is exceedingly good, lies well for cultivation, and is well watered. Six miles to the southward there is a small fresh river; and twenty to the southward there is a more considerable river, the source of which I suppose to be at the foot of the mountain. The banks of this river, which most probably empties itself into the Hawkesbury, are high, the soil a good light mould, and covered with trees. The wood of some of the trees is very light: they are about the size of large walnut-trees, which they resemble: they shed their leaves, and bear a small fruit, which is said to be very wholesome. This river likewise rises thirty feet above its common level. It is, as far as I have seen it, from three hundred to four

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four hundred feet in breadth. I named it the Nepean; and its source will be traced in the course of the winter. From its banks I hope to reach the mountains, which has been attempted by a party, who crossed the river; but, after the first day's journey, they met with such a constant succession of deep ravines, the sides of which were frequently inaccessible, that they returned, not having been able to proceed above fifteen miles in five days. When they turned back, they supposed themselves to be twelve miles from the foot of the mountains.

As the land, for several miles to the southward, and twenty miles to the eastward, of Rose Hill, (that is to the banks of the Nepean) is as fine land for tillage as most in England (some few spots excepted, the soil of which is poor, and bears a very small proportion to the good land), I propose that tract of land for those settlers who may be sent out; and though they will be placed at some distance from each other, for the convenience of water, from one to three or four miles, they will have nothing to apprehend from the natives, who avoid those parts we most frequent, and always retire at the sight of two or three people who are armed.

As the labour of clearing the ground of timber will be great, I think each settler should not have less than twenty men on his own farm, which I suppose to be from five hundred to one thousand acres. It will be necessary to give that number of convicts to those settlers who come out, and to support them for two years from the public stores. In that time, if they are at all industrious, they will be in a situation to support themselves; and I do not think they would be able to do it in less time. At the expiration of the two years, they may return half the convicts they have been allowed, and want no further assistance from government.

It may be necessary to grant lands to officers and soldiers, who, becoming settlers, will of course be entitled to every indulgence: but few of the officers now here have reaped any good advantage from being allowed convicts; and it is attended with unavoidable inconveniences, from the convicts being left so much to themselves, and from their mixing with the soldiers. It may be found more to the advantage of the crown, and the officers likewise, if officers, on duty in this settlement, were allowed a certain quantity of grain to support their live stock, until they have a market to go to; and I make no doubt but that, in the third year from the time settlers arrive, there will be a market, well supplied with grain, poultry, hogs, and goats, of all which there has been a great increase, but killed from wanting corn to support them: and the natives so frequently setting fire to the country, which they do to catch the opossum, flying squirrel, and other animals, has prevented swine from being turned out, as was intended.

If this plan, of distributing among the settlers, those convicts who are not immediately necessary for carrying on the public works, is approved of, and which I suppose will, as appearing to me most likely to render this settlement independent for the necessaries of life in the shortest time possible, there are many regulations which will of course take place.

Number III.

Sydney Cove, April 11, 1790.

The quantity of flour brought from the Cape of Good Hope, by the

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the Sirius was less than I expected; four months flour only for the settlement, and a year's provisions for the ship's company: and it was necessary to give the ship a very considerable repair before she could be sent to sea again, which was not completed before the middle of January; when I had reason to expect ships from England in the course of a few weeks. The sending to the islands would have answered, as far as procuring live stock to breed from, but which was not immediately wanted; and what the Sirius could have brought for the consumption of such a number of people, would have been at best but a small relief. Lord Howe Island has been tried several times, and only a very few turtle procured.

The goodness of the soil in Norfolk Island, and the industry of those employed there, rendered that island a resource, and the only one that offered, when, from the time which had passed, since my letters might be supposed to have been received in England, there was reason to suppose some accident had happened to the store-ships sent out.

I therefore ordered two companies of marines to be ready to embark with a number of convicts by the fifth of March, if no ship arrived before that time; and a proportion of what provisions and stores remained in this settlement, being put on board the Supply and Sirius, sixty-five officers and men, with five women and children, from the detachment and civil department, one hundred and sixteen male, and sixty-seven female convicts, with twenty-seven children, embarked, and sailed the sixth of March.

The advantage I expected by sending away such a number of people, was from the little garden ground they would leave, and which would assist those who remained, and the fish which might be caught in the winter would go the further. At the same time, those sent to Norfolk Island would have resources in the great abundance of vegetables raised there, and in fish and birds which this settlement could not afford them; and it was my intention to have sent more convicts to that island, if there had not been this necessity.

The provisions sent, with what was on the island, and the wheat and Indian corn raised there, more than would be necessary for seed, was calculated to last full as long as the provisions in this place; and at Norfolk Island, from the richness of the soil, a man may supply himself with little assistance from the store, after the timber is cleared away.

As I wished to send an officer to England, who could give such information as cannot be conveyed by letters, and the detachment was now divided, I replaced the officer who was superintendant and commandant at Norfolk Island, by major Ross. The officer I have recalled having been these two years on the island, is very capable of pointing out the advantages which may be expected from it; and I think it promises to answer very fully the end proposed by making the settlement. It will be a place of security for the convicts, where they will soon support themselves, and where they may be advantageously employed in cultivating the flax plant.

Extract from instructions given by governor Phillip to the lieutenant-governor, during his command at Norfolk Island, dated March 2, 1790.

You will cause the convicts to be employed in the cultivation of the land, in such manner as shall appear to

to you the best calculated to render that settlement independent, as far as respects the necessaries of life, paying such attention to the cultivation of the flax plant as your situation will admit of, and which is to be the principal object, when the necessaries of life are secured to the settlers.

As, from the great increase of corn, and other vegetable food, which may be expected from a common industry, and in so fertile a soil, after a certain quantity of ground is cleared and in cultivation, as well as from the natural increase of swine and other animals, it cannot be expedient that all the convicts should be employed in attending only to the object of provisions; you are to cause the greatest possible number of these people to be employed in cultivating and dressing the flax plant, as a means of acquiring cloathing for themselves, and other persons, who may become settlers, as well as for a variety of maritime purposes, and for which its superior excellence renders it a desirable object in Europe.

You will, at every opportunity, transmit to me all such remarks, or observations, as you may make, respecting the nature of the soil on the island; and point out such means as may appear to you the most likely to answer the views of government, in the cultivation of the flax plant, and in rendering that island independent for the necessaries of life, and for the order and government of the settlers thereon, that such information may, from me, be transmitted to his majesty's ministers.

Copy of a paper delivered by lieutenant-governor King, dated the 10th of January 1790, containing a description of Norfolk Island.

Norfolk Island is situated in the latitude of 29 degrees, 0 min. south; and in the longitude of 168 degrees, 0 min. east. Its form is nearly oblong, and contains from twelve to fourteen thousand acres.

The face of the country is hilly, and some of the vallies are tolerably large for the size of the island; many of the hills are very steep, and some few so very perpendicular that they cannot be cultivated; but where such situations are, they will do very well for fuel; on the tops of the hills are some very extensive flats.

Mount Pitt is the only remarkable high hill in the island, and is about one hundred and fifty fathoms high. The cliffs which surround the island are about forty fathoms high, and perpendicular; the basis of the island is a hard firm clay. The whole island is covered with a thick wood, choaked up with a thick underwood.

The island is well supplied with many streams of very fine water; many of which are sufficient to turn any number of mills. These springs are full of very large eels. From the coast to the summit of Mount Pitt, is a continuation of the richest and deepest soil in the world, which varies from a rich black mould to a fat red earth. We have dug down forty feet, and found the same soil.

The air is very wholesome, and the climate may be called a very healthy one; there has been no sickness since I first landed on the island.

There are five kinds of trees on the island which are good timber, viz. the pine, live oak, or yellow wood, a hard black wood, and a kind of beech. The pine trees are of a large size, many of which are from one hundred and eighty to two hundred and twenty feet in height,

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height, and from six to nine feet in diameter. Those trees which are from one hundred to one hundred and eighty feet in height, are, in general, sound from the root to the lower branches, there are from eighty to ninety feet of sound timber: the rest is too hard and knotty for use. It sometimes happens, that, after cutting off twenty feet from the butt, it becomes rotten or shaky; for which reason no dependence can be put in it for large masts or yards. The timber of the pine is very useful in buildings, and is plentiful along the coasts. Its dispersed situation in the interior parts of the island, is well calculated for erecting such buildings as may be necessary. From what I have seen of this wood, I think it is very durable; two boats have been built of it, and have answered the purpose fully.

The live oak, yellow wood, black wood, and beech, are all of a close grain, and are a durable wood.

The flax plant of New Zealand grows spontaneously in many parts of the island, but mostly abounds on the sea-coast, where there is a very great quantity of it. The leaves of the flax, when fully grown, are six feet long, and six inches wide. Each plant contains seven of those leaves. A strong woody stalk arises from the center, which bears the flowers. It seeds annually; and the old leaves are forced out by young ones every year. Every method has been tried to work it; but I much fear, that, until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island, the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known; and, could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Island would very soon cloath the inhabitants of New South Wales.

There are a great quantity of pigeons, parrots, hawks, and other smaller birds, which are now in a wild state.

The ground is much infested with different kinds of the grub worm, which are very destructive to the growth of vegetables. They are mostly troublesome about the spring. It is to be hoped, that, when more ground is cleared away, this evil will cease.

There is no quadruped on the island, except the rat, which is much smaller than the Norway rat. These vermin were very troublesome when first we landed; but at present there are but very few.

The coasts of the island abound with very fine fish. No opportunities were ever lost of sending the boat out, which enabled us to make a saving of two pounds of meat each man a week.

The coasts of the island are in general steep; and, excepting at Sydney, Anson, Ball, and Cascade Bays, they are inaccessible, being surrounded by steep perpendicular cliffs, arising from the sea. Some rocks are scattered about close to the shore.

Sydney Bay, on the south side of the island, is where the settlement is made. Landing at this place entirely depends on the wind and the weather. I have seen as good landing as in the Thames for a fortnight or three weeks together; and I have often seen it impracticable to land for ten or twelve days successively; but it is much oftener good landing than bad.

Anson's Bay is a small bay, with a sandy beach, where landing is in general good, with an off-shore wind, and moderate weather; but, as the interior parts of the island are so difficult of access from thence, no ships boats have ever landed there.

Ball Bay is on the south-east side of the island; the beech is of large loose

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loose stone. When landing is bad in Sydney Bay, it is very good here; as it also is in Cascade Bay, on the north side of the island.

During the winter months, viz. from April to August, the general winds are the south and south-west, with heavy gales at times. In the summer, the south-east wind blows almost constantly.

The spring is visible in August; but the native trees, and many plants in the island, are in a constant state of flowering. The summer is warm, and sometimes the droughts are very great. All the grain and European plants seeded in December. From February to August may be called the rainy season; not that I think there are any stated times for rains in these months, as it is sometimes very fine weather for a fortnight together; but when the rain does fall, it is in torrents. I do not remember above three claps of thunder during the time I was on the island. The winter is very pleasant, and it never freezes.

The proper time for sowing wheat and barley is from May to August, and is got in in December. That which has been sowed has produced twenty-five fold, and I think the increase may be greater. Two bushels of barley, sowed in 1789, produced twenty-four bushels of a sound full grain.

The Indian corn produces well; and it is, in my opinion, the best grain to cultivate in any quantity, on account of the little trouble attending its growth and manufacturing for eating.

The Rio Janeiro sugar cane grows very well, and is thriving.

Vines and oranges are very thriving; of the former there will be a great quantity in a few years.

Potatoes thrive remarkably well, and yield a very great increase. I think two crops a year of that article may be got with great ease.

Every kind of garden vegetable thrives well, and comes to great perfection.

The quantity of ground cleared, and in cultivation, belonging to the public, was, on the 13th of March, 1790, from twenty-eight to thirty-two acres; and about eighteen cleared by free people and convicts for their gardens.

SUP-

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SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1791.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
Dec. 7, 1790.			
FOR 24,000 men, including 4,800 marines	1,248,000	0	0
Dec. 13.			
Expences of the late armament	1,565,000	0	0
May 16, 1791.			
Ordinary of the navy	689,395	13	4
Extra navy	506,010	0	0
	£. 4,008,405,	13	4

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
Dec. 13, 1790.			
Expences of the late armament	64,000	0	0
Provisions for the troops in the E. and W. Indies, in consequence thereof	41,000	0	0
Feb. 8, 1791.			
For 17,013 men, as guards and garrisons	570,492	11	2½
Forces in the plantations	329,544	10	0
Difference between the British and Irish establishments	8,487	19	7
Troops in the East Indies	11,435	12	10½
Recruiting land forces and contingencies	64,500	0	0
Full pay to supernumerary officers	15,552	14	5½
General and staff officers	6,409	8	0
Allowance to the pay-master-general, &c. &c.	63,276	5	8
Mar. 29.			
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	155,287	5	5
Ditto of independent companies	10,000	0	0
Ditto horse-guards	212	14	7
Ditto officers of British American forces	55,092	10	0
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	4,907	10	0
Officers late in the service of the States-general	3,161	10	10
Widows pensions	9,710	4	3
Chelsea pensioners	174,167	17	3½
Scotch roads and bridges	5,911	4	3
Hessian subsidy	36,093	15	0
Extraordinaries	335,234	8	0
May 16.			
Augmentation of a corps of foot in New South Wales	1,754	5	8½
	£. 1,967,227	15	1½

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ORDNANCE.

DEC. 13, 1790.

Expences of the last armament		151,000	0 0

FEB. 8, 1791.

Ordnance, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for		3,857	5 1
Ditto, land ſervice not provided for in 1789	—	30,613	19 1
Ditto, ſea ſervice, ditto		25,278	12 0
Ditto, land ſervice, not provided for in 1790		2,159	4 5
Ditto for 1791		381,769	18 3
		£. 594,678	18 10

MILITIA.

Pay and cloathing of the militia		95,311	0 0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

DEC. 7, 1790.

For paying off exchequer bills		3,500,000	0 0

APRIL 18, 1791.

American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers		324,124	6 1¼

APRIL 19.

For paying off exchequer bills		3,000,000	0 0
Catwater harbour		2,000	0 0
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia		6,176	17 6
Ditto of New Brunſwick		4,400	0 0
Ditto of St. John's iſland		1,840	0 0
Ditto of Cape Breton		2,100	0 0
Ditto of Newfoundland		1,182	10 0
Ditto of the Bahama iſlands		4,180	0 0
Chief juſtice of the Bermuda iſlands		580	0 0
Ditto of Dominica		600	0 0
Civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales		4,758	6 3¾

APRIL 21.

Somerſet houſe		25,000	0 0

MAY 12.

Proſecution of offenders againſt the coin laws		1,565	0 3
Extraordinary expences of the mint		12,016	18 7½
African forts		13,000	0 0

MAY 19.

To the prince of Wales, to diſcharge a debt for ſtone-maſons work		3,500	0 0
To Mr. Cotton for American ſufferers		31,000	0 0
Ditto to pay fees for receipts of money for compenſation to the loyaliſts of Georgia		1,271	17 0
Ditto to pay bills of exchange, &c.		775	18 8¼
Purchaſe of hemp ſeed for Canada		766	16 6
Arrears of contingencies due from the auditors office		4,237	4 1
Proviſions for New South Wales		29,613	1 8
Convicts on the Thames		41,716	10 7
Ditto at Plymouth		10,849	1 6

Addreſs

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	£.	s.	d.
Addreſs money	67,948	12	10
Expences of Mr. Haſtings's proſecution	14,153	3	9
Secretary of commiſſioners for regulating the ſhipping of ſlaves	500	0	0
Board of land revenue	4,000	0	0
Secretary of commiſſioners for the American loyaliſts	3,600	0	0
Arrears of the ſalary of Mr. Johnſton, formerly governor of North Carolina	2,018	19	2
Commiſſioners of American loyaliſts	24,000	0	0
Ditto of Eaſt Florida ſufferers	5,100	0	0
MAY 21.			
For money iſſued out of the civil liſt for the duke of Clarence	34,210	5	0
To diſcharge the annuity due to the late duke of Cumberland	1,546	7	10
A claim of the ſons of the late Bey of Algiers	6,762	19	0
£.	7,191,294	16	4½

DEFICIENCY.

APRIL 19.

Deficiency of grants for 1790	207,728	3	1

Navy	4,008,405	13	4	
Army	1,967,237	15	1½	
Ordnance	594,678	18	10	
Militia	95,311	0	0	
Miſcellaneous ſervices	7,191,294	16	4½	
Deficiency	207,728	3	1	
	14,064,656	6	9½	

WAYS *and* MEANS.

DEC. 9, 1790.

Land tax	2,000,000	0	0

DEC. 16.

Exchequer bills	1,833,000	0	0
Surplus of the conſolidated fund on April 5.	1,300,000	0	0
Malt duty	750,000	0	0

APRIL 18, 1791.

Surplus of the conſolidated fund on April 5,	303,221	9	0½

APRIL 19.

Part of intereſt on foreign ſecret-ſervice money	4,026	6	0

MAY 17.

To be lent, without intereſt, by the bank	500,000	0	0

MAY 19.

Surplus of the conſolidated fund	2,375,000	0	0
Profit in 50,000 lottery tickets at 16l. 2s. 6d.	306,250	0	0

Ex.

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Exchequer bills	5,500,000	0	0
Surplus of hemp and flax bounty money	10,137	4	6
	14,881,634	19	0½
	14,064,656	6	9½
Excess of Ways and Means	£. 816,978	13	3½

Principal Public Acts passed in the first Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Dec. 29, 1790.

Land tax act.
Malt duty act.
Act for an additional duty on malt.

Mar. 23, 1791.

Mutiny act.
Marine mutiny act.

April 11.

Act for an additional duty on sugar.
Militia pay and cloathing bill.

June 6.

Act to settle an annuity on the duke of Clarence.
Act for new duties on receipts, bills of exchange, &c.
Act for new duties on game certificates.
Act to grant a compensation to the officers of the wine licence office, for the loss of their offices.
Act to prohibit the importation of silk crapes and tiffanies of Italy.
Act for new duties on tanned goat and sheep skins.
Act to allow the importation of seal skins, cured with foreign salt, for a limitted time, free of duty.
Act to indemnify all persons concerned in carrying into execution an order of council, respecting the importation of salt-petre, &c.
Act to amend an act 28 Geo. III. for regulating the trade between the British colonies and the United States of America.
Act for the better regulation and government of seamen employed in the coasting trade.
Act for establishing a court of civil judicature in Newfoundland.
Act for allowing a farther bounty on pilchards.
Act to render persons guilty of petty larceny competent witnesses.
Act respecting the powers of the governor general of Bengal.

June 10.

Act for regulating the importation and exportation of corn.
Act to make farther provisions for the government of the province of Quebec.
Act to relieve Roman catholics from certain penalties and disabilities.
Act to amend the act regulating the shipping of slaves.
Act to protect the oyster fisheries.
Act for the better regulation of gaols.

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PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1791.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each STOCK in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 per c. red.	3 ditt. conf.	4 p. c conf.	5 p. c.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India An.	India bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchcq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	190	82 1/4	83	103 1/2	123	24 1/8	13 1/2	175 1/2	77 3/4	113	93 3/4	82 1/8	81 1/8	1 1/4	16	16 9
	186	80 1/8	79 7/8	101 1/2	117 7/8	23 11/16	13 1/8	168	76	100	92 1/4	80 1/4	80	3/8	13	16 1 6
Feb.	188 7/8	81 3/4	81 1/8	102 3/4	119 1/8	24	13 7/16	170	76 1/4	109	91	81 1/4	80 1/8	3/8	18	16 13 6
	187 1/4	80 7/8	80 1/8	101 1/4	118 1/4	23 3/4	13 5/16	166 3/4	76	95	90 1/2	80 3/8	80 1/4	1/4	16	16 6 6
Mar.	191 1/4	82 3/4	82 1/8	103 1/2	120 1/2	24 1/8	13 11/16	170	77	110	91 3/4	82 1/4	82 1/4	3 1/2	20	
	178 1/2	78	75 1/4	98 1/2	113 1/2	22 5/16	12 1/16	159		38	87 1/2	81 1/2	76 1/8	3/8	19	
Apr.	188 1/8	80 3/8	81 1/4	101 1/8	119 1/8	23 9/16	12 7/8	167 1/4	74 1/8	91	90 1/2	80 5/8	80 3/4	3 1/4	5	
	178 1/2	77 1/4	76 1/8	100 1/4	114	22 3/4	12 3/4	159 3/4	73 3/4	33	86	79 5/8	76 1/2	1 1/4	Par.	
May	187 1/2	81 3/8	82 1/4	101 3/4	121	23 13/16	12 7/8	167 1/4	75 3/8	90	90 1/4	80 7/8	81 3/4	1 1/2	8	
	183 1/2	79 1/8	80 1/8	100	118 1/4	23 1/16	12 5/8	163 1/4	74 1/2	85	89 1/2	79 3/8	80 1/4	1 1/8		
June	187 3/4	82	83 1/8	102	121	24	13 1/16	168 1/4	75 3/4	96	90 1/4	81 3/4		1 1/4	10	16 0 6
	185 7/8	80 3/4	81 1/2	101 1/8	120	23 5/8	12 3/4	166	75 1/8	84	89 3/4	80 5/8		1		16
July	190	83 1/4	83 1/2	104 1/2	120 5/8	24 3/8	13 1/4	172	77 3/4	107	91 3/4	83 1/4	82 1/8	1 7/8	13	16 1 6
	18: 3/4	80 7/8	81 3/4	101	119 1/2	23 11/16	12 15/16	165 3/4	75 3/8	87		80 1/8	81 7/8	7/8	12	16
Aug.	204	90	89 1/4	107	122 5/8	26 3/8	13 9/16	186 1/2	83 1/4	116	97 3/4	89	88 3/4	3/4	26	16 8 6
	190 3/4	83 3/4	83	103 1/8	115 1/4	24 5/8	13 3/16	173	78 3/8	106	93 3/4	84 3/4	83 7/8	1/8	20	16 4 6
Sept.	204 1/2	90 3/4	89 3/4	105	118 1/2	26 1/4	13 1/2	195 3/4	83 1/2	117	97 3/4	90 3/8	89 1/4	dis.	28	16 13
	200 1/8	89 1/8	88 3/4	104	116 3/4	26 3/8	13 5/16	185 1/2	83 1/4	112	96	89	88 1/8	Par.	25	16 7
Oct.	203	89 1/2	89 1/8	104	118 7/8	26 1/4	12 5/8	194	81 7/8	117	96 1/2	87 1/8	88 1/2	1/4 dis.	23	16 15
	194	87 1/8	87 1/8	100 5/8	116	25 5/16	12 9/16	188 3/4	81	106	95 1/2	87 5/8	87	Par.	6	16 10 6
Nov.	196 3/4	87 1/4	88 1/4	101 7/8	118	25 9/16	12 5/8	193 1/2	82 1/4	109	96 3/8	87 1/8	88	1/8 dis.	12	17 3
	191	85 3/4	86 3/4	100 3/4	117 3/4	25 3/8	12 7/16	181 1/4	81 1/4	89	96 1/4	86 1/4	87	Par.	7	16 14 6
Dec.	200 7/8	89 3/8	90 1/2	103 1/2	120	26 1/16	12 3/4	187 1/4	84 3/4	94	96 1/4	88	89 1/2	1/8 dis.	16	17 9
	196	87 1/8	88	101 1/2	118	25 1/4	12 7/16	183	84 1/4	85		87 1/4	87 1/2	Par.	12	17 1 6

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BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES

AND

CHARACTERS.

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BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

MEMOIRS of TYCHO BRAHE.

[From the third Volume of COXE's TRAVELS into POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK.]

"TYcho Brahe, deſcended from a noble and illuſtrious Daniſh family, was born in 1546 at Knudſtorp, a ſmall lordſhip near Helſingborg in Scania. His father, Otto Brahe, having a large family, Tycho was educated under the care and at the expence of his uncle George Brahe, who, having no children, adopted him as his heir. Finding his nephew a boy of lively capacity, and though only ſeven years of age ſtrongly inclined to ſtudy, he had Tycho inſtructed in the Latin tongue unknown to his father, who conſidered literature as inglorious, and was deſirous that all his ſons ſhould follow the profeſſion of arms.

"In the twelfth year of his age, Tycho was removed to the academy of Copenhagen; and his mind, which had not yet taken any direction, was caſually incited to the ſtudy of aſtronomy by an eclipſe of the ſun, which happened on the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1560. He had for ſome time examined the aſtrological diaries or almanacks, which pretended to predict future events from the inſpection of the ſtars; but when he obſerved that the eclipſe happened at the preciſe time at which it was foretold, his admiration was loſt in aſtoniſhment; and he conſidered that ſcience as divine, which could thus ſo thoroughly underſtand the motions of the heavenly bodies as to foretel their places and relative poſitions. From that moment he devoted himſelf to aſtronomy.

"In 1562 he was ſent to Leipſic for the purpoſe of ſtudying civil law; but he gave to the law only thoſe hours which his tutor's importunity wreſted from him, devoting the greateſt part of his time to his favourite ſcience; and as his tutor continually remonſtrated againſt thoſe ſtudies which took off his attention from the law, to which he was deſtined by his uncle, he conceived an unconquerable diſguſt for that profeſſion, and more aſſiduouſly, though ſecretly, continued his aſtronomical purſuits. For this purpoſe he laid out all the money which his uncle allowed him for pocket expences in the purchaſe of aſtronomical books: having obtained a ſmall celeſtial globe, he took the opportunity, while his preceptor was in bed, of examining the heavenly bodies, and before a month had elapſed, he made himſelf acquainted with all the ſtars which at that time appeared above the horizon.

Inſpired with the ſame ardent

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zeal in purſuit of his favourite ſcience, he learned geometry and mathematics without a maſter, and invented a radius, and ſeveral mathematical inſtruments.

"Having paſſed three years at Leipſic, he was preparing to purſue his travels though Germany; but the death of his uncle obliged him to return to his native country, in order to ſuperintend and ſettle his eſtates, which he largely inherited. Inſtead of finding himſelf encouraged and eſteemed for the wonderful progreſs, which at his early age he had made in the ſcience of aſtronomy and its concomitant ſtudies, he was mortified at being treated with contempt by his relations and acquaintance for following a ſcience which they conſidered as degrading, and who reproached him for not purſuing what they called the more noble ſtudy of the law. Diſguſted at their behaviour he ſettled his affairs, and haſtened his departure from a country wherein he met with repeated mortifications, and before a year had elapſed ſet out upon his travels. He proceeded to Wittenberg, and afterwards to Roſtoc, where an accident happened which had nearly occaſioned his death.

"Being invited to a wedding feaſt, he had a diſpute with a Daniſh nobleman relative to ſome ſubject in mathematics; and as they were both of choleric diſpoſitions, the diſpute ended in a duel. In the conflict part of Tycho's noſe was cut off. In order to remedy this defect, Tycho contrived a ſuppoſititious noſe made of gold and ſilver, which he faſtened by means of a glue, ſo artfully formed, it is ſaid, as to bear the appearance of the real member, and to deceive many who were not acquainted with his loſs.

"From Roſtoc Tycho continued his travels, and proſecuted his ſtudies in the principal towns of Germany and Italy, and particularly at Auſburgh, were he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Peter Kamus, invented and improved various mathematical inſtruments, ſuperintended the building of an obſervatory at the expence of the burgomaſter Paul Hainzell, after a plan communicated by himſelf, and formed a ſeries of aſtronomical obſervations and diſcoveries, which aſtoniſhed and ſurpaſſed all who had hitherto been conſidered as the greateſt proficients in that ſcience.

"On his return to Copenhagen, in 1570, he was ſoon diſguſted with the neceſſity of going to court; and, importuned with innumerable viſits and interruptions of his ſtudies, he removed to Herritzvold, near Knudſtorp, the ſeat of his maternal uncle, Steno Bille, who alone of all his relations encouraged him to preſevere in his aſtronomical labours. Steno conſigned to his nephew a commodious apartment, and a convenient place for the conſtruction of his obſervatory and laboratory.

"During his reſidence with his uncle, Tycho, beſides his aſtronomical reſearches, ſeems to have followed with no leſs zeal the ſtudy of chymiſtry, or rather of alchymy, from the chimerical view of obtaining the philoſopher's ſtone, that he might amaſs ſufficient riches to ſettle in ſome foreign country, where he might not be under the neceſſity of appearing at court, or having his ſtudies interrupted by receiving and paying viſits.

But neither his philoſophy, or the unwearied zeal with which he proſecuted his ſtudies, could exempt him from the paſſion of love.

Being

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Being a great admirer of the fair sex, he conceived a violent inclination for Christina, a beautiful country girl, the daughter of a neighbouring peasant, and alienated his family by marrying a person of such low extraction. Love is ever ingenious in devising excuses. Our philosopher justified the choice of his heart, and gave many whimsical reasons for preferring a woman of low birth. He dreaded a wife who should be under the necessity of living at court, a life to him the most detestable; he therefore preferred one whose situation necessarily precluded her from what he stiles a painful honour, who, grateful to her benefactor, would be dependent on himself alone, would be happy to accompany him in his travels, would consider a subserviency to his inclinations as a duty, and would not object to his continued application. Whatever effect these reasons might have in inducing our philosopher to marry, yet it may be imagined they had none on a proud family, who conceived themselves disgraced by Tycho's mis-alliance, and refused to hold any intercourse with him, until Frederic the Second commanded them to be reconciled. Tycho never seems to have repented of his choice; but ever found in his beloved Christina a grateful companion and an obedient wife.

"About this period of his life he first appeared as a public teacher, and read lectures on astronomy at the express desire of the king. He explained the theory of the planets, and preceded his explanation by a very learned oration concerning the history and excellency of astronomy and its sister-sciences, with some remarks in favour of judicial astrology, a study as congenial to the times as to the inclinations of our philosopher.

"Offended with his relations and disgusted with his countrymen he had long determined to quit Denmark, and to settle abroad; and after travelling through Germany and Italy, he at length fixed upon Basil; to the choice of which place he was influenced by the wholesomeness of the air, the cheapness of the living, and the celebrity of the university; and from whence he might hold a regular and easy correspondence with the astronomers of France, Germany, and Italy.

"On his return to Denmark he was preparing with the utmost secrecy to transport his library and astronomical apparatus, but was prevented carrying his design into execution by an unexpected summons from the king. Frederic, being secretly apprised of his intentions, was unwilling that Denmark should be deprived of so great an ornament, kindly embraced him, offered his protection and encouragement, presented him with the island of Huen as a proper retirement, and promised to erect, at his expence, whatever buildings and apparatus should be found necessary for his astronomical pursuits. He settled upon him a pension of 1000 crowns a year, and gave him a canonry of Roschild worth not less than 2000 crowns.

"Tycho, astonished and transported at this instance of his sovereign's liberality, did not hesitate accepting the king's offer. He immediately repaired to the isle of Huen, and on the eighth of August, 1576, was present at the laying of the first stone of a magnificent house, which he afterwards called Uranienburgh, or the Castle of the Heavens.

"This castle was a square building of sixty feet, containing a large suit of apartments, an observatory,

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and a ſubterraneous laboratory; and although the king ſupplied 100,000 rix-dollars, Tycho Brahe did not expend leſs than the ſame ſum. He afterwards conſtructed a detached building, which he called Stiernberg, or the Mountain of the Stars.

"In this retreat Tycho Brahe paſſed twenty years, and greatly improved the ſcience of aſtronomy by the diligence and exactneſs of his obſervations. He maintained ſeveral ſcholars in his houſe for the purpoſe of inſtructing them in geometry and aſtronomy, ſome of whom were ſent and their expences defrayed by the king; others, who voluntarily offered themſelves, he received and ſupported at his own expence.

"He did not, however, paſs the life of an anchorite or a recluſe; on the contrary, he lived in a moſt ſumptuous manner, kept an open houſe with unbounded hoſpitality, was always happy to entertain and receive all perſons, who flocked in crowds to viſit the iſland, and to pay their reſpects to a perſon of his renown.

"During his reſidence in the iſland of Huen, he received numerous viſits from perſons of the higheſt rank. Among theſe muſt be particularly mentioned Ulric duke of Mecklenburgh, in company with his daughter Sophia queen of Denmark; William, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, whoſe correſpondence with Brahe on aſtronomical ſubjects has been given to the public, and who had ſhewn himſelf a conſtant patron to the Daniſh aſtronomer.

"In 1590 Tycho was honoured with a viſit from James the Firſt, then king of Scotland, when that monarch repaired to the court of Copenhagen to conclude his marriage with the princeſs Anne, and was ſo delighted with Brahe's apparatus and converſation, that he remained eight days at Uranienburgh. On retiring he preſented Tycho with a magnificent preſent, and afterwards accompanied his royal licence for the publication of Tycho Brahe's works with the following flattering teſtimony of his abilities and learning: "Nor "am I acquainted with theſe things "from the relation of others, or "from a mere peruſal of your "works, but I have ſeen them with "my own eyes, and heard them "with my own ears, in your re- "ſidence at Uranienburg, during "the various learned and agreeable "converſations which I there held "with you, which even now af- "fect my mind to ſuch a degree, "that it is difficult to decide, whe- "ther I recollect them with greater "pleaſure or admiration; which "I now willingly teſtify by this "licence to preſent and future ge- "nerations, &c."

"His majeſty alſo, at his particular requeſt, compoſed, in honour of the Daniſh aſtronomer, ſome Latin verſes, more expreſſive indeed of his eſteem and admiration than remarkable for claſſic elegance.

"In 1592 he was honoured with a viſit from his own ſovereign, Chriſtian the Fourth, then in the fifteenth year of his age, who continued ſome days at Uranienburgh. That promiſing young prince ſhewed great curioſity in examining the aſtronomical and chymical apparatus, expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction in receiving explanations and inſtructions, propoſed various queſtions on ſeveral points of mathematics and mechanics, to which his majeſty was attached, and particularly on the prin-

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principles of fortification, and the conſtruction of ſhips. He was alſo highly delighted with a gilt tin globe which repreſented the face of the heavens, and ſo contrived, that, being turned on its own axis, it ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, the motions of the planets and heavenly bodies; a wonderful contrivance for that age. Tycho, obſerving the delight which the young king ſhewed in obſerving theſe phænomena, preſented it to his majeſty. The king graciouſly accepted it, gave him in return a gold chain, and aſſured him of his unalterable protection and attachment.

"Notwithſtanding however theſe aſſurances, the king's youth was worked upon by thoſe courtiers who were envious of Tycho Brahe's merit, or who had been offended by the violence of his temper, and the ſeverity of his ſatire, and under various pretences prevailed upon Chriſtian to deprive him of his penſion, and the canonry of Roſkild.

"Tycho Brahe being thus deprived of the means to ſupport the great expences of his eſtabliſhment at Uranienburgh, quitted with chagrin his favourite reſidence, and repaired to his houſe at Copenhagen, where he waited for an opportunity to retire from his native country. Having tranſported from Uranienburgh all the inſtruments and apparatus which could be removed, he quitted Copenhagen, embarked with his wife and family, landed at Roſtock, and remained a year at Wanſbeck with his learned friend Henry Rantzau.

"Having dedicated a treatiſe on aſtronomy to the emperor Rhodolph the Second, who was extremely addicted to aſtronomy, chymiſtry, and judicial aſtrology, he at length received a very flattering invitation from that monarch, which he accepted without heſitation, and repaired to Prague in 1599. The emperor received him in the kindeſt and moſt honourable manner, built for him an obſervatory and elaboratory, ſettled on him an ample penſion, and treated him with the higheſt marks of deference and reſpect.

"In the ſervice of Rhodolph he paſſed the remainder of his days, but did not live long to enjoy his protection. He had enjoyed a good ſtate of health till the year previous to his death, when his conſtitution, ſomewhat weakened by the intenſeneſs of his application, was ſtill farther ſhattered by the chagrin occaſioned by his removal from Uranienburgh. At that period he began to experience ſymptoms of complaints which announced his approaching diſſolution, but which he concealed as much as poſſible from his friends. He was reduced however to ſo low a ſtate as to be affected with the moſt trifling circumſtances, which he conſidered as prodigies, and would frequently interrupt his ſallies of wit with ſudden reflections on death.

"The immediate cauſe of his deceaſe was a ſtrangury, which being attended with the moſt excruciating torments, brought on a violent fever, and a temporary delirium; in the midſt of which he was heard repeatedly to cry out, "Ne fruſtra vixiſſe videar." His delirium at length ſubſiding he became calm and compoſed, and perfectly ſenſible. Being extremely debilitated by the violence of his diſorder, he perceived that he had not many hours to live. Accordingly he gave orders with the utmoſt coolneſs and reſignation; even amuſed himſelf with compoſing an extempore copy of verſes; ſung various

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hymns; offered up prayers and ſupplications to the Supreme Being; recommended to his family and friends piety and reſignation to the divine will; exhorted his pupils to preſevere in their ſtudies; and converſed with Kepler on the moſt abſtruſe parts of aſtronomy. Thus, amidſt prayers, exhortations, and literary converſation, he expired ſo peaceably, that he was neither heard nor ſeen, by any of thoſe who were preſent, to breathe his laſt. He died in October 1601, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

"It is remarkable, that ſo ſenſible a man, and ſo accurate an obſerver as Tycho Brahe, ſhould be ſo infected with the rage of ſyſtem-making as to reject the ſimple and beautiful ſyſtem of Copernicus, eſtabliſhed by the moſt incontrovertible proofs, and to endeavour to reconcile the abſurdities of the Ptolemaic ſyſtem. He was indeed, too well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, not to be ſenſible that the ſun was the centre of the ſyſtem; and though he was ſtruck with the ſimplicity and harmony of the Pythagorean ſyſtem, which Copernicus had lately revived, yet out of reſpect, it is ſaid, for ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, he abſurdly endeavoured to reconcile (what were never intended to be reconciled) his learning with his faith: he rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth on its own axis; ſuppoſed that the earth was quieſcent; that the ſun, with all the planets, was carried about the earth in the ſpace of a year; and that the planets, by their proper motions, revolved round the ſun in their ſeveral periods; thus retaining the moſt abſurd part of the Ptolemaic hypotheſis, which makes the whole planetary ſyſtem revolve round the earth in the ſpace of every twenty-four hours.

"Tycho, indeed, was ſo bigoted to his own hypotheſis, and ſhewed, even in his laſt moments, ſuch an attachment to his own ſyſtem, as to deſire his favourite ſcholar, the great Kepler, to follow his ſyſtem rather than that of Copernicus.

"If we were to eſtimate the merits of Tycho Brahe as an aſtronomer, we ſhould compare the ſcience as he left it with the ſtate in which he found it. His great merit conſiſted in his inventions and improvements of mathematical inſtruments, and in the diligence and exactneſs with which he made aſtronomical obſervations for a long ſeries of years. And as his inſtruments were remarkably good, he compoſed a catalogue of 777 fixed ſtars, all obſerved by himſelf, with an accuracy unknown to former aſtronomers. He likewiſe diſcovered the refraction of the air; demonſtrated, againſt the prevailing opinion of thoſe times, that the comets were higher than the moon; and from his obſervations on the moon and the other planets, the theories of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved. He was alſo the firſt aſtronomer who compoſed a table of refractions, and ſhewed the uſe to be made of them in aſtronomy. Such is the reputation of Tycho Brahe, for his great proficiency in that ſcience, that Coſtard, in his Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, has fixed upon his name as marking the beginning of a new period.

"He ſeems to have embraced a large circle of the arts and ſciences. He cultivated poetry, and wrote Latin verſes, not without ſome degree of claſſic elegance. He drew the plan for building the caſtle of Cronborg, and ſketched the deſign for the noble mauſoleum of Federic the Second, which was executed in Italy, and is erected in the cathedral of Roſkild.

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Roſkild. He dabbled alſo in phyſic. He was fond of being conſulted, and readily gave his advice and medicines gratis to thoſe who conſulted him. He invented an elixir, which he calls an infallible cure for epidemic diſorders, of which he has publiſhed the recipe in a letter to the emperor Rhodolph.

"He was a good mechanic. He poſſeſſed ſeveral automates, and took great delight in ſhowing them to the peaſants, and was always pleaſed if they took them for ſpirits.

"He was no leſs fond of being conſulted as a fortune-teller, and willingly encouraged an opinion, that his knowledge of the heavenly bodies enabled him to obſerve horoſcopes, and foretel events. Many traditional fables of his predictions have been handed down to poſterity, which ſhew his proneneſs to judicial aſtrology, and the weakneſs of thoſe who believed his predictions.

"In many inſtances aſtrological predictions, by alarming, occaſion the event which they foretel, and have thus gained a falſe credit from the weak or the unwary. Thus Tycho Brahe's aſtrological predictions proved fatal to the emperor Rhodolph the Second: for, being informed by Tycho, that a ſtar which preſided at his nativity threatened him with ſome ſiniſter deſigns to his prejudice, from his relations, he was thrown into ſuch a panic, that he did not venture to quit his palace, or appear before any perſon; and, as the conduct of his brother Matthias confirmed the aſtrologer's informations, he fell at laſt a prey to his grief, and died 18th of January 1612, aged fifty-nine years.

"At Uranienburgh Tycho Brahe had ſeveral contrivances calculated to deceive and aſtoniſh thoſe who came to viſit and conſult him. Among others, ſeveral bells, communicating with the rooms in the upper ſtory, inhabited by his ſcholars, the handles of which were concealed in his own apartments.

"Frequently, when company was with him, he would pretend to want ſomething, and having ſecretly pulled the bell, would cry out "Come hither Peter, come hither Chriſtian" and pleaſed to obſerve the aſtoniſhment of the company, who not hearing the bells, were ſurprized at the appearance of the perſon who was thus ſummoned.

"He was no leſs devoted to the ſtudy of chymiſtry than to aſtronomy, and expended as much on the terreſtrial aſtronomy, as he ſtyles it, as on the celeſtial. He left, indeed, no writings upon that ſcience, although it ſeems to have been his intention to have given to the public a ſelection of his experiments, which he had made with ſo much labour and expence; yet he adds, in the true cant of alchymy, "On conſideration, and by the advice of the moſt illuſtrious as well as the moſt learned men, he thought it improper to unfold the ſecrets of the art to the vulgar, as few people were capable of uſing its myſteries to advantage, and without detriment."

"His foibles were as prominent as his virtue and capacity. He was of a moroſe and unbending diſpoſition, indulged himſelf in too great freedom of ſpeech, but while he rallied others was not pleaſed to be rallied himſelf.

"He was greatly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and prone to a credulity and ſuperſtition below his learning and judgment. If he met an old woman in going out of his houſe, he would inſtantly return home; and conſidered an hare as an ill omen. While he lived at Uranienburgh he had a fool, whoſe name was Sep, who was accuſtomed during dinner to ſit at his

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his feet, and whom he used to feed with his own hand. This man was continually uttering incoherent expressions, which Tycho observed and noted down, from a persuasion that the mind, in a state of emotion, was capable of predicting future events; and he even believed, if any inhabitant of the island was taken ill, that this madman could predict whether he should live or die. He maintained, that the cabala and magic, if they did not act to the offence of God or man, could lay open many abstruse things by figures, images, and marks.

"But to turn from the unfavourable to the brighter parts of his character, we may assent to the truth of the following eulogium given by his panegyrist; that to him his studies were life; meditation his delight; science riches; virtue nobility; and religion his constant direction *."

* Ipsi vita studia erant; deliciæ vero meditatio; divitiæ scientiæ; virtus nobilitas; religio directio.—Oratio Funebris.

SHORT ACCOUNT of the celebrated SCHEELE.

[From the same Work.]

"CHARLES William Scheele, the son of a tradesman, was born at Stralsund, in December 1742. He received the earliest rudiments of education at a private school, and afterwards in the seminary of that town. Having at a very early age expressed a strong desire to follow the profession of an apothecary, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Bauch, of Gotheborg, with whom he continued till 1765. There he laid the foundation of his chymical knowlege. He was remarkably quiet and serious, extremely attentive to the medical and chymical preparations, and used afterwards to repeat the process in his own apartments. He seems to have been first excited to the study of chymistry, by the perusal of Neuman's chymistry, recommended by Grunberg, an apprentice in the same shop. He also met with Lemerie and Stahl's works, and Kenckell's Laboratory, which seems to have been his favourite book.

"In 1765, he departed from Gotheborg, and served different apothecaries; first, Karlstroem, of Malmoe; secondly, Scharenberg, of Stockholm; and, in 1773, obtained an appointment with Loock of Upsala.

"At Upsala he increased his knowledge by forming an acquaintance with the learned men of the university, particularly the strictest friendship with professor Bergman, and by having free access to the public laboratory.

"In 1775, he was appointed by the medical college apothecary at Kioping, where he finished his days.

"The reader will find, in Wells's Chemische Annalen for 1787, a list of the works and principal discoveries of Scheele; also in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1789.

"His character as a chymist, is sufficiently known by his great and numerous discoveries in that science.

"Scheele had struggled during his whole life against narrow circumstances;

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ſtances; and when appointed apothecary of Kioping, he involved himſelf in debt in order to purchaſe the ſtock which had belonged to his predeceſſor. He had been for ſome time engaged to marry his predeceſſor's widow; but waited until he had diſcharged his debts, and had collected a moderate proviſion for her in caſe of his death. He had ſcarcely effected his purpoſe, and received the offer of an annuity of 100l. per annum, if he would ſettle in England, which would have afforded him more leiſure, and a ſufficient income to purſue his chymical diſcoveries, when his health declined. His diſorder began with an inflammation in his eyes, ariſing probably from the intenſe zeal with which he carried on his chymical experiments, and ended in a total debility, which hurried him to the grave on the 21ſt day of May, 1786, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. Two days before his death, he was married to the perſon to whom he had been ſo long betrothed, and left her the little money he had been able to ſave.

"The union of virtue and knowledge is doubly meritorious; and it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to add, that the morals of Scheele were ſtrict, and his conduct as irreproachable as his morals in all ſeaſons of life.

"Scheele had neither time nor inclination to form common acquaintances; for moſt of the hours which he could ſpare from his ſhop and the duties of his office, he employed in his laboratory and library; but he was greatly attached to a few congenial friends, and fond of converſing with them on ſubjects of chymiſtry. He was to them extremely open, and of a communicative diſpoſition, never in the leaſt deſirous of withholding his information, or concealing his diſcoveries.

"Before he adopted any opinion, he was particularly cautious; but when he had once formed it, he was decifive, and defended it with firmneſs, yet without heat. He was, however, always open to conviction; and more than once retracted his opinion, whenever he was convinced by argument or experiment.

"Scheele underſtood no other languages but the Latin, German, and Swediſh; ſo that he had not the advantage of being benefited by the early intelligence of diſcoveries made by foreigners, and was forced to wait until the information was conveyed to him in the ſlow and uncertain channel of tranſlation. Even his acquaintance with the Swediſh was not ſufficient to write the treatiſes he ſent to the Swediſh academy of ſciences in that tongue, but he was accuſtomed to compoſe them in German, from whence they were tranſlated into Swediſh.

"When we conſider the number and accuracy of Scheele's experiments, we ſhould naturally preſume that his chymical apparatus was very complete, and his laboratory large. On the contrary, his laboratory was extremely confined, and his apparatus extremely inconvenient, owing, probably, to the ſcantineſs of his circumſtances.

"If he made ſuch important and accurate diſcoveries with a ſcanty and inconvenient apparatus, and without any aſſiſtance, what would he have done, if his circumſtances and his ſituation had been different!"

BIOGRA-

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BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES of ERNEST JOHN BIRON, DUKE of COURLAND.

[From the ſame Work.]

"ERNEST John Biron was deſcended from a family of mean extraction. His grandfather, whoſe name was Buren, or Bieren, was head groom to James the Third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his maſter the preſent of a ſmall eſtate in land. His ſon accompanied prince Alexander, youngeſt ſon of the duke of Courland, in a campaign into Hungary againſt the Turks, in quality of groom of his horſe, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biron returned into Courland, and was appointed maſter huntſman to the duke.

"Erneſt John, his ſecond ſon, was born in 1687, received the early part of this education in Courland, and was ſent to the univerſity of Konigſbergh in Pruſſia, where he continued until ſome youthful imprudences compelled him to retire.

"In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Peterſburgh, and ſolicited the place of page to the princeſs Charlotte, wife of the tzarovitch Alexey; but being contemptuouſly rejected as a perſon of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, and chanced to ingratiate himſelf with Count Beſtuchef, maſter of the houſhold to Anne, widow of Frederic William duke of Courland, who reſided at Mittau. Having through his means obtained the office of gentleman of the chamber, and being of a handſome figure and polite addreſs, he ſoon gained the good-will of the dutcheſs, and became her chief favourite. The firſt uſe which he made of his favour, was to obtain the diſgrace and removal of his benefactor Beſtuchef. He ſoon gained ſuch an entire aſcendency over the affections of his miſtreſs, that his will became her's, and the upſtart favourite offended by his arrogance the whole body of the nobility of Courland.

"Having eſpouſed Mademoiſelle de Trenden, a lady of noble family, and maid of honour to the dutcheſs, he endeavoured, by means of that alliance, and favour of his miſtreſs, to be admitted into the body of the nobles; but his ſolicitations were rejected with great contempt.

"His aſcendency over the dutcheſs, his ſpirit of intrigue, and his extreme arrogance, were ſo notorious, that when Anne was declared ſovereign of Ruſſia, one of the articles propoſed to her by the council of ſtate at Moſcow, expreſsly ſtipulated, that ſhe ſhould not bring Biron into Ruſſia. She conſented, but inſtantly broke her word; for ſhe had ſcarcely arrived at Moſcow, before he made his appearance at her court.

"By his ſecret advice, the empreſs formed a ſtrong party among the Ruſſian nobility, gained the guards, and brought about the revolution, which reſtored to the crown deſpotic authority.

"But when the whole plan was ripe for execution, Anne heſitated, and was alarmed, till Biron took her by the hand, and led her to the door of the apartment in which the council of ſtate, ſenate and principal nobility were aſſembled; and ſhe was declared abſolute ſovereign.

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"Within the ſpace of a few months, Biron was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber, knight of the order of St. Andrew, and lord high chamberlain, and, as Manſtein ſays, was omnipotent in the government; for, during the whole reign of Anne, and ſome weeks after her death, he ruled with deſpotic ſway the vaſt empire of Ruſſia.

"On the death of Ferdinand Ketler, in 1737, the empreſs diſpatched general Biſmarck, governor of Riga, to Mittau, at the head of a conſiderable army. The nobles having aſſembled in the cathedral, Biſmarck ſurrounded the church with troops, and compelled them to elect for their ſovereign the ſame Biron whom they had refuſed to admit into their corps. But his new dignity did not prevent him from keeping his poſt of high chamberlain, and his wife that of firſt lady of the bed-chamber.

"Biron governed Courland with the ſame deſpotic ſpirit with which he governed Ruſſia; and the nobles, who had been accuſtomed to great freedom of debate in their diets, were ſuddenly reſtrained. Thoſe who ventured to oppoſe his will, or to ſpeak with their uſual freedom, were privately ſeized by perſons in maſks, forced into kibitkas, and conveyed to Siberia.

"Of a violent and ſanguinary temper, Biron ruled Ruſſia with the knout in his hand, and compelled his imperial miſtreſs, who was naturally of a mild and merciful diſpoſition, to order acts of the moſt atrocious cruelty, though ſhe oftentimes interceded, but in vain, with tears in her eyes, for the unhappy victims of his ſuſpicion and vengeance.

"The cruelties exerciſed upon the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the country almoſt exceed belief; and Manſtein conjectures, that "during the ten years in which Biron's power continued, above 20,000 perſons were ſent to Siberia, of whom ſcarcely 5,000 were ever more heard of."

"The violence of his temper would break forth in a manner moſt diſreſpectful to the empreſs. Once in particular, while the duke of Bevern had an audience, Biron burſt into the apartment without ceremony, theatening, with the moſt horrid imprecations, that he would no longer be vexed and tormented by her ſervants, but would retire into Courland. Having uttered theſe words, he quitted the room, and ſhut the door with great violence. The empreſs, in the higheſt conſternation, lifted up her hands to heaven, then claſped them together, and being almoſt ready to faint, ſhe opened the window for freſh air. While ſhe continued in this agitation, the dutcheſs of Courland, accompanied with her children, entered the room, kneeled down, and entreated the empreſs to forget and forgive the paſſionate behaviour of her huſband. Anne in this, as in every other inſtance, relented, and bore with his inſolence.

"His influence over his imperial miſtreſs was ſuch, that during the ſitting of the cabinet council, ſhe uſed frequently to repair to an adjoining room, in which her favourite remained, to receive his advice, or rather his orders. She had no table of her own, but uſed to dine with his family.

"He knew only two languages, the German, and his native jargon ſpoken in Courland; ſo that he governed the extenſive empire of Ruſſia, without even underſtanding its language. He even piqued himſelf on his ignorance of that tongue, having once ſaid in the preſence of the empreſs Anne, that he would not learn the Ruſſian, becauſe he could

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could not bear to read before her majesty all the reports and memorials which were daily transmitted to him.

"Biron was undoubtedly a man of very great capacity; during his whole administration, the external splendour of the Russian empire, and its internal tranquillity, announced the wisdom of his measures; and he shewed his judgment in employing such a statesman as Osterman, and such a general as Munich.

"He was a sincere friend and an implacable enemy; and it was justly said of him, that he seldom forgot a benefit, and always remembered an injury.

"He amassed an enormous fortune in money and jewels; and on public occasions his magnificence far exceeded the magnificence of the empress.

"He had so long directed the affairs of a great empire, that he could not brook retiring into Courland. He accordingly prevailed upon the empress, on her death-bed, to appoint her great nephew prince Ivan, her successor, and himself regent, until the prince had attained the age of seventeen; and he managed this whole transaction which so much art, that he seemed only to accept the regency at the earnest request and recommendation of Munich, the chancellor Osterman, and the principal Russian nobility, as it were for the good of the empire, and not to satisfy his own ambition.

"Having thus secured the regency, to the exclusion of Anne, the mother of the young emperor, the first act of his power in that capacity, was to obtain for himself a clear revenue of 500,000 roubles per annum, and the title of Imperial Highness.

"But the power which he had thus acquired by intrigue, he attempted to secure by repeated acts of arrogance, persecution, and cruelty. Piquets were placed in the streets to prevent commotions. The numerous spies which he entertained brought him vague accounts of contemptuous expressions, and ill-formed plots. Such numbers were arrested, that scarcely a day passed in which persons suspected were not imprisoned and tortured in order to force confession. But instead of disarming the envy and jealousy of the natives, who were disaffected at being governed by a foreigner, he increased his own unpopularity by the haughtiness of his demeanour, and treated even the parents of his sovereign with the most extreme brutality.

"It was natural that prince Anthony Ulric and the princess Anne, the father and mother of the infant emperor, should be disaffected at being set aside, and a foreigner preferred to the regency; and Anthony Ulric, who was a prince of great spirit, even expressed his disapprobation in the strongest terms to the regent himself.

"The duke of Courland, suspecting that the prince was forming cabals against his government, called on him early one morning unexpectedly, and without being announced; "your highness," he said, "does not deal fairly with me; for you promised to inform me if any disaffected persons caballed against me, and you now know what intrigues are carrying on against me." "I know not," replied the prince, "that any thing is now in agitation which will be detrimental to the emperor and the country." "I will take care," returned Biron, "to place this empire in such a situation, as no other person is capable of doing; for I am neither deficient in knowledge or in power." "The nobles must assist you," said the prince,

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prince, "and you must all be accountable to the emperor." "Am I not regent," replied Biron, "with absolute authority? Such assertions, sir, may occasion great commotions; and your highness must know, that whenever factions arise, the emperor and the country are in danger; and what must be the inevitable consequence, if you and I should be at variance?" "A massacre!" returned the prince with great warmth, and putting at the same time, his hand upon his sword.

"After much altercation, the prince accused Biron of having forged the testament and signature of the empress; and the duke quitted the apartment with these words; "This affair, sir, is of such importance, that it must be laid before the principal nobility of the realm." Repairing instantly to his palace, he summoned the cabinet council, the senate, and the principal nobility, and acquainted them with the conversation which had passed between him and the prince. But when the imperial minister, count Keyserling, who was present, endeavoured to justify the prince, he called the prince a liar, who had misrepresented the conversation; and turning to Keyserling, said, "we want here no advocates; and no lawyer's quirks;" and walking up and down the apartment in great agitation, exclaimed, "am I a poisoner! or do I contend for the throne and the sceptre!"

"The princess Anne, who had been informed of the misunderstanding, now arriving, he turned to her, and explained with great bitterness what had already passed. Anne was exceedingly affected, and appeared to blame her husband's conduct. At length, the prince himself being summoned, was prevailed upon to attend, and soon afterwards made his appearance. Being reprimanded by Biron, and by several who were present, in the grossest terms, his highness at length submitted to demand pardon, the tears starting from his eyes from this necessary but degrading concession; and the affair was hushed up.

"Soon afterwards, the regent sent a message by Marshal Munich, ordering the prince to resign his military employments, and not to stir out of his chamber. But this state of things could not last long. The regent, at variance with the parents of the emperor, suspicious of the plots forming against him, and detested by the nation in general, became agitated and uneasy, felt the precariousness of his present situation, paid his court with great assiduity to the princess Elizabeth, and seems even to have formed the design of marrying her to the prince, his eldest son, and of raising her, or her nephew the duke of Holstein, to the throne of Russia. He was imprudent enough to declare publicly, that if the princess Anne was refractory, he would send her and her husband into Germany, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne.

"While he was fluctuating concerning his future conduct, and laying plans to remove those who gave him umbrage, his own ruin came from a powerful quarter which he did not expect, and was not prepared to resist. Marshal Munich, secretly displeased with the regent at not being appointed generalissimo of the Russian forces, fomented the discontents, awakened the suspicions of the princess Anne, and prevailed upon her to permit him to arrest the duke of Courland. His offer being accepted, he succeeded in securing the person of the regent, arrested him on the 18th of December, only twenty days after

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after he had been appointed to the regency. Lieutenant-colonel Manſtein, who was employed by Munich on that memorable occaſion, and who has related the tranſaction in his Authentic Memoirs, penetrated, at the head of only twenty men, into the palace inhabited by the duke of Courland, though guarded by forty ſoldiers, who were placed under the windows of the regent's bed-chamber, and by numerous centinels poſted in the ſeveral apartments through which he was to paſs. Being perſonally known to the centinels, they permitted him to paſs, thinking that he had an affair of conſequence to communicate to the regent. Having burſt open the door of his bed-chamber, he approached the bed, in which the duke and dutcheſs were ſo faſt aſleep, that the noiſe did not awaken them. On drawing the curtains, both ſtarted up in ſurpriſe, and the duke inſtantly got out of bed with an intention to eſcape, but was prevented by Manſtein, who threw himſelf upon him, and held him faſt till the ſoldiers came to his aſſiſtance. In this interval the duke had diſengaged himſelf from Manſtein, and endeavouring to burſt from the ſoldiers who had laid hold of his arm, received ſeveral blows from the butt-ends of their muſkets. Being at length thrown down on the floor, his mouth gagged with a handkerchief, and his hands tied behind him with an officer's ſaſh, he was led to the guard-room, where being covered with a ſoldier's cloak, he was conveyed in a carriage to the winter palace, in which the princeſs Anne reſided. While he was leading away, the dutcheſs ſprang out of bed, and though only in her ſhift, ran after him, ſcreaming, in an agony of deſpair, into the ſtreet, till being forced away by the ſoldiers, ſhe dropped down upon the ſnow, and would have periſhed with cold, if the captain of the guard had not ſent for ſome clothes to cover her, and re-conducted her to her apartment.

"The next day the duke and his family were conveyed to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg; and in June were removed to Pelim, a ſmall town in Siberia, where he was impriſoned in a wooden houſe under the ſtricteſt confinement. Fortunately he did not long occupy this dreary priſon. The empreſs Elizabeth had no ſooner aſcended the throne, by the depoſition of Ivan, than ſhe recalled Biron from his impriſonment; and if his misfortunes had not ſoftened his vindictive ſpirit, he enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing his enemy, Marſhal Munich, occupy that priſon which he had juſt quitted.

"Biron was transferred to Yaroſlaf, where he had a comfortable manſion aſſigned to him and his family, five roubles a day, and the permiſſion of hunting within twenty or thirty miles of Yaroſlaf. In this ſituation, wretched when contraſted with his former dignified ſtation as the omnipotent favourite of Anne, or as regent of Ruſſia, but a paradiſe when compared with his priſon at Pelim, he paſſed his days during the whole reign of Elizabeth.

"On the demiſe of Elizabeth, Peter the Third recalled Biron to Peterſburgh, but did not reinſtate him in the dutchy of Courland. Biron had refuſed, during his confinement, to reſign his right to that dutchy, although he was offered his liberty, and a penſion of 100,000 roubles; nor could he be prevailed upon by Peter the Third to abdicate in favour of the duke of Holſtein; nobly adding, that nothing ſhould induce him to do ſuch an injury to his family; but that he would perſer even a ſecond impriſonment.

"Catharine, ſoon after the revolution

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lution which placed her on the throne of Peter the Great, took compaſſion of his misfortunes, and reſtored him to his former dignity.

"Biron repaired to Mittau in 1763, twenty-eight years after he had been elected duke of Courland, and for the firſt time ſince he had been raiſed to the dignity. Prince Charles of Saxony, although ſupported by a large party in Courland, yet receiving no aſſiſtance from his father Auguſtus the Third, was compelled to retire before the Ruſſian forces; and Biron received the oaths of allegiance and fidelity from the whole nation.

"In 1764, he obtained from the king and republic of Poland the inveſtiture of Courland for his eldeſt ſon Peter, the preſent duke; 1769, abdicated in his favour; and, in 1772, cloſed at Mittau, in the eighty-third year of his age, a life of almoſt unparalleled viciſſitude."

LIFE and CHARACTER of PHILIP EARL of HARDWICKE, In a Letter from JEREMIAH BENTHAM, Eſq.

[From an ESSAY on the LIFE and CHARACTER of JOHN Lord SOMERS, &c. By RICHARD COOKSEY, Eſq.]

"SIR,

"BIOGRAPHY in general affords ſo much inſtruction and entertainment, where the ſubjects are of ſufficient importance to lay claim to the public notice and regard, that I cannot help looking upon it to be incumbent upon every one to contribute his mite, who has it at all in his power, towards enabling an author, that is induced to engage in ſuch a purpoſe, to render his work as complete as poſſible. Chance having therefore led me to caſt my eye, while I was at Cheltenham, upon an advertiſement in the Glouceſter Journal, of the 15th inſtant; wherein you announce an intention of publiſhing an Eſſay on the Life and Character of that great lawyer, the late Earl of Hardwicke, whoſe inflexible integrity and eminent abilities gave a luſtre ſo many years to the courts of law and equity, wherein he practiſed at the bar, and afterwards preſided in Weſtminſter-hall; and there being now but very few living, who had any relation to theſe courts, that are capable of tracing the perſonal knowledge and remembrance of him, ſo far back as myſelf, I flatter myſelf it may poſſibly not be unacceptable to you to be made acquainted with a few anecdotes relative to the late earl of Hardwicke, which may not have come to your knowledge from any other quarter; and which is my only inducement for furniſhing you with the following particulars:

"Mr. Philip Yorke was the ſon (and I believe the only ſon) of an eminent attorney, at Dover, in Kent, who, after giving him a proper education, and intending him for the bar, very judiciouſly placed him with a Mr. Salkeld, a law agent, in the Temple; at that time a man of the firſt character for abilities and buſineſs of any in his profeſſion;

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and not with ſergeant Salkeld, as miſrepreſented in the Biographia Britannica. And it is no leſs true, than it was an extraordinary circumſtance, that this Mr. Salkeld had, in his office, nearly about the ſame time, for the like purpoſe, Mr. Jocelyn, lord chancellor of Ireland; Mr. Parker, who was afterwards ſir Thomas Parker, and lived to be many years lord chief baron of the court of exchequer; as alſo Mr. John Strange, afterwards ſir John Strange, who died maſter of the Rolls.

"Mr. Yorke, by his uncommon aſſiduity and attention, made himſelf thoroughly acquainted with the grounds and principles of the common law; and having been entered a ſtudent in the Temple, he regularly attended the court of King's Bench, for the purpoſe of being called to the bar; and in order thereto, it being neceſſary for him to keep commons, by dining in the Temple-hall, he had the good fortune, by that means, to become acquainted with Mr. Parker, the ſon of lord Macclesfield, then chief-juſtice, who was at that time a ſtudent alſo at the Temple: ſuch an acquaintance ſoon proved a very favourable circumſtance to Mr. Yorke; for, upon the chief-juſtice aſking his ſon, Mr. Parker, whether he had made any and what acquaintance among the young men of his own ſtanding, Mr. Parker took occaſion to tell his father, that he had contracted an intimacy with Mr. Philip Yorke, whom he repreſented to his father to be not only a very agreeable companion, but a very intelligent young man; upon which the chief-juſtice, being naturally pleaſed with his ſon's having made ſo good a choice of a companion, told him, he ſhould be glad to ſee Mr. Yorke, and to bring him to dine with him, which Mr. Parker ſoon afterwards did. So fortunate an introduction, as well may be imagined, ſoon enabled a young man of Mr. Yorke's prudence and abilities to recommend himſelf to the eſteem and regard, and conſequently to the friendſhip, of lord Macclesfield, which continued without interruption ſo long as his lordſhip lived; who took every occaſion that offered to diſtinguiſh Mr. Yorke as his particular favourite, as well when he preſided in the court of king's bench, as afterwards in the court of chancery, when he became lord high chancellor of Great Britain; and when lord Macclesfield was ſo unfortunate as to be impeached by the houſe of commons, on account of ſome miſdemeanor in the execution of his office, Mr. Yorke, who was at that time attorney-general, and knighted, was ſo ſenſible of his obligations to his lordſhip, that he got himſelf excuſed, though not without ſome difficulty, from being appointed one of the managers for carrying on the proſecution, in conſequence of the impeachment.

"Mr. Yorke, by means of his own merit, and the countenance he was known to have from the court, made ſo rapid a progreſs in his profeſſion, that he had ſoon as much buſineſs as he could well go through with; which gave occaſion to judge Powis to make him a compliment, that, in the manner it was made, terminated more to Mr. Yorke's credit, as a young man of readywit, than to the judge's good ſenſe. The affair was this—Mr. juſtice Powis, who had been trying cauſes at ſome one of the aſſizes, in the circuit he went, being at dinner, and ſeveral of the counſel with him, amongſt whom was Mr. Yorke, took occaſion to make Mr. Yorke ſome compliment, by telling him, he could not but be greatly

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greatly ſurpriſed at his having acquired ſo great a ſhare of buſineſs for ſo young a man; and ſaid to him, "Mr. Yorke, I cannot well "account for your having ſo much "buſineſs, conſidering how ſhort a "time you have been at the bar: "I humbly conceive" (continued the judge) "you muſt have pub-"liſhed ſome book, or are about pub-"liſhing ſomething; for look you, "do you ſee, there is ſcarcely a "cauſe before the court but you "are employed in it, on one ſide "or other; I ſhould therefore be "glad to know, Mr. Yorke, whe-"ther this is the caſe." Such a curious way of accounting for Mr. Yorke's run of buſineſs could not but force a ſmile from him; and it determined him to make the judge ſuch a reply as might put an end to ſo fulſome a compliment: he therefore told the judge, he had indeed ſome thoughts of publiſhing a book, but that he had made no progreſs in it as yet: at which the judge, pleaſing himſelf for having made ſo happy a diſcovery, became importunate with Mr. Yorke to let him know the ſubject of this book; which put him upon telling the judge, that he had thoughts of publiſhing Coke upon Littleton in verſe; but that he had gone but a very little way in it: this however tickled the judge's curioſity ſtill more; and telling Mr. Yorke, that it was ſomething ſo new, and muſt be ſo entertaining, he begged him to oblige him with the recital of a few of the verſes; when Mr. Yorke, finding the judge would not drop the ſubject, bethought himſelf he could not get rid of it better than by giving, by way of a ſpecimen, ſomething in the judge's own words, and introducing the phraſes he himſelf was in the habit of making uſe of upon all occaſions, let the ſubject be what it would. Therefore, accompanying what he intended to ſay, with ſome excuſes for complying with the judge's requeſt, Mr. Yorke began with reciting, as he pretended, the following verſes; viz.

"He that holdeth his lands in fee,
"Need neither to quake nor to ſhiver;
"I humbly conceive, for look, do you ſee,
"They are his and his heirs for ever."

"Such a ſpecimen as this, it may eaſily be conceived, was enough to ſatisfy the judge; but however that might be, the reſt of the company could not but be under ſome difficulty to refrain from laughter: and it ſerves at leaſt to prove, that Mr. Yorke had a ready wit, and a good deal of pleaſantry about him.

"It was Powis's misfortune to be ſo addicted to blunders, that the late duke of Wharton, who was the brighteſt genius perhaps of the age wherein he lived, though, unhappily for himſelf and his country, he was at the ſame time the moſt profligate of mankind, took occaſion to introduce judge Powis into a lampoon; wherein the duke was very ſevere on ſeveral of the judges of that time. He was however not wanting in doing juſtice to the character of ſuch of them as were deſerving.

"I have not the poem by me, nor can I pretend to remember the whole of it, it being now above forty years ſince I read or have ſeen any thing of it; but ſome of the verſes are ſtill freſh in my memory, and particularly what related to judge Powis, with regard to whom the duke ſays,

"When Powis ſums up a cauſe without a blunder,
"And honeſt Price ſhall trim and truckle under;
"When Eyre his haughtineſs ſhall lay aſide,
"And Tracey's gen'rous ſoul ſhall ſwell with pride—"

"And, as I remember, the duke con-

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cluded the whole of his poem with the following couplet:

"Then will I ceaſe my charmer to adore,
"And think of love and politics no more."

"Mr. Yorke, as he was poſſeſſed of great convivial pleaſantry, to relieve himſelf under the preſſure of buſineſs in his profeſſion, and his engagements in public affairs, even when he became ſir Philip Yorke, and his majeſty's attorney-general, would ſometimes enjoy himſelf in the company of men of genius, like himſelf; and once, upon his dining with Mr. Taylor, (commonly called Joe Taylor of Bridewell, then member of parliament for the borough of Petersfield, in Hampſhire) at his houſe at Stanmore, in Middleſex, where lord Bolingbroke made one of the company, his lordſhip took occaſion jocularly to aſk ſir Philip Yorke, whether he was never a rake in his younger days. Sir Philip's reply was, that he muſt confeſs he never was a rake, for that indeed he was ſo early immerſed in buſineſs, that he never had any time to be one; upon which lord Bolingbroke expreſſed himſelf to be not a little pleaſed with the reaſon ſir Philip had given him; for, ſaid his lordſhip, he was perſuaded no one could ever diſtinguiſh himſelf, and make his way in life in the manner ſir Philip had done, unleſs he had been a rake, or at leaſt had the ſeeds of a rake in him. Such a compliment as this, however lord Bolingbroke might apply it to ſir Philip Yorke, yet the reſt of the company preſent could not but underſtand it with a view of making ſtill a greater compliment upon himſelf, as ſhining abilities and rakery were ſo conſpicuouſly united in lord Bolingbroke's own character. This account of the converſation that paſſed between him and the late lord Hardwicke I had from Mr. Taylor himſelf, at whoſe houſe, and in whoſe company it happened.

"At the time ſir Philip Yorke was attorney-general, Mr. Talbot was ſolicitor-general, and lord King was lord-chancellor, who had been advanced to that high office, from being chief juſtice of the common pleas, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for having been not only a very able common lawyer, but alſo a good divine; he became however ſo far advanced in years, when he held the ſeals, as chancellor, that he often dozed over his cauſes, when upon the bench; a circumſtance which I myſelf well remember was the caſe; but it was no prejudice to the ſuitors; for ſir Philip Yorke and Mr. Talbot were both men of ſuch good principles and ſtrict integrity, and had always ſo good an underſtanding with one another, that although they were frequently and almoſt always concerned for oppoſite parties in the ſame cauſe, yet the merits of the cauſe were no ſooner fully ſtated to the court but they were ſenſible on which ſide the right lay; and accordingly the one or the other of thoſe two great men took occaſion to ſtate the matter briefly to his lordſhip, and inſtruct the regiſter in what manner to minute the heads of the decree, ſo as that ſtrict juſtice might be done; and ſo great was the friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, that when it happened that the place of chief juſtice of the court of king's bench became vacant, by the death of lord Raymond, and likewiſe that of lord chancellor, by the death of lord King, although ſir Philip Yorke, then attorney-general, was conſidered as ſuch to be entitled to the ſeals, in preference to Mr. Talbot; yet, the latter having confined himſelf very early to the practice of the court of chancery,

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chancery, and not having been much conversant in the practice of the courts of common law, he thought himself not sufficiently qualified to preside in the court of king's bench, on which account, sir Philip Yorke being equally competent to preside either in that court or the court of chancery, it was agreed between them, that sir Philip should wave his pretensions in favour of Mr. Talbot; and the king and the ministry so well approved of it, that it was settled among them, that sir Philip Yorke should have the place of chief justice of the king's bench, and should have two thousand pounds a year added to his salary, as chief justice; which however sir Philip, to his honour, refused to accept, without its being made permanent to the office of chief justice of that court, by being secured to his successors; and upon these terms the seals were delivered to Mr. Talbot. In consequence of which sir Philip Yorke was created lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Talbot lord Talbot.

"Lord Talbot enjoying his high office but a very few years, which he held with the highest reputation till his death, occasioned by a polypus at his heart, all men's eyes were immediately turned towards lord Hardwicke, as his successor; to whom the king thereupon delivered the seals; and to do the greater honour to his lordship, sir Rober Walpole, then prime minister, the then lord president of the council, and several others of the greatest officers of the state attended him into the court of chancery, while he took his oath of office and his seat therein; and I well remember being present in Westminster-hall upon that day, and seeing his lordship afterwards going out of the court of chancery, from sitting as chancellor, into the court of king's bench, where he sat as lord chief justice of that court, to give his opinion in a cause of some consequence, which had been argued before him there; so that it may very truly be said, that he presided on one and the same day in the two highest courts of law and equity in Westminster-hall.

"Many years after he had the seals, lord Hardwicke was advanced to the dignity of earl Hardwicke and viscount Royston, and held them for near twenty years with the highest reputation to himself and benefit of his country; in all which time his strength and judgment, his great knowledge of the law, his evenness of temper, which was never known to be ruffled or discomposed; and his affability, condescension, and courtesy to all about him, gained him the love and admiration of every one that had occasion to attend the court wherein he presided.

"At length, perceiving or imagining he perceived his faculties growing rather impaired, he thought proper to resign the seals; and accordingly waited upon the king, and delivered them into his majesty's own hands.

"Upon which a droll circumstance happened the first time of his lordship's going to court on a levee day, after having resigned the seals, when advancing near the person of the king, and conversing familiarly with several of the ministry about him, in the manner he had been accustomed to do; but appearing as a private gentleman, without his gown and the purse, the usual insignia that had accompanied him in his office of chancellor, the king absolutely did not know him, and asked the lord then in waiting who that gentleman was: upon which, being told it was the earl of Hardwicke, his majesty's late chancellor, the king was quite surprized at his own want of recol-

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lection of one who had been in the habit of attending him near twenty years together, and immediately accosted his lordship with a smile, and made him a very obliging apology upon the occasion; the observation of which was a matter of pleasantry to all the company then in the drawing-room.

"As the late lord Hardwicke married a daughter of Charles Cocks, esq of Worcestershire, which lady was a niece of lord Somers, I presume it may be a circumstance that has given you occasion to connect what you have to write of the lives of those two great men with your intended history of that county; and being persuaded you are well acquainted with the several branches of the late earl of Hardwicke's own family, I have said nothing relative to them, although sir Joseph Yorke, his third son, now lord Dover, as well as the honourable Mr. John Yorke, another of his sons, I have the honour to be personally acquainted with; the former had been above thirty years resident ambassador at the Hague, from the British court to the states-general; and under many critical occurrences, which, during so long a series, gave him frequent occasion to exercise his judgment, he always acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his sovereign, and for the benefit of his country. Of which his present majesty was so sensible, that the honour of peerage, conferred on sir Joseph Yorke, proceeded from the king's own mere motion, without the least solicitation from any one whatever. A circumstance that greatly enhanced the value of it, as it could not but render it still more grateful to his lordship to receive, in such a manner, so distinguished a mark of approbation and regard from a prince who has been ever known to take pleasure in rewarding those that have been peculiarly deserving of his royal favours.

"If you shall think any of these particulars I have mentioned herein, worthy to be introduced into your intended publication, you will keep this letter; otherwise be pleased to return it to

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

Bath, JER. BENTHAM."
Sept. 30, 1788.

PORTRAIT of Mr. HOWARD.

[From Dr. AIKIN's VIEW of the CHARACTER and public SERVICES of that great PHILANTHROPIST.]

"THE first thing that struck an observer on acquaintance with Mr. Howard, was a stamp of extraordinary vigour and energy on all his movements and expressions. An eye lively and penetrating, strong and prominent features, quick gait, and animated gestures, gave promise of ardour in forming, and vivacity in executing his designs †. At no time of

† Mr. Howard, though frequently requested, would never sit for his picture; it is therefore no wonder that the portraits of him, given in various works, should be all totally unlike. The most resembling likeness, by much, is a head sketched by an

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of his life, I believe, was he without ſome object of warm purſuit; and in every thing he purſued, he was indefatigable in aiming at perfection. Give him a hint of any thing he had left ſhort, or any new acquiſition to be made, and while you might ſuppoſe he was deliberating about it you were ſurpriſed with finding it was done. Not Cæſar himſelf could better exemplify the poet's

Nil actum credens, dum quid ſupereſſet agendum.

"I remember that, having accidentally remarked to him that amongſt the London priſons he had omitted *the Tower*, he was ſo ſtruck with the deficiency (though of trifling conſequence, ſince confinement there is ſo rare), that at his very firſt leiſure he ran to London, and ſupplied it. Nor was it only during a ſhort period of ardour that his exertions were thus awakened. He had the ſtill rarer quality of being able, for any length of time, to bend all the powers and faculties of his mind to one point, unſeduced by every allurement which curioſity or any other affection might throw in his way, and unſuſceptible of that ſatiety and diſguſt which are ſo apt to ſteal upon a protracted purſuit. Though by his early travels he had ſhewn himſelf not indifferent to thoſe objects of taſte and information which ſtrike the cultivated mind in a foreign country, yet in the tours expreſsly made for the purpoſe of examining priſons and hoſpitals, he appears to have had eyes and ears for nothing elſe; at leaſt he ſuffered no other object to detain him or draw him aſide †. Impreſſed with the idea of the importance of his deſigns, and the uncertainty of human life, he was impatient to get as much done as poſſible within the allotted limits. And in this diſpoſition conſiſted that *enthuſiaſm* by which the public ſuppoſed him actuated; for otherwiſe, his cool and ſteady temper gave no idea of the character uſually diſtinguiſhed by that appellation. He followed his plans, indeed, with wonderful vigour and conſtancy, but by no means with that heat and eagerneſs, that inflamed and exalted imagination, which denote the enthuſiaſt. Hence, he was not liable to catch at partial repreſentations, to view facts through fallacious mediums, and to fall into thoſe miſtakes which are ſo frequent in the reſearches of the man of fancy and warm feeling. Some perſons, who only knew him by his extraordinary actions, were ready enough to beſtow upon him that ſneer of contempt, which men of cold hearts and ſelfiſh diſpoſitions are ſo apt to apply to whatever has the ſhew of high ſenſibility. While others, who had a ſlight acquaintance with him, and ſaw occaſional features of phlegm, and perhaps harſhneſs, were diſpoſed to queſtion his feeling altogether, and to attribute his exertions either merely to a ſenſe of duty, or to habit and humour. But both theſe were erroneous concluſions. He felt as a man ſhould feel; but not ſo as to miſlead him, either in the eſtimate he formed of objects of utility, or in his reaſonings

an artiſt in London, engraved in Dublin, and copied for this work. It is ſomewhat of a caricature, but has very exactly the expreſſion of his countenance when in a very ſerious attentive mood. After his death, prince Potemkin had two plaſter caſts taken from his face, one for himſelf, the other for the ſervant of Mr. Howard."

"† He mentioned being once prevailed upon, in Italy, to go and hear ſome extraordinary fine muſic; but, finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence."

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concerning the means by which they were to be brought into effect. The reformation of abuſes, and the relief of miſery, were the two great purpoſes which he kept in view in all his undertakings; and I have equally ſeen the tear of ſenſibility ſtart into his eyes on recalling ſome of the diſtreſsful ſcenes to which he had been witneſs, and the ſpirit of indignation flaſh from them on relating inſtances of baſeneſs and oppreſſion. Still, however, his conſtancy of mind and ſelf-collection never deſerted him. He was never, agitated, never off his guard; and the unſpeakable advantages of ſuch a temper in the ſcenes in which he was engaged, need not be dwelt upon.

"His whole courſe of action was ſuch a trial of intrepidity and fortitude, that it may ſeem altogether ſuperfluous to ſpeak of his poſſeſſion of theſe qualities. He had them, indeed, both from nature and principle. His nerves were firm; and his conviction of marching in the path of duty made him fearleſs of conſequences. Nor was it only on great occaſions that this ſtrength of mind was ſhown. It raiſed him above falſe ſhame, and that awe which makes a coward of many a brave man in the preſence of a ſuperior. No one ever leſs "feared the face of man," than he. No one heſitated leſs in ſpeaking bold truths, or avowing obnoxious opinions. His courage was equally paſſive and active. He was prepared to make every ſacrifice that a regard to ſtrict veracity, or rigorous duty, could enjoin; and it cannot be doubted, that had he lived in an age when aſſerting his civil and religious rights would have ſubjected him to martyrdom, not a more willing martyr would ever have aſcended the ſcaffold, or embraced the ſtake.

"The reſolute temper of Mr. Howard diſplayed itſelf in a certain peremptorineſs, which, when he had once determined, rendered him unyielding to perſuaſion or diſſuaſion, and urged him on to the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, regardleſs of obſtacles. He expected prompt obedience in thoſe from whom he had a right to require it, and was not a man to be treated with negligence and inattention. He was, however, extremely conſiderate, and ſufficiently indulgent to human frailties; and a good will to pleaſe him could ſcarcely fail of its effect. That his commands were reaſonable, and his expectations moderate, may be inferred from the long continuance of moſt of his ſervants with him, and his ſteady attachment to many of thoſe whom he employed. His means of enforcing compliance were chiefly rewards; and the witholding them was his method of ſhowing diſpleaſure †.

"The ſpirit of independence by which

† The following characteriſtic anecdote was communicated to me by a gentleman who travelled in a chaiſe with him from Lancaſhire to London in 1777: Mr. Howard obſerved, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than poſt-chaiſe drivers, who would ſeldom comply with his wiſhes of going ſlow or faſt, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a ſtage, when the driver had been perverſe, he deſired the landlord to ſend for ſome poor induſtrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce ſuch perſon and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requeſts as to the manner of being driven, he ſhould not make him any preſent; but, to ſhow him that he did not withold it out of a principle of parſimony, he would give the poor perſon preſent double the ſum uſually given to a poſtilion. This he did, and diſmiſſed the parties. He had not long practiſed this mode, he ſaid, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known.

"As

which he was ever diſtinguiſhed, had in him the only foundation to be relied on, *moderate deſires*. Perfectly contented with the competence which Providence had beſtowed on him, he never had a thought of increaſing it; and, even when in a ſituation to expect a family, he made it a rule with himſelf to lay up no part of his annual income, but to expend in ſome uſeful or benevolent ſcheme the ſuperfluity of the year. Leſt this ſhould be converted into a charge of careleſſneſs in providing for his own, it may be proper to mention, that he had the beſt-grounded expectations, that any children he might have, would largely partake of the wealth of their relations. Thus he preſerved his heart from that contamination, which (taking in the whole of life) is perhaps the diſeaſe moſt frequently attendant on a ſtate of proſperity,—*the luſt of growing rich*; a paſſion, which is too often found to ſwallow up liberality, public ſpirit, and, at laſt, that independency, which it is the beſt uſe of wealth to ſecure. By this temper of mind he was elevated to an immeaſurable diſtance above every thing mean and ſordid; and in all his tranſactions he diſplayed a ſpirit of honour and generoſity, that might become the "blood of the Howards" when flowing in its nobleſt channels.

"Had Mr. Howard been leſs provided with the goods of fortune, his independency would have found a reſource in *the fewneſs of his wants*; and it was an ineſtimable advantage which he brought to his great work, an advantage perhaps more uncommon in this country than any of thoſe already mentioned, that he poſſeſſed a command over all corporeal appetites and habitudes, not leſs perfect than that of any ancient philoſopher, or modern aſcetic. The ſtrict regimen of diet which he had adopted early in life from motives of health, he afterwards perſevered in through choice, and even extended its rigour, ſo as to reject all thoſe indulgences which even the moſt temperate conſider as neceſſary for the preſervation of their ſtrength and vigour. Animal foods, and fermented and ſpirituous drinks, he utterly diſcarded from his diet. Water and the plaineſt vegetables ſufficed him. Milk, tea, butter, and fruit, were his luxuries; and he was equally ſparing in the quantity of food, and indifferent as to the ſtated times of taking it. Thus he found his wants ſupplied in almoſt every place where *man* exiſted, and was as well provided in the poſadas of Spain and caravanſeras of Turkey, as in the inns and hotels of England and France. Water was one of his principal neceſſaries, for he was a very Muſſulman in his ablutions; and if nicety or delicacy had place with him in any reſpect, it was in the perfect cleanlineſs of his whole perſon. He

"A more extraordinary inſtance of his determined ſpirit has been related to me. Travelling once in the king of Pruſſia's dominions, he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all poſtilions entering at each end, to blow their horns by way of notice. He did ſo; but, after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's buſineſs, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. Howard's poſtilion to turn back; but Mr. Howard remonſtrated that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it; and therefore that he ſhould inſiſt on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority to which, in that country, every thing muſt give way, made uſe of high words, but in vain. As neither was diſpoſed to yield, they ſat ſtill a long time in their reſpective carriages; at length the courier gave up the point to the ſturdy Engliſhman, who would on no account *renounce his rights*."

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was equally tolerant of heart, cold, and all the viciſſitudes of climate; and, what is more wonderful, not even ſleep ſeemed neceſſary to him, at leaſt at thoſe returns and in thoſe proportions in which mankind in general expect it. How well he was capable of enduring fatigue, the amazing journies he took by all modes of conveyance, without any intervals of what might be called repoſe (ſince his only baiting places were his proper ſcenes of action), abundantly teſtify. In ſhort, no human body was probably ever more perfectly the ſervant of the mind by which it was actuated; and all the efforts of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution, not inured to habits of ſelf-denial, and moral as well as corporeal exerciſe, would have been unequal to his exertions †.

"With reſpect to the character of his underſtanding, that, too, was as happily adapted to the great buſineſs in which he engaged. He had not, in a high degree, that extenſive comprehenſion, that faculty of generalizing, which is ſaid to diſtinguiſh the man of genius, but which, without a previous collection of authentic materials, is ever apt to lead into erroneous ſpeculations. He was rather a man of detail; of laborious accuracy and minute examination; and therefore he had the proper qualities for one who was to lead the way in reſearches where all was ignorance, confuſion, and local cuſtom. Who but ſuch a man could have collected a body of information, which has made even profeſſional men acquainted with intereſting facts that they never before knew; and has given the Engliſh reader a more exact knowledge of practices followed in Ruſſia and Spain, than he before had of thoſe in his own country? This minuteneſs of detail was what he ever regarded as his peculiar province. As he was of all men the moſt modeſt eſtimator of his own abilities, he was uſed to ſay, "I am the *plodder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make uſe of." Let thoſe who look with faſtidiouſneſs upon long tables of rules and orders, and meaſurements of cells and work-rooms given in feet and inches, conſider, that when a ſcheme is brought into practice, theſe ſmall circumſtances *muſt* have their place; and that the moſt

† The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free converſation with him, and the ſubſtance of which I well recollect to have head from himſelf, will, I doubt not, prove intereſting. "When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horſeback, and he rode about forty Engliſh miles a day. He was never at a loſs for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he uſed to ſtop at one of the poor cabins that ſtick up a rag by way of ſign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to ſleep at, he beſpoke a ſupper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him, and take it away, whilſt he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, poſtilions, &c. liberally, becauſe he would have no diſcontent or diſpute, nor ſuffer his ſpirits to be agitated for ſuch a matter; ſaying, that in a journey that might coſt three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about. When he travelled on the continent, he uſually went poſt in his own chaiſe, which was a German one that he bought for the purpoſe. He never ſtopped till he came to the town he meant to viſit, but travelled all night, if neceſſary; and from habit could ſleep very well in the chaiſe for ſeveral nights together. In the laſt tour but one he travelled twenty days and nights together without going to bed, and found no inconvenience from it. He uſed to carry with him a ſmall tea-kettle, ſome cups, a little pot of ſweet meats, and a few loaves. At the poſt-houſe he could get his water boiled, ſend out for milk, and make his repaſt, while his man went to the *auberge*."

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ingenious plans often fail in their execution for want of adjuſtment in the nicer parts. Perhaps even the great Frederic of Pruſſia was more indebted for ſucceſs to the exactneſs of his diſpoſitions in every minute particular connected with practice, than to deep and ſublime views of general principle.

"From a ſimilar caſt of mind, Mr. Howard was a friend to ſubordination, and all the decorums of regular ſociety; nor did he diſlike vigorous exertions of civil authority, when directed to laudable purpoſes. He interfered little in diſputes relative to the theory of government; but was contented to take ſyſtems of ſovereignty as he found them eſtabliſhed in various parts of the world, ſatisfied with prompting ſuch an application of their powers as might promote the welfare of the reſpective communities. A ſtate of impriſonment being that in which the rights of men are, in great part, at leaſt ſuſpended, it was natural that his thoughts ſhould be more converſant with a people as the ſubjects, than as the ſource, of authority. Yet he well knew, and properly valued, the inеſtimable bleſſings of political freedom, as oppoſed to deſpotiſm; and, among the nations of Europe, he conſidered the Dutch and Swiſs as affording the beſt example of a ſtrict and ſteady police, conducted upon principles of equity and humanity. To the character of the Dutch he was, indeed, peculiarly partial; and frequently aſſerted, that he ſhould prefer Holland for his place of reſidence, to any other foreign country. I can add, from undoubted authority, that Mr. Howard was one of thoſe who (in the language of the great lord Chatham) "rejoiced that America had reſiſted," and triumphed in her final ſucceſs; that he was principally attached to the popular part of our conſtitution; and that in his own county he diſtinguiſhed himſelf himſelf by a ſpirited oppoſition to ariſtocratical influence.

"His peculiar habits of life, and the excluſive attention he beſtowed in his latter years on a few objects, cauſed him to appear more averſe to ſociety than I think he really was; and it has been mentioned as an unfortunate circumſtance, that his ſhyneſs and reſerve frequently kept him out of the way of perſons from whom he might have derived much uſeful information. But it is vain to deſire things incompatible. Mr. Howard can ſcarcely be denied to have choſen the beſt way, upon the whole, of conducting his enquiries; and if he had been a more *companionable* man, more ready to indulge his own curioſity, and gratify that of others, he would no longer have poſſeſſed one of the chief advantages he brought to his great work. Yet while he aſſiduouſly ſhunned all engagements which would have involved him in the forms and diſſipation of ſociety, he was by no means diſinclined to enter into converſations on his particular topics; on the contrary, he was often extremely communicative, and would enliven a ſmall circle with the moſt entertaining relations of his travels and adventures.

"Mr. Howard had in a high degree that reſpectful attention to the *female ſex* which ſo much characteriſes the *gentleman*. Perhaps, indeed, I may here be referring to rules of politeneſs which no longer exiſt. But he was as thoroughly impreſſed with the maxim of *place aux dames* as any Frenchman, though without the ſtrain of light and complimentary gallantry which has accompanied it in the individuals of that nation. His was a more ſerious ſentiment, connected with the uniform practice of giving up his own eaſe and acommoda-

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modation, for the ſake of doing a real kindneſs to any female of decent character. It is excellently illuſtrated by an anecdote related in a magazine, by a perſon, who chanced to ſail with him in the packet from Holyhead to Dublin, when, the veſſel being much crowded, Mr. Howard reſigned his bed to a ſervant-maid, and took up with the cabin floor for himſelf. It is likewiſe diſplayed throughout his works, by the warmth with which he always cenſures the practice of putting female priſoners in irons, and expoſing them to any harſh and indelicate treatment. He was fond of nothing ſo much as the converſation of women of education and cultivated manners, and ſtudied to attach them by little elegant preſents, and other marks of attention. Indeed, his ſoft tones of voice, and gentleneſs of demeanour, might be thought to approach ſomewhat to the effeminate, and would ſurpriſe thoſe who had known him only by the energy of his exertions. In his judgment of female character, it was manifeſt that the idea of his loſt Harriet was the ſtandard of excellence; and, if ever he had married again, a reſemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recollect to this purpoſe a ſingular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common paſſage boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a moſt engaging manner and appearance, which very ſtrongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was ſo much ſtruck with her, that, on arriving at the place of deſtination, he cauſed his ſervant to follow them. It was not without ſome diſappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady,—*his wife*.

" Mr. Howard's predilection for female ſociety, was in part a conſequence of his abhorrence of every thing groſs and licentious. His own language and manners were invariably pure and delicate; and the freedoms which paſs uncenſured or even applauded in the promiſcuous companies of men, would have affected him with ſenſations of diſguſt. For a perſon poſſeſſed of ſuch feelings, to have brought himſelf to ſubmit to ſuch frequent communication with the moſt abandoned of mankind, was perhaps a greater triumph of duty over inclination than any other he obtained in the proſecution of his deſigns. Yet the nature of his errand to priſons probably inſpired awe and reſpect in the moſt diſſolute; and I think he has recorded, that he never met with a ſingle inſult from the priſoners in any of the gaols he viſited.

" As Mr. Howard was ſo eminently a *religious* character, it may be expected that ſomewhat more ſhould be ſaid of the peculiar tenets he adopted. But, beſides that this was a topic which did not enter into our converſations, I confeſs, I do not perceive how his general plan of conduct was likely to be influenced by any *peculiarity* of that kind. The principle of *religious duty*, which is nearly the ſame in all ſyſtems, and differs rather in ſtrength than in kind in different perſons, is ſurely ſufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind, by modes which Providence ſeemed to place before him. It has been ſuggeſted, that he was much under the influence of the doctrine of *predeſtination*; and I know not what of *ſternneſs* has been attributed to him as its natural conſequence. For my own part, I am not able to diſcover in what thoſe notions of Providence, general and particular,

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lar, which make part of the profeſſion of all religions, differ eſſentially from the opinions of the predeſtinarians; and, from manifold obſervation, I am certain, that the reception of the doctrine of predeſtination, as an article of belief, does not neceſſarily imply thoſe practical conſequences which might ſeem deducible from it. The language, at leaſt, of our lower claſſes of people is almoſt univerſally founded upon it; but when one of them dies of an infectious diſeaſe, notwithſtanding the byſtanders all ſpeak of the event as fated and inevitable, yet each, for himſelf, does not the leſs avoid the infection, or the leſs recur to medical aid, if attacked by it. With reſpect to Mr. Howard, he never ſeemed to adopt the idea that he was moved by an irreſiſtible impulſe to his deſigns; for they were the ſubject of ſuch thought and diſcuſſion: nor did he confront dangers becauſe he had a perſuaſion that he ſhould be preſerved from their natural conſequences, but becauſe he was elevated above them. This ſentiment he has himſelf more than once expreſſed in print; and ſurely none could be either more rational, or more adequate to the effects produced. "Being in the way of my duty (ſays he), I fear no evil." I may venture to affirm, that thoſe of the medical profeſſion, whoſe fearleſſneſs is not merely the reſult of habit, muſt reaſon upon the ſame principle, when they calmly expoſe themſelves to ſimilar hazards. *They*, for the moſt part, uſe no precautions againſt contagion: Mr. Howard *did* uſe ſome; though their effects were probably trifling compared with that of his habitual temperance and cleanlineſs, and his untroubled ſerenity of mind. On the whole, his religious confidence does not appear to have been of a nature different from that of other pious men; but to be ſo ſteadily and uniformly under its influence, and to be elevated by it to ſuch a ſuperiority to all worldly conſiderations, can be the lot of none but thoſe who have formed early habits of referring every thing to the divine will, and of fixing all their views on futurity.

"From Mr. Howard's connections with thoſe ſects who have ever ſhewn a particular abhorrence of the frauds and ſuperſtitions of popery, it might be ſuppoſed, that he would look with a prejudiced eye on the profeſſors and miniſters of that perſuaſion. But ſuch was his veneration of true vital religion, that he was as ready to pay it honour when he met with it in the habit of a *monk*, as under the garb of a *teacher*: and throughout his works, as well as in converſation, he ever dwelt with great complacency on the pure zeal for the good of mankind, and genuine Chriſtian charity, which he frequently diſcovered among the Roman catholic clergy, both regular and ſecular. He was no friend to that haſty diſſolution of convents and monaſteries which formed part of the multifarious reforms of the late emperor of Germany. He pitied the aged inmates, male and female, of theſe quiet abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats into the wide world, with a very ſlender and often ill paid pittance for their ſupport. "Why might not they (he would ſay) be ſuffered gradually to die away, and be tranſplanted from one religious houſe to another as their numbers leſſened?" Thoſe orders which make it the great duty of their profeſſion to attend with the kindeſt aſſiduity upon the ſick and impriſoned, and who therefore came continually within his notice, ſeemed to conciliate his good-will to the whole fraternity; and the virtues of order, decency, ſobriety, and charity, ſo much akin to his

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own, naturally inclined him to a kind of fellowſhip with them. He rigorouſly, however, abſtained from any compliances with their worſhip which he thought unlawful; and gave them his eſteem as men, without the leaſt diſpoſition to concur with them as theologians.

"Such were the great lines of Mr. Howard's character;—lines ſtrongly marked, and ſufficient to diſcriminate him from any of thoſe who have appeared in a part ſomewhat ſimilar to his own on the theatre of the world. The union of qualities which ſo peculiarly fitted him for the poſt he undertook, is not likely, in our age, again to take place; yet different combinations may be employed to effect the ſame purpoſes; and, with reſpect to the objects of police and humanity concerning which he occupied himſelf, the information he has collected will render the repetition of labours like his unneceſſary. To propoſe as a model, a character marked with ſuch ſingularities, and, no doubt, with ſome foibles, would be equally vain and injudicious; but his firm attachment to principle, high ſenſe of honour, pure benevolence, unſhaken conſtancy, and indefatigable perſeverance, may properly be held up to the view of all perſons occupying important ſtations, or engaged in uſeful enterpriſes, as qualities not leſs to be imitated, than admired."

VIEW of the CHARACTER of JOHN WESLEY.

[From the MEMOIRS of the late Reverend JOHN WESLEY. With a Review of his Life and Writings, &c. by JOHN HAMPSON, A. B.]

"THE figure of Mr. Weſley was remark able. His ſtature was of the loweſt: his habit of body in every period of life, the reverſe of corpulent, and expreſſive of ſtrict temperance, and continual exerciſe; and notwithſtanding his ſmall ſize, his ſtep was firm, and his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muſcular. His face, for an old man, was one of the fineſt we have ſeen. A clear, ſmooth forehead, an aquiline noſe, an eye the brighteſt and the moſt piercing that can be conceived, and a freſhneſs of complection, ſcarcely ever to be found at his years, and impreſſive of the moſt perfect health, conſpire to render him a venerable and intereſting figure. Few have ſeen him, without being ſtruck with his appearance: and many, who had been greatly prejudiced againſt him, have been known to change their opinion, the moment they were introduced into his preſence. In his countenance and demeanour, there was a chearfulneſs mingled with gravity; a ſprightlineſs, which was a natural reſult of an unuſual flow of ſpirits, and was yet accompanied with every mark of the moſt ſerene tranquility. His aſpect particularly in profile, had a ſtrong character of acuteneſs and penetration.

"In dreſs, he was a pattern of neatneſs and ſimplicity. A narrow, plaited ſtock, a coat with a ſmall upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no ſilk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as ſnow, gave an idea of ſomething primi-

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primitive and apoſtolical: while an air of neatneſs and cleanlineſs was diffuſed over his whole perſon.

"His rank, as a preacher, is pretty generally underſtood. His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and eaſy; his action calm and natural, yet pleaſing and expreſſive: his voice not loud, but clear and manly; his ſtyle neat, ſimple, perſpicuous: and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers.

"His diſcourſes, in point of compoſition, were extremely different, on different occaſions. When he gave himſelf ſufficient time for ſtudy, he ſucceeded; and when he did not, he frequently failed. A clear proof, that the employments, in which he was engaged, were too numerous, and the œconomy, to which he gave himſelf up, too tedious and minute, for a man who generally appeared in the pulpit twice or thrice a-day. We have frequently heard him, when he was excellent; acute and ingenious in his obſervations, accurate in his deſcriptions, and clear and pointed in his expoſitions. Not ſeldom however have we found him the reverſe. He preached too frequently; and the conſequence was inevitable. On ſome occaſions, the man of ſenſe and learning was totally obſcured. He became flat and inſipid. His obſervations were trite and common; his expoſitions of ſcripture forced and unnatural, and the whole ſubſtance of his ſermons diſjointed and out of courſe. He often appeared in the pulpit, when totally exhauſted with labour and want of reſt: for, wherever he was, he made it a point to preach, if he could ſtand upon his legs. Many have remarked, that when he fell into anecdote and ſtory-telling, which was not ſeldom, his diſcourſes were little to the purpoſe. The remark is true. We have ſcarcely ever heard from him a tolerable ſermon, in which a ſtory was introduced. Whether he obſerved this cuſtom in his youth, we are not informed; but it has been generally conſidered, as an infirmity of "garrulous old age;" a mixture of the familiar with the ſacred, little worthy the dignity of the pulpit; and though very proper, and perhaps uſeful in common life, by no means fit for the inſtruction or entertainment of a judicious audience.

"The conſtant employment of Mr. Weſley, in writing letters, or compoſing, or viſiting the ſick, was not the only reaſon he ſometimes did not ſucceed in public. He ſeems to have thought too little of the preparation, which, in an extemporary ſpeaker, is indiſpenſibly neceſſary. He regarded the general diſcipline and œconomy of the ſocieties, as of the greateſt moment and difficulty, and the public exerciſe of his miniſtry, as the leaſt arduous part of his office: and he informs us in one place, that he could "preach three or four times a day, without any trouble;" but that the care of the ſocieties was a burden he could "ſcarcely bear."

"Never was the contraſt greater between public characters, than between Mr. Weſley and Mr. Whitfield. The former, when he was himſelf, had an eaſy fluency of expreſſion, and an addreſs and manner particularly chaſte and natural. He was often logical and convincing, and ſometimes deſcriptive: but he never ſoared into ſublimity, or deſcended into the pathetic. His ſtyle was the calm, equal flow of a placid ſtream, gliding gently within it's banks, without the leaſt ruffle or agitation upon its ſurface. The eloquence of Mr. Whitefield was was of another kind. It was more various; and, yet, with all its variety, in him, it was ſtrictly natural. He was a preacher, who alternately thundered and lightned upon his

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his audience; now filling them with terror, and now touching and affecting them with all the ſofter and more pleaſing emotions. He knew how to inſpire them with whatever paſſion he was deſirous to call forth; and the ſmiles or tears of his hearers were equally at his command. Though not ſo accurate a ſpeaker as Mr. Weſley; he was more popular. He had a louder and more muſical voice; his tones were more varied; his action much more diverſified, and his whole addreſs in public, was that of a maſter in all the arts of popularity. Mr. Weſley preached to the learned; Mr. Whitefield to the people. The former gave more ſatisfaction, to a critical hearer; but the latter was a greater favorite with the public. This was evident in their reſpective congregations. Each was accuſtomed to the largeſt aſſemblies in the nation: but the difference was conſiderable. Mr. Whitefield's congregations were frequently twenty or thirty thouſand: Mr. Weſley's ſcarcely ever amounted to one third of the number.

"Many have repreſented him as a man of ſlender capacity; but certainly with injuſtice. Of the futility of ſuch repreſentations, his writings, particularly thoſe which are controverſial, are a ſufficient proof. To this may be added, the office he filled with ſuch diſtinction at Oxford, and his great addreſs in the management of his people. As a ſcholar, he was certainly reſpectable. He was well acquainted with the Latin and Greek claſſics; and had a tolerable knowledge of the Hebrew, as well as of French, German, Spaniſh, and Italian. He had ſtudied Euclid, during his reſidence in college, and had attended with a good deal of aſſiduity the philoſophic lectures. In philoſophy, however, he was a ſceptic. He did not believe in any ſyſtem. He denied the calculations of the planetary diſtances, and the plurality of worlds. But his philoſophical knowledge ſeems to have been rather general, than profound; and in his anſwers to an opponent who attacked him in the papers on theſe ſubjects, we diſcover no deep reſearch, no acuteneſs; in a word, nothing that can incline us to ſuppoſe, he had made himſelf maſter of the arguments, for or againſt the different ſyſtems, which have been adduced by the various advocates, or that he had formed any new arguments of his own.

"To ſuppoſe him no very profound philoſopher, is no impreachment of his capacity. We have never yet found a man who excelled in every thing: and he who attempts every thing, muſt in many inſtances, be ſuperficial. In philoſophical enquiries, a minute and critical attention, frequent repetition of experiment and obſervation, and the moſt patient ſpirit of inveſtigation, are abſolutely neceſſary to diſtinguiſhed eminence and ſucceſs: and we need not ſay, that, to all theſe, the genius and employments of Mr. Weſley were inſuperably averſe.

"As a writer, he certainly poſſeſſed talents, both from nature and education, which had he compoſed with care, and allowed himſelf ſufficient time, could ſcarcely fail to have procured him a conſiderable reputation. But writing, as he did, on the ſpur of particular occaſions, he often diſmiſſed his pieces in a crude, imperfect ſtate, and defective in accuracy and extent of information; which, in the preſent ſtate of knowledge, cannot be diſpenſed with, in candidates for literary fame.

"In the bloom of youth, his taſte ſeems to have been more juſt and diſcriminating than in his more mature age; whence we conclude, that either

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ther the company, with whom he converſed, or the books which he chiefly read, after his commencing itinerant, were not favourable to elegance and refinement. We have ſeen nothing of his, equal to the tranſlations of Horace, which he wrote in his youth. And it is remarkable, that his Eſſay on Taſte, and his Criticiſms on Pope and Prior, publiſhed in the Arminian Magazine, are jejune, trifling, and contradictory.

"In ſocial life, Mr. Weſley was lively and converſible; and of exquiſite companionable talents. He had been much accuſtomed to ſociety; was well acquainted with the rules of good breeding; and, in general, perfectly attentive and polite. The abſtraction of a ſcholar did not appear in his behaviour. He ſpoke a good deal in company: and as he had ſeen much of the world, and, in the courſe of his travels, through every corner of the nation, had acquired an infinite fund of anecdote and obſervation, he was not ſparing in his communications; and the manner in which he related them, was no inconſiderable addition to the entertainment they afforded.

"His manner, in private life, was the reverſe of cynical or forbidding. It was ſprightly and pleaſant, to the laſt degree; and preſented a beautiful contraſt to the auſtere deportment of many of his preachers and people, who ſeem to have ranked laughter among the mortal ſins. It was impoſſible to be long in his company, without partaking his hilarity. Neither the infirmities of age, nor the approach of death, had any apparent influence on his manners. His chearfulneſs continued to the laſt; and was as conſpicuous at fourſcore, as at one and twenty.

"A remarkable feature in Mr. Weſley's character, was his placability. His temper was naturally warm and impetuous. Religion had, in a great degree, corrected this; though it was by no means eradicated. Generally, indeed, he preſerved an air of ſedateneſs and tranquillity, which formed a ſtriking contraſt to the livelineſs, ſo conſpicuous in all his actions. Perſecution from without, he bore not only without anger, but without the leaſt apparent emotion. But it was not the caſe in conteſts of another kind. Oppoſition from his preachers or people he could never brook. His authority he held ſacred; and, when that was called in queſtion, we have known him repeatedly tranſported into a high degree of indignation. But what he ſaid of himſelf was ſtrictly true. He had a great facility in forgiving injuries. Submiſſion, on the part of an offender, preſently diſarmed his reſentment, and he would treat him with great kindneſs and cordiality. If he ever deviated from this amiable conduct, we aſcribe it not to him. It was foreign to himſelf. It aroſe from the miſrepreſentations of ſycophants, by one or other of whom, in his latter days, he was perpetually beſieged.

"The temperance of Mr. Weſley was extraordinary. In early life, he ſeems to have carried it too far. Whether there were ſome particular reaſons, in his caſe, as ſome have ſuppoſed, from warmth of conſtitution, or from any other cauſe, which might induce him to think it neceſſary, it were too much, without proper authority, to determine. However this may be, he was for many years, temperate to an exceſs. Even Dryden's pariſh prieſt did not exceed him. He made "almoſt a ſin of abſtinence."

"The practice of faſting, with other inſtances of ſelf-denial, he began at college, when about three or

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four and twenty. And as old men generally retain a partiality for the cuſtoms of youth, ſo Mr. Weſley, when obliged, for the ſake of his health, to obſerve a more generous regimen, did not fail to inculcate, both in public and private, the moſt rigid temperance. An œconomy, which poſſibly might ſuit ſome few conſtitutions; but, to the majority of mankind, muſt be dangerous, if not fatal. And it is particularly obſerved, that there is no period of life, in which a generous diet is more neceſſary, than when the body is advancing to maturity.

"Among other things, he was particular in the article of ſleep. One of his maxims was, "without faſting and early riſing, it is impoſſible to grow in grace." With ſuch views, we need not wonder, that he was ſo attentive to this himſelf, and ſo aſſiduous and peremptory in enforcing it on others. His notion of ſleep cannot be better explained, than in his own words:

"Healthy men require a little above ſix hours ſleep; healthy women a little above ſeven, in four and twenty. If any one deſires to know exactly what quantity of ſleep his own conſtitution requires, he may very eaſily make the experiment which I made about ſixty years ago. I then waked every night about twelve or one, and lay awake for ſome time. I readily concluded, that this aroſe from my being longer in bed than nature required. To be ſatisfied, I procured an alarum, which waked me the next morning at ſeven (near an hour earlier than I roſe the day before) yet I lay awake again at night. The ſecond morning I roſe at ſix; but notwithſtanding this, I lay awake the ſecond night. The third morning I roſe at five; but nevertheleſs, I lay awake the third night. The fourth morning I roſe at four, as, by the grace of God, I have done ever ſince. And I lay awake no more. And I do not now lie awake, taking the year round, a quarter of an hour together in a month. By the ſame experiment, riſing earlier and earlier every morning, may any one find, how much ſleep he really wants."

"Toward the cloſe of life, he relaxed a little. The ſleep he had allowed himſelf, was not ſufficient; ſo that he was obliged, after dinner, to take a nap in his chair. For ſome years before his death, he lived, as every man ought, who can afford it, generouſly, yet temperately. He took two or three gaſſes of wine after dinner, and two after ſupper: and eat heartily, and with a good appetite. We much doubt whether he ever drank a pint of wine, at one ſitting, in his whole life: and this regularity was rewarded with ſuch a vigour of conſtitution, as ſcarcely any one has known but himſelf. In thirty-five years he never kept his bed one day. In his youth indeed, he was ſubject to the tooth-ach, and, in his latter years, to the cramp: but, upon the whole, his health was firm and robuſt, to the utmoſt degree that can be conceived. Twice or thrice in his life, in conſequence of ſevere colds, and exceſſive labour, he was ſuppoſed to be conſumptive. He had alſo two or three fevers; which however ſeem rather to have ſtrengthened than impaired his conſtitution. By a violent ſhock againſt the pummel of his ſaddle, he contracted a hydrocele, for which he underwent ſeveral operations. But, in June 1775, being ſeized, in the north of Ireland, with a ſevere fever, it effectually cured him of this complaint.

"Perhaps the moſt charitable man in England, was Mr. Weſley. His liberality to the poor knew no bounds. He gave away, not merely

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ly a certain part of his income, but all that he had. His own neceſſities provided for, he devoted all the reſt to the neceſſities of others. This is a good work, in which he engaged at a very early period. In the ſeventh volume of his Sermons, is an account of the charities of one of the firſt methodiſts. The name is not mentioned: but we ſuppoſe it to be ſpoken of himſelf. "When he had thirty pounds a year, he lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty ſhillings. The next year, receiving ſixty pounds, he ſtill lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two and thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away ſixty-two. The fourth year, he received a hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived on twenty-eight, and gave to the poor ninety-two." In this ratio he proceeded during the reſt of his life: and we are perſuaded, that, upon a moderate calculation, he gave away, in about fifty years, twenty or thirty thouſand pounds; which, almoſt any other than himſelf, would have taken care to put out at intereſt, upon good ſecurity. Had the money he gave away fallen into the hands of ſome of his principal favourites, and were they to live as long as he did, the ſum would certainly have accumulated to ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds.

"Mr. Weſley's charity had the fate, in ſome inſtances, to be miſinterpreted. Some years ago, appeared in the metropolis, Eraſmus, biſhop of Crete. His epiſcopal character in the Greek church, was authenticated by a letter from the patriarch of Smyrna; who added, that the Turks had driven him from his ſee, for baptizing a muſſulman into the faith of Chriſt. That Mr. Weſley's known liberality ſhould induce him to be kind to this reputable ſtranger, it is eaſy to conceive; but the report, circulated in the Goſpel Magazine, and other publications of that period, that forty guineas had been offered him by Mr. Charles Weſley, to make his brother a biſhop, has no appearance of probability. To have wiſhed for ſo unſubſtantial a thing as a Greek conſecration, does no credit, either to his head or his heart; and is indeed as little likely, as the aſſertion of a certain reverend gentleman, that no one knew "whether the ſaid biſhop "was a pick-pocket, or a wandering "Jew," was liberal and chriſtian. But ſome people will never learn to keep within the bounds of decency. It is to be obſerved, that ſeveral of Mr. Weſley's preachers were ordained by this biſhop. This muſt have been a curious ordination: and when it is conſidered, that neither did the biſhop underſtand Engliſh, nor his candidates Greek, we may preſume, that the examination, and the reſt of the ceremony, on that occaſion, muſt have been particularly inſtructive and intereſting!

"The travels of Mr. Weſley were inceſſant; and almoſt without a precedent. Brainerd, the miſſionary to the American Indians, and Xavier, the apoſtle of the eaſt, ſeem more nearly to have reſembled him in this inſtance, than any miniſter we have heard of, in ancient or modern times. His prodigious labours, without great punctuality and care in the management of his time, had been impoſſible. He had ſtated hours for every purpoſe. His times of buſineſs and relaxation, were not ſuffered to interfere with each other. He retired to reſt between nine and ten, and roſe ſoon after four: and no company, no converſation, however pleaſing; in ſhort, nothing but ſtern neceſſity could induce him to relax. His rules were like the laws of the

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Medes and Perſians, abſolute and irrevocable. He wrote, he travelled, he viſited the ſick, he did every thing in certain hours, which he had preſcribed for himſelf: and thoſe hours were inviolable.

"To determine the preciſe meaſure of Mr. Weſley's labours, were too much to attempt. His public miniſtrations were but a part of them: but from theſe we may form ſome conception of the reſt. During fifty-two years, he generally delivered two ſermons a day; very frequently four or five. Calculating therefore, at twice a day, and allowing fifty ſermons annually for extraordinary occaſions, which is the loweſt computation that can be made, the whole number, in fifty-two years, will be forty thouſand, four hundred and ſixty. To theſe may be added an infinite number of exhortations to the ſocieties, after preaching, and other occaſional meetings at which he aſſiſted.

"In his younger days, he travelled on horſeback. He was a hard, but unſkilful rider; and his ſeat was as ungraceful, as it appeared uneaſy. With a book in his hand, and his hands up to his head, he frequently rode from fifty to ſixty or ſeventy miles a day: and from a ſtrange notion he had taken up, of riding with the bridle on his horſe's neck, many were the tumbles they had together. Of his travels, the loweſt calculation we can make, is four thouſand miles annually, which, in fifty-two years, will give two hundred and eight thouſand miles. An almoſt incredible degree of labour: and which nothing, but the beſt conſtitution, informed by the moſt active ſpirit, could have enabled him to ſupport!

"Of the fatigue of writing we think not ſo much. In original compoſition, there is a pleaſure, which none but writers know. Had he indeed copied the books he abridged, it were a miſerable drudgery! But he took a much ſhorter method. He juſt looked over his author, and drew his pen acroſs the paſſages he diſapproved; and this with ſo little accuracy, that he frequently left ſentiments directly contrary to his own principles.

"The temper of Mr. Weſley was as diſintereſted, ſo far as related to money, as it was charitable. Every one knows the apoſtrophes in which, more than once, he addreſſed the public on this ſubject; declaring, that his own hands ſhould be his executors; that, though he gained all he could by writing, and waſted not even ſo much as a ſheet of paper; yet, by giving all he could, he was effectually preſerved from laying up "treaſures upon earth:" and that, if he died worth above ten pounds, independent of his books, and the arrears of his fellowſhip, he would give the world leave to call him "a thief and a robber." In this, as all who knew him expected, he has kept his word. His carriage and horſes, his clothes, and a few trifles of that kind, are all, his books excepted, that he has left. The value of the books may be eaſily aſcertained. But their value is of no ſort of conſequence; ſince they are entirely left to the conference; his relations deriving no advantage from them, except a rent charge of eighty-five pounds, to be paid to his brother's widow, during her life. If he even had acquired a fortune by his writings, we ſee no impropriety in it. As things are, we commend his diſintereſted conduct. Had they been otherwiſe, we ſhould not have condemned him.

"Among other excellencies of Mr. Weſley, we cannot but remark the general moderation of his controverſial pieces. Never was there a more ſcurri-

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ſcurrilous race, than the greater part of his antagoniſts. Mr. Church, and a Mr. Thompſon, with perhaps one or two more, are the only diſputants he engaged with, who preſerved the temper and manners, we will not ſay of chriſtians, but of gentlemen. Conſidering the illiberal behaviour of theſe diſciples of Zoilus, we almoſt wonder he ſhould have honoured them with a reply. The little roughneſs which now and then appears in his writings, was certainly nothing, in compariſon of the provocation; and, for the moſt part, when he "ſcourged them with whips, he ſhould have laſhed them with ſcorpions." Whether fond of controverſy or not, he was forced into it; and what he ſaid of one, was true of moſt of his opponents: "*torquebis, ut vapules.*" They teazed him into debate; and he generally diſmiſſed them with a ſound drubbing.

"Mr. Weſley poſſeſſed, during his whole life, a contempt of infidels and free-thinkers, which ſome may conceive, bordered upon aſperity. Infidelity was frequently the ſubject of his ſatire. In converſation and in public, he delighted to attack it; and many of his remarks were lively and convincing. But his oppoſition, now and then, ſavoured of illiberality; nor does he ſeem to have had juſt conceptions of the proper antidote. "A pert, ſhallow, conceited infidel, two degrees below Voltaire," is neither proper language, nor in any reſpect deſcriptive of the elegant and ingenious Rouſſeau. We diſlike his infidelity: but we revere his eloquence and his genius. The circulation of ſtories, concerning witchcraft and apparitions, which equally diſgrace the journals and the magazines, is no remedy for deiſm. and whatever Mr. Weſley might have thought of their cogency, the deiſts will ſcarcely accept them for argument. Be they ever ſo true they are not that mode of proof which is proper in this caſe: for to thoſe, who are believers in revelation, they are unneceſſary; and thoſe who deny the ſcriptures, are pre-determined to reject them. "If they believe not Moſes and the prophets, neither will they be perſuaded, though one roſe from the dead."

"Mr. Weſley, with many excellencies, had alſo his ſingularities. In this claſs, we reckon his exceſſive attachment to particular opinions. Like many polemics, who contend for victory, rather than truth, he paid little attention, and gave little weight to arguments, which combated his peculiar ſentiments. Frequently, he refuſed them a hearing. Hence, when any thing was propoſed, which he diſapproved, or any attempt made to go into a debate on his favourite doctrines, it was common with him to begin a ſtory, or to give out a hymn, and put an end to the converſation. It is ſaid, every man has his hobby-horſe. Mr. Weſley's was perfection: and he rode it ſufficiently. For many years, it was the Shibboleth of methodiſm. He ſhewed the moſt marked attention to thoſe who profeſſed, and an equal coldneſs to thoſe who oppoſed it. Perfectioniſts and anti-perfectioniſts were the grand diviſions of methodiſm. The wags laughed merrily at the witneſſes of perfection. Even their brethren, in the ſocieties, "eyed them aſkance," and ſet a mark upon them: while the Calvinian methodiſts, in ſongs and madrigals, and heroics, alternately vented their mirth and their indignation.

"A conſiderable defect in Mr. Weſley, is what we would call his ſuperſtition. Of this ſomething has been hinted already. Another in-

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ſtance, is his notion of drawing lots. We cannot ſuppreſs a ſmile, at his enumeration of the good effects of his voyage to America. One of theſe, is the uſe of the lot. This cuſtom he borrowed from the Moravians, and in dubious caſes, frequently adopted it. This is one thing in which Mr. Whiteſield and he differed: and it was in conſequence of drawing lots, to determine whether he ſhould write againſt predeſtination, that the Calviniſts charged him with drawing lots for his creed.

"From the munificence of Mr. Weſley, it might be ſuppoſed, that he was a man of much ſoftneſs and ſenſibility. And yet this does not appear to have been the caſe. His charities rather ſeem to have been the reſult of a ſenſe of duty, than of any peculiar tenderneſs of nature. He had no attachments. So far as we have been able to diſcover, that partook of the genius of friendſhip. His regard for ſome individuals, proceeded leſs from perſonal, than public conſiderations. All his views were of this kind. His firſt object, was the ſucceſs of methodiſm: and, as he never doubted, that the plans he had formed, were the beſt that could be deviſed; ſo, when any of the preachers were of a different opinion, and refuſed to concur in his meaſures, he treated them as the mariners treated Jonah. He threw them overboard with the moſt perfect indifference: or, to borrow his own phraſeology, he "commended them to God."

"This diſpoſition, whether it be called apathy, or firmneſs, or by whatever other name, was not peculiar to Mr. Weſley. Many great men, eſpecially in the political world, have piqued themſelves upon it. Perhaps they think it neceſſary, that public characters ſhould be ſuperior to the ſenſations of common life. How far this may be true, we ſhall not attempt to determine: but we thank God, that we have never had any temptation to adopt the principle.

"Mr. Weſley was, in ſome reſpects, a man of penetration. In one, he certainly was not. His choice of confidents and favourites, did little honour to his ſagacity. Whatever knowledge he might have had of the general motives and principles of human nature, he does not ſeem to have been happy in penetrating into the views and characters of individuals. Like other ſovereigns, he was ſurrounded by flatterers; and like them too, he often miſtook the incenſe of adulation, for the cordial offering of ſincerity and truth. Frequently he forgot, that, wherever power is lodged, all who have any thing to hope, and are not too ſpirited and independent to fear, will croud the levee. The conſequence, in his caſe, was much the ſame as in all others. When ſuch perſons inſinuated themſelves into his good graces, the point was effectually to prejudice him againſt thoſe who were formidable, by their wiſdom and integrity: and in many inſtances, they ſucceeded.

"We now come to the laſt feature in Mr. Weſley's character; his love of power. He has been often charged with this propenſity; and the charge is not yet refuted. We will ſay more. We challenge any man to refute it.

"Something of this has been intimated before; but as it is a matter of ſome conſequence, and a capital blemiſh in a character, in other reſpects eſtimable, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh it by a candid appeal to facts. It is eaſy to accuſe; and it is equally ſo to deny; but a ſeries of plain facts, are ſuch decided proofs

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of the diſpoſition of the agent, that it is impoſſible to miſtake them.

"The power, for which Mr. Weſley contended, was abſolute. It was a power to receive or exclude preachers or people; to call a conference, to appoint the preachers, who ſhould attend it, and, in general, to do what he pleaſed, by his own proper authority. There is no trace of ſuch a power in the firſt minutes of conference, in 1744. By thoſe minutes, equal liberty was eſtabliſhed, as a fundamental article: and, in a ſubſequent conference, Mr. Weſley and the preachers mutually "ſigned an agreement, not to act independently of each other." As the minute, we have juſt mentioned, is remarkable for it's good ſenſe and liberality, we tranſcribe the paſſage.

"Queſtion. How far does each agree to ſubmit to the judgment of the majority?

"Anſwer. In ſpeculative things, each can only ſubmit ſo far as his judgment ſhall be convinced: in every practical point, each will ſubmit ſo far as he can, without wounding his conſcience.

"Queſtion. Can a chriſtian ſubmit any farther than this, to any man, or number of men upon earth?

"Anſwer. It is plain he cannot, either to biſhop, or convocation, or general council. And, this is that grand principle of private judgment, on which all the reformers proceeded: "Every man muſt judge for himſelf; becauſe every man muſt give an account of himſelf unto God."

"In this quotation, which we call the *original compact* between the preachers and Mr. Weſley, it is remarkable, that the firſt queſtion ſuppoſes the ſubmiſſion of every preacher, and that only ſo far as is conſiſtent with a good conſcience, not to him individually, but to the majority. Moſt of the *ex poſt facto* laws, which he eſtabliſhed, or endeavoured to eſtabliſh in the ſequel, were ſo many violations of this compact. It was violated by his introduction of his notes on the New Teſtament and his volumes of ſermons into the deeds of the preaching-houſes, as the teſt of ſound doctrine, and the rule, on their conformity to which, ſhould depend the admiſſion or continuance of preachers in the connexion. It was violated by the requiſition, that the preachers ſhould promiſe to ſerve him "as ſons in the goſpel," and that they ſhould read ſuch books only as he recommended. It was ſtill farther violated, by his making it a rule, that they ſhould print no books without his permiſſion: and laſtly, by the arbitrary ſelection of one hundred preachers as the only members of conference, and by the razure of the compact itſelf, from the minutes of conference, on their republication in 1780.

"Againſt this laſt act, one preacher having remonſtrated, was anſwered; "I have not made ſo bad a uſe of my power, as to render this clauſe neceſſary:" to which it was very properly returned, "I had ra-"ther hold my liberties by the law, "than by the favour of any man." A motion was made, that the minute concerning the right of private judgment ſhould be reinſerted in its proper place It was voted in, without one diſſentient voice; but he took care not to inſert it, to the day of his death. To this it may be added, that, at the conference in 1783, Dr. Coke attempted, in his name, to introduce a minute, ſignifying the concurrence of conference, to Mr. Weſley's giving *abſolute* power to a *ſelect committee*, to con-

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duct the affairs of the societies, after his decease; and another, to call for the deeds of the several preaching-houses, out of the hands of the trustees, and to lodge them in an iron safe, under the New Chapel, City Road; of which safe, the doctor kept the key! In both these, he was out-voted by a very large majority.

"Such are the principles, on which we ground the assertion, that Mr. Wesley was fond of power, and that his temper was despotic. When any man attempts the subversion of customs and regulations, as much distinguished by their excellence as their antiquity, it is a natural conclusion, that he is fond of absolute rule, and would substitute others instead of them, less excellent and unexceptionable; and in this case, whoever that man may be, he ought to be opposed in the attempt. In such a contest, he may, if he pleases brand opposition with the name of rebellion: but we say, it is virtue.

"On the authority of the above facts, (and if more were necessary, we can easily produce them) as well as upon the sanction of some personal knowledge of the man, we must insist, that Mr. Wesley was, during the last ten or fifteen years of his supremacy, the most absolute of monarchs. His will was the law. If he ever receded from a resolution, or rescinded a favourite measure, it was not choice, but necessity. If he retreated, it was only for the moment. He never thought his authority secure, but when exerted to the utmost: and therefore, if ever surprised into a concession, he took the first opportunity of measuring his steps back again; and, by frequently returning to the attack, he was sure, sooner or later, to carry his point. In a word, the love of power was the chief misery of his life; the source of infinite disgusts; and the most frequent cause of the defections of his friends. Had not his virtues been sullied by this and some other defects, he had avoided many errors and inconsistencies, into which he has fallen; and we should have given him, without deduction or reserve, the praise, to which his piety, his labours, his learning, and his general ability in the management of his people, had so justly entitled him."

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MANNERS OF NATIONS.

REMARKS on the ISLAND of HINZUAN, or JOHANNA, and the CUSTOMS and MANNERS of it's INHABITANTS. By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

[From the Second Volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.]

"HINZUAN, (a name, which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Johanna*, has been governed about two centuries by a colony of Arabs, and exhibits a curious inſtance of the ſlow approaches toward civilization, which are made by a ſmall community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this African iſland, in which we hear the language and ſee the manners of Arabia, may neither be unintereſting in itſelf, nor foreign to the objects of inquiry propoſed at the inſtitution of our Society.

"On Monday the 28th of July, 1783, after a voyage, in the Crocodile, of ten weeks and two days, from the rugged iſlands of Cape Verd, our eyes were delighted with a proſpect ſo beautiful that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly repreſent it, and ſo cheering to us, that it can juſtly be conceived by ſuch only, as have been in our preceding ſituation. It was the ſun riſing in full ſplendour on the iſle of Mayotta (as the ſeamen called it) which we had joyfully diſtinguiſhed the preceding afternoon by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great diſtance from the windows of our cabin; while Hinzúàn, for which we had ſo long panted, was plainly diſcernible a-head, where its high lands preſented themſelves with remarkable boldneſs. The weather was fair; the water ſmooth; and a gentle breeze drove us eaſily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the Brilliant ſtruck juſt a year before, into a commodious road, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening: we had ſeen Mohíla, another ſiſter iſland, in the courſe of the day.

"The frigate was preſently ſurrounded with canoes, and the deck ſoon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high born chief, who waſhed linen, to the half-naked ſlave, who only paddled. Moſt of them had letters of recommendation from Engliſhmen, which none of them were able to read, though they ſpoke Engliſh intelligibly; and ſome appeared vain of titles, which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their ſuppoſed ſtations; we had lords, dukes, and princes on board, ſoliciting our cuſtom, and importuning us for preſents

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ſents. In fact, they were too ſenſible to be proud of empty ſounds, but juſtly imagined, that thoſe ridiculous titles would ſerve as marks of diſtinction, and by attracting notice, procure for them ſomething ſubſtantial. The only men of real conſequence in the iſland, whom we ſaw before we landed, were the governor Abdullah, ſecond couſin to the king, and his brother Alwí, with their ſeveral ſons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they underſtood Arabic, ſeemed zealots in the Mohammedan faith, and admired my copies of the Alkoran; ſome verſes of which they read, whilſt Alwí peruſed the opening of another Arabian manuſcript, and explained it in Engliſh more accurately than could have been expected.

"The next morning ſhowed us the iſland in all its beauty; and the ſcene was ſo diverſified, that a diſtinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the beſt pencil: you muſt, therefore, be ſatisfied with a mere deſcription, written on the very ſpot, and compared attentively with the natural landſcape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vaſt amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion, by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in ſize and figure, and then ſuppoſing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artleſs ſymmetry, in all imaginable poſitions. The back ground was a ſeries of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the ſea, and little more than three from the ſhore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquiſite verdure. I had ſeen many a mountain of a ſtupendous height in Wales and Swiſſerland, but never ſaw one before, round the boſom of which the clouds were almoſt continually rolling, while its green ſummit roſe flouriſhing above them, and received from them an additional brightneſs. Next to this diſtant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contraſt of colours changed even this nakedneſs into a beauty: nearer ſtill were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; ſo that every ſhade of green, the ſweeteſt of colours, was diſplayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting proſpect, than the many rows of palm-trees, eſpecially the tall and graceful areca's, on the ſhores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of the hills, where one might almoſt ſuppoſe them to have been planted regularly by deſign. A more beautiful appearance can ſcarce be conceived, than ſuch a number of elegant palms in ſuch a ſituation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at juſt intervals, and ſhowing between them part of the remoter landſcape, while they left the reſt to be ſupplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of Matſamúdó lay on our left, remarkable at a diſtance for the tower of the principal moſque, which was built by Halimah, a queen of the iſland, from whom the preſent king is deſcended: a little on our right was a ſmall town, called Bantáni. Neither the territory of Nice, which its olives, date-trees, and cypreſſes, nor the iſles of Hieres, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared ſo charming, to me, as the view from the road of Hinzúán; which, nevertheleſs, is far ſurpaſſed, as the captain of the Crocodile aſſured us,

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us, by many of the islands in the southern ocean. If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, publick and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!

"We hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an Arabic inscription over the gate of a mosque, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, "that the world was given us "for our own edification, not for the "purpose of raising sumptuous "buildings; life, for the discharge "of moral and religious duties, not "for pleasurable indulgences; "wealth, to be liberally bestowed, "not avaritiously hoarded; and "learning, to produce good actions, "not empty disputes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality: we saw nothing better among the Romish trumpery in the church at Madera. When we came to Abdullah's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counterpane hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the best rooms in the island; and most of the tolerable houses have a similar apartment on the opposite side of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from Yemen, and the milk of cocoa-nuts; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all, who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet, with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the Arabick manuscripts, which the governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the Mohammedans, I would gladly have purchased at a just price; but he knew not what to ask; and I knew that better books on that subject might be procured in Bengal. He then offered me a black boy for one of my Alkorans, and pressed me to barter an Indian dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow, and calf: the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them; and, for that reason, I made him a present of them; but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No high opinion could be formed of Sayyad Abdullah, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

"Our next visit was to Shaikh Sàlim, the king's eldest son; and, if we had seen him first, the state of civilization in Hinzùán would have appeared at its lowest ebb: the worst English hackney, in the worst stable, is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but, though his mien and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness; which, as we afterwards

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afterwards learned, was an abſceſs in the ſpleen, a diſorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the Arabian practice, by the actual cautery. He was inceſſantly chewing pieces of the areca-nut with ſhell-lime; a cuſtom borrowed, I ſuppoſe, from the Indians, who greatly improve the compoſition with ſpices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor; all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to ſo great an exceſs. Prince Sálim from time to time gazed at himſelf with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glaſs, which was glued on a ſmall board; a ſpecimen of wretchedneſs, which we obſerved in no other houſe; but many circumſtances convinced us, that the apparently low condition of his royal highneſs, who was not on bad terms with his father, and ſeemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother Hamdullah, who generally reſides in the town of Domóni, has a very different character, being eſteemed a man of worth, good ſenſe, and learning: he had come, the day before, to Matſamùdo, on hearing that an Engliſh frigate was in the road; and I, having gone out for a few minutes to read an Arabick inſcription, found him, on my return, devouring a manuſcript, which I had left with ſome of the company. He is a Kádi, or Mohammedan judge; and, as he ſeemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned, that I had ſo little converſation with him. The king, Shaikh Ahmed, has a younger ſon, named Abdullah, whoſe uſual reſidence is in the town of Wàni, which he ſeldom leaves, as the ſtate of his health is very infirm. Since the ſucceſſion to the title and authority of Sultàn is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the chiefs of the iſland, it is not improbable, that they may hereafter be conferred on prince Hamdullah.

"A little beyond the hole, in which Sálim received us, was his haram, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to ſee, not through politeneſs to ſtrangers, as we believed at firſt, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a preſent: we ſaw only two or three miſerable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we ſuppoſed, ſtood behind a coarſe curtain, and ſhowed her ankles under it loaded with ſilver rings; which, if ſhe was capable of reflection, ſhe muſt have conſidered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beaſt, expoſed to perils and hunger in a foreſt, to the ſplendid miſery of being wife or miſtreſs to Sálim.

"Before we returned, Alwí was deſirous of ſhowing me his books; but the day was too far advanced, and I promiſed to viſit him ſome other morning. The governor, however, prevailed on us to ſee his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day: the walk was extremely pleaſant from the town to the ſide of a rivulet, which formed in one part a ſmall pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolneſs of its ſhade. Abdullah would accompany us on our return to the ſhip, together with two Mufti's, who ſpoke Arabick indifferently, and ſeemed eager to ſee all my manuſcripts; but they were very moderately learned, and gained with

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with ſtupid wonder on a fine copy of the Hamàſah, and on other collections of ancient poetry.

"Early the next morning a black meſſenger, with a tawny lad as his interpreter, came from prince Sálim; who, having broken his perſpective-glaſs, wiſhed to procure another by purchaſe or barter: a polite anſwer was returned, and ſteps taken to gratify his wiſhes. As we on our part expreſſed a deſire to viſit the king at Domòni, the prince's meſſenger told us, that his maſter would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not a horſe in the iſland) and order a ſufficient number of his vaſſals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought juſt: we commiſſioned him, therefore, to aſk that favour, and begged, that all might be ready for our excurſion before ſunriſe; that we might eſcape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found exceſſive. The boy, whoſe name was Combo Madi, ſtayed with us longer than his companion: there was ſomething in his look ſo ingenuous, and in his broken Engliſh ſo ſimple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read Arabick tolerably well, and ſet down at my deſire the names of ſeveral towns in the iſland, which, he firſt told me, was properly called Hinzúàn. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater degree: his firſt petition for ſome lavender-water was readily granted: and a ſmall bottle of it was ſo acceptable to him, that, if we had ſuffered him, he would have kiſſed our feet: but it was not for himſelf that he rejoiced ſo extravagantly: he told us with tears ſtarting from hi eyes, that his mother would be plea ed with it, and the idea of her pleaſure ſeemed to fill him with rapture: never did I ſee filial affection more warmly felt or more tenderly, and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expreſſed; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he ſaid, was Fátima; and he importuned us to viſit her; conceiving, I ſuppoſe, that all mankind muſt love and admire her: we promiſed to gratify him; and, having made him ſeveral preſents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of Aladdin in the Arabian tale, I deſigned to give him that name in a recommendatory letter, which he preſſed me to write, inſtead of St. Domingo, as ſome European viſitor had ridiculouſly called him; but, ſince the alluſion would not have been generally known, and ſince the title of Alàu'ldìn, or Eminence in Faith, might have offended his ſuperiors, I thought it adviſable for him to keep his African name. A very indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the houſe of the governor, whom we did not ſee the whole day, as it was the beginning of Ramadán, the Mohammedan Lent, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuſe; but his eldeſt ſon ſat by us, while we dined, together with Mùſa, who was employed, jointly with his brother Huſain, as purveyor to the captain of the frigate.

"Having obſerved a very elegant ſhrub, that grew about ſix feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleaſure, that it was hinná, of which I had read ſo much in Arabian poems, and which European botaniſts have ridiculouſly named Lawſonia: Mùſa bruiſed ſome of the leaves, and, having moiſtened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a ſhort

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a ſhort time became of a dark orange-ſcarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was uſed by the Arabs to imitate the natural redneſs of thoſe parts in young and healthy perſons, which in all countries muſt be conſidered as a beauty: perhaps a leſs quantity of hinnà, or the ſame differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in Arabia uſed the ſame dye to conceal their grey hair, while their daughters were dying their lips and gums black, to ſet off the whiteneſs of their teeth; ſo univerſal in all nations and ages are perſonal vanity, and a love of diſguiſing truth; though in all caſes, the farther our ſpecies recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty; and men at leaſt ſhould diſdain to uſe artifice or deceit for any purpoſe, or on any occaſion: if the women of rank at Paris, or thoſe in London who wiſh to imitate them, be inclined to call the Arabs barbarians; let them view their own head-dreſſes and cheeks in a glaſs, and, if they have left no room for bluſhes, be inwardly at leaſt aſhamed of their cenſure.

"In the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path, amid plants and trees no leſs new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly, that very few of them were in bloſſom; as I ſhould then have had leiſure to examine them. Curioſity led me from hill to hill; and I came at laſt to the ſource of a rivulet, which we had paſſed near the ſhore, and from which the ſhip was to be ſupplied with excellent water. I ſaw no birds on the mountains but Guinea-fowl, which might have been eaſily caught; no inſects were troubleſome to me, but moſquitos; and I had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been aſſured, that the air was too pure for any to exiſt in it; but I was often unwillingly a cauſe of fear to the gentle and harmleſs lizard, who ran among the ſhrubs. On my return I miſſed the path, by which I had aſcended; but, having met ſome blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the governor's country ſeat, where our entertainment was cloſed by a ſillabub, which the Engliſh had taught the Muſelmans to make for them.

"We received no anſwer from Sál'm; nor, indeed, expected one; ſince we took for granted, that he could not but approve our intention of viſiting his father; and we went on ſhore before ſunriſe, in full expectation of a pleaſant excurſion to Domòni: but we were happily diſappointed. The ſervants at the prince's door told us coolly, that their maſter was indiſpoſed, and, as they believed, aſleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durſt not diſturb him. Alwi ſoon came to pay us his compliments; and was followed by his eldeſt ſon, Ahmed, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two princes Sàlim and Hamdullah; the ſituation was naturally good, but wild and deſolate; and, in Sàlim's garden, which we entered through a miſerable hovel, we ſaw a convenient bathing-place, well built with ſtone, but then in great diſorder, and a ſhed, by way of ſummer-houſe, like that under which we dined at the governor's, but ſmaller and leſs neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle about ſix feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twiſted in a ſort of clumſy network, with a long thick bambu fixed to each ſide of it: this, we heard with ſurprize, was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles, in which we were to

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have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with Ahmed, whom I found intelligent and communicative: he told me, that several of his countrymen composed songs and tunes; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and musick; and that, if we would dine at his house, he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner; as we had made a conditional promise, if ever we passed a day at Matsamúdo, to eat our curry with Bana Gibu, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some Englishmen had given the title of *lord*, which made him extremely vain: we could, therefore, make Sayyad Ahmed only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in Arabick, and accompanied his drawling, though pathetick, psalmody, with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill: the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in Arabian or Indian figures, simple and compounded; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave captain Williamson, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at Dublin, a small roll containing a hymn in Arabick letters, but in the language of Mombaza, which was mixed with Arabick; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsick value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of the Mozambique. Ahmed would, I believe, have heard our European airs (I always except French melody) with rapture, for his favourite tune was a common Irish jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected."

"So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the captain became rather disinclined; but, as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to Sálim, requesting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a sufficient number of men: he sent me no written answer; which I ascribe rather to his incapacity than to rudeness: but the governor, with Alwí and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letter; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with Alwí's younger son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

"Before sun-rise on the 2d of August I went alone on shore, with a small basket of such provisions as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the prince was resolved to receive the dollars, to which his men were entitled; and he knew, that as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old Alwí met me on the beach, and brought excuses from Salim; who, he said, was indisposed. He conducted me to his house, and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the king; but I assured him, that, if the prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to Domóni with my own servants and a guide. 'Shaikh Sálim,' he said, was miserably avaritious; 'that

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" that he was aſhamed of a kinſ-
" man with ſuch a diſpoſition; but
" that he was no leſs obſtinate than
" covetous; and that, without ten
" dollars paid in hand, it would be
" impoſſible to procure bearers."
I then gave him three guineas, which he carried, or pretended, to carry, to Sálim, but returned without the change, alledging that he had no ſilver, and promiſing to give me on my return the few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by nine ſturdy blacks, who could not ſpeak a word of Arabick; ſo that I expected no information concerning the country through which I was to travel; but Alwi aſſiſted me in a point of the utmoſt conſequence. " You cannot go, ſaid he, without " an interpreter; for the king " ſpeaks only the language of this " iſland; but I have a ſervant, " whoſe name is Tumuni, a ſenſible " and worthy man, who underſtands " Engliſh, and is much eſteemed by " the king: he is known and valu-" ed all over Hinzuan. This man " ſhall attend you; and you will " ſoon be ſenſible of his worth."

" Tumuni deſired to carry my baſket, and we ſet out with a proſpect of fine weather, but ſome hours later than I intended. I walked, by the gardens of the two princes, to the ſkirts of the town, and came to a little village, conſiſting of ſeveral very neat huts, made chiefly with the leaves of the cocoa-tree; but the road a little farther was ſo ſtony that I ſat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect ſafety over ſome rocks: I then deſired my guide to aſſure the men, that I would pay them liberally; but the poor peaſants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the uſe of money, and treated my promiſe with indifference.

" About five miles from Matſamúdo lies the town of Wani, where Shaikh Abdullah, who has already been mentioned, uſually reſides: I ſaw it at a diſtance, and it ſeemed to be agreeably ſituated. When I had paſſed the rocky part of the road, I came to a ſtony beach, where the ſea appeared to have loſt ſome ground, ſince there was a fine ſand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which reſembled that of Weymouth, and ſeemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the ſtones, over which I was carried, had been recently covered with water. Here I ſaw the frigate, and, taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coaſt into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and conſiſting partly of hillocks exquiſitely green, partly of plains, which were then in a gaudy dreſs of rich yellow bloſſoms: my guide informed me, that they were plantations of a kind of vetch, which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interſperſed all over this gay champaign, and the whole ſcene was delightful: but it was ſoon changed for beauties of a different ſort. We deſcended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there, finding my vehicle uneaſy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their eaſe, I bade them ſet me down, and walked before them all the reſt of the way. Mountains, clothed with fine trees and flowering ſhrubs, preſented themſelves on our aſcent from the vale; and we proceeded for half an hour through pleaſant wood-walks, where I regretted the impoſſibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new bloſſoms, which ſuc-

ceeded

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ceeded one another at every ſtep, and the virtues, as well as names, of which ſeemed familiar to Tumuni. At length we deſcended into a valley of greater extent than the former: a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell ſtown a ſteep declivity at the end of it, where it ſeemed to be loſt among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of their owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable ſpot I had not before ſeen even in Switzerland or Merionethſhire; but it was followed by an aſſemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little iſland twelve degrees to the ſouth of the line. I was not ſufficiently pleaſed with my ſolitary journey to diſcover charms, which had no actual exiſtence, and the firſt effect of the contraſt between St. Jago and Hinzuan had ceaſed; but, without any diſpoſition to give the landſcape a high colouring, I may truly ſay, what I thought at the time, that the whole country, which next preſented itſelf, as far ſurpaſſed Ermenonville, or Blenheim, or any other imitations of nature, which I had ſeen in France or England, as the fineſt bay ſurpaſſes an artificial piece of water. Two very high mountains, covered to the ſummit with the richeſt verdure, were at ſome diſtance on my right hand, and ſeparated from me by meadows diverſified with cottages and herds, or by vallies reſounding with torrents and waterfalls: on my left was the ſea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a ſmooth path naturally winding through a foreſt of ſpicy ſhrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were ſpangled with white bloſſoms equal in fragrance to orange flowers: my guide called them monongo's, but the day was declining ſo faſt, that it was impoſſible to examine them: the variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a tranſient view in this magnificent garden, would have ſupplied a naturaliſt with amuſement for a month; but I ſaw no remarkable inſect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diverſified by a few pleaſant glades, and new proſpects were continually opened: at length a noble view of the ſea burſt upon me unexpectedly; and, having paſſed a hill or two, we came to the beach, beyond which were ſeveral hills and cottages. We turned from the ſhore; and, on the next eminence, I ſaw the town of Domoni at a little diſtance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom ſpoke Arabic, and thinking it a convenient place for repoſe, I ſent my guide to apprize the king of my intended viſit. He returned in half an hour with a polite meſſage; and I walked into the town, which ſeemed large and populous. A great croud accompanied me, and I was conducted to a houſe built on the ſame plan with the beſt houſes at Matſamudo: in the middle of the court-yard ſtood a large monongo-tree, which perfumed the air; the apartment on the left was empty; and, in that on the right, ſat the king on a ſofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He roſe when I entered, and, graſping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but, as he could ſpeak only the language of Hinzuan, I had recourſe to my friend Tumuni, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I preſented the king with a very handſome Indian dreſs of blue ſilk with golden flowers, which had been worn only once at a maſquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the Koran, from which I read a few verſes to him:

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he took them with great complacency, and said, "he wished I had "come by sea, that he might have "loaded one of my boats with fruit "and with some of his finest cattle. "He had seen me, he said, on "board the frigate, where he had "been, according to his custom, "in disguise, and had heard of me "from his son Shaikh Hamdullah." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for our nation. "But I fear, "said he, that you are a magistrate, "and consequently profess peace: "why are you armed with a broad "sword?" "I was a man, I said, "before I was a magistrate; and, "if it should ever happen, that law "could not protect me, I must pro"tect myself." He seemed about sixty years old, had a very chearful countenance, and great appearance of good nature mixed with a certain dignity, which distinguished him from the crowd of ministers and officers who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayers; and, when he rose, he said, "this house is yours, and I "will visit you in it, after you have "taken some refreshment." Soon after, his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice-pudding, and some other dishes, with papayas and very good pomegranates: my own basket supplied the rest of my supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of English bottles; the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea-shells; and the bed place was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa, on which we had been sitting: though it was not a place that invited repose, and the gnats were inexpressibly troublesome, yet the fatigue of the day procured me very comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the king and his train, some of whom were Arabs; for I heard one of them say *bowa rakid*, or *he is sleeping*: there was immediate silence, and I passed the night with little disturbance, except from the unwelcome songs of the mosquitos. In the morning all was equally silent and solitary; the house appeared to be deserted; and I began to wonder what had become of Tumuni: he came at length with concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night; but that the king, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers, if he could not prevail on me to stay till a boat could be sent for. I went immediately to the king, whom I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the Koran in very legible characters: about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him; and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old king laughed heartily, when he heard the adventure of the night, and said, "you will now be my "guest for a week, I hope; but se"riously, if you must return soon, I "will send into the country for "some peasants to carry you." He then apologized for the behaviour of Shaikh Salim, which he had heard from Tumuni, who told me afterwards, that he was much displeased with it, and would not fail to express his displeasure: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantage which the English might derive, from sending a ship every year from Bombay to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially

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of their cowries. Ridiculous as this idea might ſeem, it ſhowed an enlargement of mind, a deſire of promoting the intereſt of his people, and a ſenſe of the benefits ariſing from trade, which could hardly have been expected from a petty African chief, and which, if he had been ſovereign of Yemen, might have been expanded into rational projects proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I anſwered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of India; but that I would report the ſubſtance of his converſation, and would ever bear teſtimony to his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildneſs with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to paſs a ſecond night in the iſland, I requeſted leave to return without waiting for bearers: he ſeemed very ſincere in preſſing me to lengthen my viſit, but had too much Arabian politeneſs to be importunate. We, therefore, parted; and, at the requeſt of Tumuni, who aſſured me that little time would be loſt in ſhowing attention to one of the worthieſt men in Hinzuan, I made a viſit to the governor of the town, whoſe name was Mutekka; his manners were very pleaſing, and he ſhowed me ſome letters from the officers of the Brilliant, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the ſtrongeſt eloge of his courteſy and liberality. He inſiſted on filling my baſket with ſome of the fineſt pomegranates I had ever ſeen; and I left the town, impreſſed with a very favourable opinion of the king and his governor. When I re-aſcended the hill, attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in Arabic, that I was going to receive the higheſt mark of diſtinction, that it was in the king's power to ſhow me; and he had ſcarce ended, when I heard the report of a ſingle gun: Shaikh Ahmed had ſaluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and ſaid, "Allah acbar:" the people ſhouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from exceſſive heat and the fatigue of climbing rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleaſant: I ſometimes reſted in the valleys and forded all the rivulets, which refreſhed me with their coolneſs, and ſupplied me with exquiſite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occaſionally with brandy. We were overtaken by ſome peaſants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the king's preſent of a cow with her calf, and a ſhe-goat with two kids: they had apparently been ſelected for their beauty, and were brought ſafe to Bengal. The proſpects, which had ſo greatly delighted me the preceding day, had not yet loſt their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I muſt confeſs, that the moſt delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I diſcerned at ſunſet from a rock near the prince's gardens. Cloſe to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been puniſhed that afternoon for a theft on board the Crocodile; and added, that, in his opinion, the puniſhment was no leſs juſt, than the offence was diſgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family, who had married a daughter of old Alwi, but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and ſeeing a pair of blue morocco ſlippers, could not reſiſt the temptation, and concealed

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them ſo ill under his gown, that he was detected with the mainer. This proves, that no principle of honour is inſtilled by education into the gentry of this iſland: even Alwi, when he had obſerved, that, "in "the month of Ramadan, it was not "lawful to paint with hinna or to "tell lies;" and when I aſked, whether both were lawful all the reſt of the year, anſwered, that "lies were "innocent, if no man was injured "by them." Tumuni took his leave, as well ſatisfied as myſelf with our excurſion: I told him, before his maſter, that I transferred alſo to him the dollars, which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that, if ever they ſhould part, I ſhould be very glad to receive him into my ſervice in India. Mr. Roberts, the maſter of the ſhip, had paſſed the day with Sayyad Ahmed, and had learned from him a few curious circumſtances concerning the government of Hinzuan; which he found to be a monarchy limited by an ariſtocracy. The king, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but, if the aſſembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, reſolved on a war with any of the neighbouring iſlands, they defrayed the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own all the booty and captives that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of ſlaves is uſually the real motive for ſuch enterprizes, and oſtenſible pretexts are eaſily found: at that very time, he underſtood, they meditated a war, becauſe they wanted hands for the following harveſt. Their fleet conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen ſmall veſſels, which they manned with about two thouſand five hundred iſlanders armed with muſkets and cutlaſſes, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had poſſeſſed themſelves of two towns in Mayata, which they ſtill kept and garriſoned. The ordinary expences of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the chief mufti a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their conſtitution, was conſidered as elective, though the line of ſucceſſion had not in fact been altered ſince the firſt election of a ſultan. He was informed, that a wandering Arab, who had ſettled in the iſland, had, by his intrepidity in ſeveral wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king, with limited powers; and that he was the grandfather of Shaikh Ahmed. I had been aſſured that queen Halimah was his grandmother, and that he was the ſixth king; but it muſt be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in Arabick, are uſed for a male and female anceſtor indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree of Ahmed's family, which I expected to procure, but was diſappointed, it would ſcarce be poſſible to aſcertain the time when his forefather obtained the higheſt rank in the government. In the year 1600 captain John Davis, who wrote an account of his voyage, found Mayata governed by a king, and Anſuame, or Hinzuan, by a queen, who ſhowed him great marks of friendſhip: he anchored before the town of Demos (does he mean Domoni?) which was as large, he ſays, as Plymouth; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been

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been a place of ſtrength and grandeur. I can only ſay, that I obſerved no ſuch ruins. Fifteen years after, captain Peyton and ſir Thomas Roe touched at the Comara iſlands, and from their ſeveral accounts it appears, that an old ſultaneſs then reſided in Hinzuan, but had a dominion paramount over all the iſles, three of her ſons governing Mohila in her name: if this be true, Sohaili and the ſucceſſors of Halimah muſt have loſt their influence over the other iſlands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it ſuits their convenience, they may always be furniſhed with a pretence for hoſtilities. Five generations of eldeſt ſons would account for an hundred and ſeventy of the years, which have elapſed, ſince Davis and Peyton found Hinzuan ruled by a ſultaneſs; and Ahmed was of ſuch an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation. It is probable, on the whole, that Halimah was the widow of the firſt Arabian king, and that her moſque has been continued in repair by his deſcendants; ſo that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe two centuries to have paſſed, ſince a ſingle Arab had the courage and addreſs to eſtabliſh in that beautiful iſland a form of government, which, though bad enough in itſelf, appears to have been adminiſtered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in Hinzuan, which, we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of Ahmed, but were probably occaſioned by the inſolence of an oligarchy, naturally hoſtile to king and people. That the mountains in the Comara iſlands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are ſtudiouſly concealed by the policy of the ſeveral governments, may be true, though I have no reaſon to believe it, and have only heard it aſſerted without evidence; but I hope, that neither an expectation of ſuch treaſures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an European power to violate the firſt principles of juſtice, by aſſuming the ſovereignty of Hinzuan, which cannot anſwer a better purpoſe than that of ſupplying our fleets with ſeaſonable refreſhment; and, although the natives have an intereſt in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wiſh their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings juſt, we muſt ſet them an example of ſtrict honeſty in the performance of our engagements. In truth, our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of Hinzuan, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few inſtances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an European, who had been hoſpitably received and liberally ſupported at Matſamudo, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a ſtreet in the evening: her huſband ran to protect her, and reſented the rudeneſs, probably with menaces, poſſibly with actual force; and the European is ſaid to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the ſcuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have juſtified the magiſtrate in puniſhing with death, was reported to the king, who told the governor (I uſe the very words of Alwi) that "it would be wiſer to "huſh it up." Alwi mentioned a civil caſe of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coaſt of Africa in the dominions of a very ſavage prince, a ſmall European veſſel was wrecked;

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and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. Alwi assured me, that, when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince, fell prostrate before him, and by ears and importunity prevailed on him to give the Europeans their liberty; that he supported them at his own expence, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to Hinzuan, and departed thence for Europe or India: he showed me the captain's promissory notes for sums, which to an African trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for liberty, safety, and, perhaps, life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist Alwi in obtaining justice; but he urged me to deliver an Arabic letter from him, enclosing the notes, to the governor-general, who, as he said, knew him well; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible, that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him or the vessel which he had commanded; but, if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people, whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts."

DESCRIPTION of CARNICOBAR and its INHABITANTS.

By Mr. G. Hamilton.

[From the same Work.]

"THE island, of which I propose to give a succinct account, is the northernmost of that cluster in the Bay of Bengal, which goes by the name of the Nicobars. It is low, of a round figure, about forty miles in circumference, and appears at a distance, as if entirely covered with trees: however, there are several well-cleared and delightful spots upon it. The soil is a black kind of clay, and marshy. It produces in great abundance, and with little care, most of the tropical fruits, such as pine-apples, plantains, papayas, cocoa-nuts, and areca-nuts; also excellent yams, and a root called cachu. The only four-footed animals upon the island are hogs, dogs, large rats, and an animal of the lizard kind, but large, called by the natives tolonqui; these frequently carry off fowls and chickens. The only kind of poultry are hens, and those not in great plenty. There are abundance of snakes of many different kinds, and the inhabitants frequently die of their bites. The timber upon the island is of many sorts, in great plenty, and some of it remarkably large, affording excellent materials for building or repairing ships.

"The natives are low in stature but

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but very well made, and ſurprizingly active and ſtrong; they are copper-coloured, and their features have a caſt of the Malay; quite the reverſe of elegant. The women in particluar are extremely ugly. The men cut their hair ſhort, and the women have their heads ſhaved quite bare, and wear no covering but a ſhort petticoat, made of a ſort of ruſh or dry graſs, which reaches half way down the thigh. This graſs is not interwoven, but hangs round the perſon ſomething like the thatching of a houſe. Such of them as have received preſents of cloth-petticoats from the ſhips, commonly tie them round immediately under the arms. The men wear nothing but a narrow ſtrip of cloth about the middle, in which they wrap up their privities ſo tight that there hardly is any appearance of them. The ears of both ſexes are pierced when young, and by ſqueezing into the holes large plugs of wood, or hanging heavy weights of ſhells, they contrive to render them wide, and diſagreeable to look at. They are naturally diſpoſed to be good humoured and gay, and are very fond of ſitting at table with Europeans, where they eat every thing that is ſet before them; and they eat moſt enormouſly. They do not care much for wine, but will drink bumpers of arak, as long as they can ſee. A great part of their time is ſpent in feaſting and dancing. When a feaſt is held at any village, every one, that chuſes, goes uninvited, for they are utter ſtrangers to ceremony. At thoſe feaſts they eat immenſe quantities of pork, which is their favourite food. Their hogs are remarkably fat, being fed upon the cocoa-nut kernel and ſea-water; indeed all their domeſtick animals, fowls, dogs, &c. are fed upon the ſame. They have likewiſe plenty of ſmall ſea fiſh which they ſtrike very dextrouſly with lances, wading into the ſea about knee deep. They are ſure of killing a very ſmall fiſh at ten or twelve yards diſtance. They eat the pork almoſt raw, giving it only a haſty grill over a quick fire. They roaſt a fowl, by running a piece of wood through it, by way of ſpit, and holding it over a briſk fire, until the feathers are burnt off, when it is ready for eating, in their taſte. They never drink water; only cocoa-nut milk and a liquor called ſoura, which oozes from the cocoa-nut tree after cutting off the young ſprouts or flowers. This they ſuffer to ferment before it is uſed, and then it is intoxicating, to which quality they add much by their method of drinking it, by ſucking it ſlowly through a ſmall ſtraw. After eating, the young men and women, who are fancifully dreſt with leaves, go to dancing, and the old people ſurround them ſmoaking tobacco and drinking ſoura. The dancers, while performing, ſing ſome of their tunes which are far from wanting harmony, and to which they keep exact time. Of muſical inſtruments they have only one kind, and that the ſimpleſt. It is a hollow bamboo about 2½ feet long and three inches in diameter, along the outſide of which there is ſtretched from end to end a ſingle ſtring made of the threads of a ſplit cane, and the place under the ſtring is hollowed a little to prevent it from touching. This inſtrument is played upon in the ſame manner as a guitar. It is capable of producing but few notes; the performer however makes it ſpeak harmoniouſly, and generally accompanies it with the voice.

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"What they know of phyſick is ſmall and ſimple. I had once occaſion to ſee an operation in ſurgery performed on the toe of a young girl, who had been ſtung by a ſcorpion or centipee. The wound was attended with a conſiderable ſwelling, and the little patient ſeemed in great pain. One of the natives produced the under jaw of a ſmall fiſh, which was long, and planted with two rows of teeth as ſharp as needles; taking this in one hand, and a ſmall ſtick by way of hammer in the other, he ſtuck the teeth three or four times into the ſwelling, and made it bleed freely: the toe was then bound up with certain leaves, and next day the child was running about perfectly well.

"Their houſes are generally built upon the beach in villages of fifteen or twenty houſes each; and each houſe contains a family of twenty perſons and upwards. Theſe habitations are raiſed upon wooden pillars about ten feet from the ground; they are round, and, having no windows, look like bee-hives, covered with thatch. The entry is through a trap door below, where the family mount by a ladder, which is drawn up at night. This manner of building is intended to ſecure the houſes from being infeſted with ſnakes, and rats, and for that purpoſe the pillars are bound round with a ſmooth kind of leaf, which prevents animals from being able to mount; beſides which, each pillar has a broad flat piece of wood near the top of it, the projecting of which effectually prevents the further progreſs of ſuch vermin as may have paſſed the leaf. The flooring is made with thin ſtrips of bamboos laid at ſuch diſtances from one another, as to leave free admiſſion for light and air, and the inſide is neatly finiſhed and decorated with fiſhing lances, nets, &c.

"The art of making cloth of any kind is quite unknown to the inhabitants of this iſland; what they have is got from the ſhips that come to trade in cocoa-nuts. In exchange for their nuts (which are reckoned the fineſt in this part of India) they will accept of but few articles; what they chiefly wiſh for is cloth of different colours, hatchets, and hanger blades, which they uſe in cutting down the nuts. Tobacco and arak they are very fond of, but expect theſe in preſents. They have no money of their own, nor will they allow any value to the coin of other countries, further than as they happen to fancy them for ornaments; the young women ſometimes hanging ſtrings of dollars about their necks. However they are good judges of gold and ſilver, and it is no eaſy matter to impoſe baſer metals upon them, as ſuch.

"They purchaſe a much larger quantity of cloth, than is conſumed upon their own iſland. This is intended for the Choury market. Choury it a ſmall iſland to the ſouthward of theirs, to which a large fleet of their boats ſails every year about the month of November, to exchange cloth for canoes; for they cannot make theſe themſelves. This voyage they perform by the help of the ſun and ſtars, for they know nothing of the compaſs.

"In their diſpoſition there are two remarkable qualities. One is their entire neglect of compliment and ceremony, and the other, their averſion to diſhoneſty. A Carnicobarian travelling to a diſtant village upon buſineſs or amuſement, paſſes through many towns in his way without perhaps ſpeaking to any one: if he is hungry or tired, he goes up into the

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the neareſt houſe, and helps himſelf to what he wants, and ſits till he is reſted, without taking the ſmalleſt notice of any of the family, unleſs he has buſineſs or news to communicate. Theft or robbery is ſo very rare amongſt them, that a man going out of his houſe, never takes away his ladder, or ſhuts his door, but leaves it open for any body to enter that pleaſes, without the leaſt apprehenſion of having any thing ſtolen from him.

"Their intercourſe with ſtrangers is ſo frequent, that they have acquired in general the barbarous Portugueſe, ſo common over India; their own language has a ſound quite different from moſt others, their words being pronounced with a kind of ſtop, or catch in the throat, at every ſyllable.

"They have no notion of a God, but they believe firmly in the devil, and worſhip him from fear. In every village there is a high pole erected with long ſtrings of ground-rattans hanging from it, which, it is ſaid, has the virtue to keep him at a diſtance. When they ſee any ſigns of an approaching ſtorm, they imagine that the devil intends them a viſit, upon which many ſuperſtitious ceremonies are performed. The people of every village march round their own boundaries, and fix up at different diſtances ſmall ſticks ſplit at the top, into which ſplit they put a piece of cocoa nut, a wiſp of tobacco, and the leaf of a certain plant: whether this is meant as a peace offering to the devil, or a ſcarecrow to frighten him away, does not appear.

"When a man dies, all his live ſtock, cloth, hatchets, fiſhing lances, and in ſhort every moveable thing he poſſeſſed is buried with him, and his death is mourned by the whole village. In one view this is an excellent cuſtom, ſeeing it prevents all diſputes about the property of the deceaſed among his relations. His wife muſt conform to cuſtom by by having a joint cut off from one of her fingers; and, if ſhe refuſes this, ſhe muſt ſubmit to have a deep notch cut in one of the pillars of her houſe.

"I was once preſent at the funeral of an old woman. When we went into the houſe, which had belonged to the deceaſed, we found it full of her female relations; ſome of them were employed in wrapping up the corpſe in leaves and cloth, and others tearing to pieces all the cloth which had belonged to her. In another houſe hard by, the men of the village, with a great many others from the neighbouring towns, were ſitting drinking ſoura and ſmoaking tobacco. In the mean time two ſtout young fellows were buſy digging a grave in the ſand near the houſe. When the women had done with the corpſe, they ſet up a moſt hideous howl, upon which the people began to aſſemble round the grave, and four men went up into the houſe to bring down the body; in doing this they were much interrupted by a young man, ſon to the deceaſed, who endeavoured with all his might to prevent them, but finding it in vain, he clung round the body, and was carried to the grave along with it: there, after a violent ſtruggle, he was turned away and conducted back to the houſe. The corpſe being now put into the grave, and the laſhings, which bound the legs and arms cut, all the live ſtock, which had been the property of the deceaſed, conſiſting of about half a dozen hogs, and as many fowls, was killed, and flung in above it; a man then approached with a bunch of leaves

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leaves ſtuck upon the end of a pole, which he ſwept two or three times gently along the corpſe, and then the grave was filled up. During the ceremony, the women continued to make the moſt horrible vocal concert imaginable: the men ſaid nothing. A few days afterwards, a kind of monument was erected over the grave, with a pole upon it, to which long ſtrips of cloth of different colours were hung.

"Polygamy is not known among them; and their puniſhment of adultery is not leſs ſevere than effectual. They cut, from the man's offending member, a piece of the foreſkin proportioned to the frequent commiſſion or enormity of the crime.

"There ſeems to ſubſiſt among them a perfect equality. A few perſons, from their age, have a little more reſpect paid to them; but there is no appearance of authority one over another. Their ſociety ſeems bound rather by mutual obligations continually conferred and received; the ſimpleſt and beſt of all ties.

"The inhabitants of the Andamans are ſaid to be cannibals. The people of Carnicobar have a tradition among them, that ſeveral canoes came from Andaman many years ago, and that the crews were all armed, and committed great depredations, and killed ſeveral of the Nicobarians. It appears at firſt remarkable, that there ſhould be ſuch a wide difference between the manners of the inhabitants of iſlands ſo near one another; the Andamans being ſavage canibals, and the others, the moſt harmleſs inoffenſive people poſſible. But it is accounted for by the following hiſtorical anecdote, which, I have been aſſured, is matter of fact. Shortly after the Portugueſe had diſcovered the paſſage to India round the Cape of Good Hope, one of their ſhips, on board of which were a number of Mozambique negroes, was loſt on the Andaman iſlands, which were till then uninhabited. The blacks remained in the iſland and ſettled it: the Europeans made a ſmall ſhallop in which they ſailed to Pegu. On the other hand, the Nicobar iſlands were peopled from the oppoſite main, and the coaſt of Pegu; in proof of which, the Nicobar and Pegu languages are ſaid, by thoſe acquainted with the latter, to have much reſemblance."

ACCOUNT of the EMPIRE of BORNOU, and of the CUSTOMS, MANNERS, and GOVERNMENT of the INHABITANTS.

[From the Proceedings of the Aſſociation for promoting the Diſcovery of the interior Parts of Africa.]

"BORNOU, the name which the natives give to the country, is diſtinguiſhed in Arabic by the appellation of Bernou or Bernoa, a word that ſignifies the land of Noah, for the Arabs conceive that, on the firſt

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firſt retiring of the deluge, its mountains received the ark.

"The climate, as may naturally be expected in a kingdom which ſeems to be bounded by the 16th and the 26th parallels of latitude, is characteriſed by exceſſive, though not by uniform heat. Two ſeaſons, the one commencing ſoon after the middle of April, the other at the ſame period of October, may be ſaid to divide the year. The firſt is introduced by violent winds that bring with them, from the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth, an intenſe heat, with a deluge of ſultry rain, and ſuch tempeſts of thunder and lightning as deſtroy multitudes of the cattle, and many of the people. During the rainy period (the continuance of which is from three to nine ſucceſſive days, with ſhort intervals, from the occaſional changes of the wind to the north or weſt) the inhabitants confine themſelves cloſely to their dwellings; but the reſt of the firſt ſeaſon, however ſultry and however occaſionally wet, is not incompatible with the neceſſary labours of the huſbandman and the ſhepherd.

"At the commencement of the ſecond ſeaſon in the latter part of October, the ardent heat ſubſides; the air becomes ſoft and mild; the weather continues perfectly ſerene; and as the year declines, an unwelcome coolneſs precedes the riſing of the ſun.

"The inhabitants, though conſiſting of ſuch a multitude of nations, that thirty languages are ſaid to be ſpoken in the empire, are alike in their complexion, which is entirely black; but they are not of the Negro caſt.

"In a climate ſo warm, the chief recommendations of dreſs are decency and ornament: among the pooreſt, therefore, by whom the firſt only is regarded, a kind of girdle for the waiſt is ſometimes the only covering; but in general a turban, conſiſting, as in Barbary, of a red woollen cap, ſurrounded by folds of cotton, together with a looſe robe of coloured cotton of a coarſer kind, are alſo worn*.

"The grain that conſtitutes the principal object of culture in Bornou is Indian corn, of two different kinds, which are diſtinguiſhed in this country, by the names of the gaſſob, and the gamphuly.

"The gaſſob, which in its general ſhape reſembles the common reed, is of two ſpecies. The firſt grows with a long ſtalk that bears an ear, which in length is from eight to twelve inches, and contains, in little huſks or cavities, from three to five hundred grains, of the ſize of ſmall peaſe. The ſecond ſpecies, which is common in Tripoli, differs no otherwiſe from the firſt than in the ſhorter ſize of the ear.

"The gamphuly is diſtinguiſhed from the gaſſob, by the bulk of the ſtalk; for that of the gamphuly is much thicker, by the number of its ears, for it has ſeveral on the ſame reed, and by the ſize of the grain, which is conſiderably larger. This kind of corn is frequently ſeen in Spain, and is there called maize.

"* The dreſs of the greateſt part of the people is compoſed of ſhirts of blue cotton, which is manufactured in the country; of a red cap, which is imported from Tripoli; and of a white muſlin turban, which is brought from Cairo by the pilgrims who return through that City from Mecca. Noſe-rings of gold are worn by the principal people as a mark of diſtinction. *Ben Alli.*"

"Wheat

"Wheat and barley are not raiſed in Bornou; but the horſe-bean of Europe and the common kidney-bean are cultivated with great aſſiduity, as they are uſed for food, both by the ſlaves and by the cattle *.

"In the culture of theſe different grains, the hoe alone is employed, as the uſe of the plough is ſtill unknown to the people. The women divide with the men the labours of their huſbandry; for while the latter, with their hoes, open the ground, and form the trenches in ſtraight lines parallel to each other, the women follow and throw in the ſeed: nor is this the only part which they take in the buſineſs of the field; for to them, as ſoon as the weeds begin to riſe on the ridges of the lines in which the grain is ſowed, the hoe is conſtantly transferred.

"The ſowing ſeaſon commences at the end of the periodical rains of April; and ſuch in that climate is the rapid vegetation, that on the 9th of July the gaſſob is reaped; but the gamphuly, a grain of ſlower growth, is ſeldom cut till the month of Auguſt or September.

"Such are the ſeveral ſpecies of corn that, among the people of Bornou, ſupply the place of the wheat, the barley, and the oats of Europe. Two ſpecies of roots are alſo uſed as wholeſome and ſubſtantial food: the one, which is called the Dondoo, produces a low plant, with branches that ſpread four or five feet upon the ground, and leaves that reſemble thoſe of the garden-bean. At the end of five months, from the time of its being planted, the leaves fall off, and the root is taken from the ground, and being cut into ſmall pieces, is dried in the ſun, in which ſtate it may be kept for two years. Its farther preparation conſiſts in reducing it to a fine powder, and mixing it with palm oil till it aſſumes the conſiſtency of paſte.

"The other root is that of a tree of which the name had eſcaped the Shereef's recollection: boiling is the only proceſs that is requiſite in preparing it for uſe.

"The ſame character of ſufficiency which marks the catalogue of the different kinds of grain in Bornou, belongs alſo to the liſt of its various fruits; for though neither olives nor oranges are ſeen in the empire, and even figs are rare; and though the apples and plumbs of its growth deſerve no commendation, and the dates are as indifferent as they are ſcarce, yet grapes, and apricots, and pomegranates, together with lemons and limes, and the two ſpecies of melons, the water and the muſk, are produced in large abundance†. But one of the moſt valuable of its vegetable ſtores, is a tree which is called kedeynah, that in form and height reſembles the olive, is like the lemon in its leaf, and bears a nut, of which the kernel and the ſhell are both in great eſtimation, the firſt as a fruit, the laſt on account of the oil which it furniſhes when bruiſed, and which ſupplies the lamps of the people of Bornou with a ſubſtitute for the oil of olives.

"* The country in the neighbourhood of the city of Bornou is fertile in Indian corn and rice. Of barley and wheat the quantity raiſed is ſmall. A ſpecies of bean, which reſembles the horſe-bean of Europe, though larger, and of a darker hue, is a much more common produce. Gum-trees are thinly ſcattered. Cotton, hemp, and indigo are alſo among the various produce of its ſoil. *Ben Alli.*"

"† The country abounds in different ſpecies of fruit-trees, but that which produces the date is not of the number. *Ben Alli.*"

To

"To this competent provision of such vegetables as are requisite to the support, or grateful to the appetite of man, must be added a much more ample and more varied supply of animal food. Innumerable flocks of sheep, and herds of goats and cows, (for there are no oxen) together with multitudes of horses, buffaloes, and camels, (the flesh of which is in high estimation) cover the vales or pasture on the mountains of Bornou*.

"The common, though not the Guinea fowl, is also reared by the inhabitants; and their hives of bees are so extremely numerous, that the wax is often thrown away as an article of no value in the market.

"Their game consists of the huadde, and other species of antelopes, of the partridge, the wild-duck and the ostrich, the flesh of which they prize above every other.

"Their other wild animals are, the lion, the leopard, the civet-cat, the small wolf, the fox, the wild dog that hunts the antelope; the elephant, which is not common, and of which they make no use; the crocodile, the hippopotamus, which is often killed on the banks of the river that runs from the Neel Shem, (the Nile of Egypt) to the desert of Bilma; and a large and singular animal, which is distinguished by the name of zarapah, which is described as resembling the camel in its head and body, as having a long and slender neck like the ostrich, as being much taller at the shoulders than the haunches, and as defended by so tough a skin as to furnish the natives with shields that no arrow or javelin can pierce †.

"Bornou, like other countries that approach the equinoctial, is much infested with different kinds of dangerous or disgusting reptiles, especially snakes and scorpions, centipedes and toads.

"Of its beasts of burthen the variety is as ample as the numbers are abundant; for the camel, the horse, the ass, and the mule, are common in the empire.

"The dog, with which the inhabitants pursue their game, appears to be their only domestic animal."

"Two different religions divide the sentiments, without disturbing the peace of the kingdom.

"The ruling people profess the Mahometan faith ‡; and though the antient Paganism of the dependent nations does not appear to subject them to any inconvenience, a considerable part are converts to the doctrines of the prophet.

"An elective monarchy constitutes the government of Bornou ||, and like the similar system of Cashna, endangers the happiness, while it acknowledges the power of the people. On the death of the sovereign, the privilege of chusing among his sons, without regard to priority of birth, a successor to his throne, is conferred by the nation on three of the most distinguished men, whose age and character for wisdom are denoted by their title of elders;

"* Horses and horned cattle, goats and sheep, and camels, are the common animals of the country. *Ben Alli.*"

"† Giraffa is the name by which the camelopardalis is called, in the old zoological books. The description here inserted, seems to have arisen from a blended recollection of that animal, and of the hippopotamus, whose hide is extremely tough."

"‡ The Sultan and his subjects are Musselmen. *Ben Alli.*"

"|| Bornou is governed by a king, who takes the title of Sultan. *Ben Alli.*"

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and whose conduct in the state has invested them with the public esteem. Bound by no other rule as to their judgment, or restraint as to their will, than that which the expressed or implied instruction of electing the most worthy may form, they retire to the appointed place for their secret deliberation. the avenues to which are carefully guarded by the people: and while the contending suggestions of private interest, or a sense of the real difficulty of chusing where judgment may easily err, and error may be fatal to the state, keeps them in suspence, the princes are closely confined in separate chambers of the palace. Their choice being made, they proceed to the apartment of the sovereign elect, and conduct him, in silence, to the gloomy place in which the unburied corpse of his father, that cannot be interred till this awful ceremony is passed, awaits his arrival. There the elders point out to him the several virtues and the several defects which marked the character of his departed parent; and they also forcibly describe, with just panegyric, or severe condemnation, the several measures which raised or depressed the glory of his reign. "You see before you the "end of your mortal career: the "eternal, which succeeds to it, will "be miserable or happy in proportion as your reign shall have proved a curse or a blessing to your "people."

"From this dread scene of instruction, the new sovereign, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, is conducted back to the palace, and is there invested by the electors with all the slaves, and with two thirds of all the lands and cattle of his father; the remaining third being always detained as a provision for the other children of the deceased monarch. No sooner is the sovereign invested with the ensigns of royalty, than such of his brothers as have reached the age of manhood prostrate themselves at his feet, and in rising press his hands to their lips—the two ceremonies that constitute the declaration of allegiance.

"If any doubt of their sincerity suggests itself to the king, or to the elders, death or perpetual imprisonment removes the fear; but if no suspicion arises, an establishment of lands and cattle from the possessions of their father, together with presents of slaves from the reigning monarch, are liberally bestowed upon them.

"Often, however, the most popular, or the most ambitious of the rejected princes, covering his designs with close dissimulation, and the zeal of seeming attachment, creates a powerful party; and assured of foreign aid, prepares, in secret, the means of successful revolt. But, stained with such kindred blood, the sceptre of the victorious rebel is not lastingly secure—one revolution invites and facilitates another; and till the slaughter of the field, the sword of the executioner, or the knife of the assassin, have left him without a brother, the throne of the sovereign is seldom firmly established.

"Such, in the Mahometan empires of Bornou and of Cashna, is the rule of succession to the monarchy; but the Pagan kingdoms adjoining, with obviously less wisdom, permit the several sons of the late sovereign, attended by their respective partizans, to offer themselves in person, to the choice of the electors, and to be actually present at the decision; an imprudence that often brings with it the interference of other states, and unites the different cala-

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calamities of foreign and inteſtine war.

" Thoſe of the royal children of Bornou, who are too young to take a ſhare in the reſerved part of their deceaſed father's poſſeſſions, are educated in the palace till the age of maturity arrives: at which time their reſpective portions of lands and cattle are aſſigned them.

" To the four lawful wives of the late ſovereign, a ſeparate houſe, with a ſuitable eſtabliſhment, is granted by the reigning monarch; and ſuch of his numerous concubines as were not ſlaves, are at liberty to return to their ſeveral friends: and, together with leave to retain their cloaths, and all their ornaments, which are often valuable, have free permiſſion to marry.

" In the empire of Bornou, as in all the Mahometan ſtates, the adminiſtration of the provinces is committed to governors appointed by the crown; and the expences of the ſovereign are partly defrayed by his hereditary lands, and partly by taxes levied on the people.

" The preſent ſultan, whoſe name is Alli, is a man of an unoſtentatious plain appearance; for he ſeldom wears any other dreſs than the common blue ſhirt of cotton or of ſilk, and the ſilk or muſlin turban, which form the uſual dreſs of the country. Such, however, is the magnificence of his ſeraglio, that the ladies who inhabit it are ſaid to be five hundred in number; and he himſelf is deſcribed as the reputed father of three hundred and fifty children, of whom three hundred are males; a diſproportion which naturally ſuggeſts the idea, that the mother, preferring to the gratification of natural affection, the joy of ſeeing herſelf the ſuppoſed parent of a future candidate for the empire, ſometimes exchanges her female child for the male offspring of a ſtranger.

" Equally ſplendid in his ſtable, he is ſaid to have 500 horſes for his own uſe, and for that of the numerous ſervants of his houſehold.

" In many of the neighbouring kingdoms, the monarch himſelf is the executioner of thoſe criminals on whom his own voice has pronounced ſentence of death: but the ſultan of Bornou, too poliſhed, or too humane, to pollute his hands with the blood of his ſubjects, commits the care of the execution to the cadi, who directs his ſlaves to ſtrike off the head of the priſoner.

" The military force of the ſultan of Bornou conſiſts in the multitude of his horſemen; for his foot ſoldiers are few in number, and are ſcarcely conſidered as contributing to the ſtrength of the battle*. The ſabre, the lance, the pike, and the bow, conſtitute their weapons of offence; and a ſhield of hides compoſes their defenſive armour. Firearms, though not entirely unknown to them, (for thoſe with which the merchants of Fezzan occaſionally travel, are ſufficient to give them an idea of their importance and deciſive effect) are neither uſed nor poſſeſſed by the people of Bornou.

" When the ſovereign prepares for war, and levies an army for the purpoſe, he is ſaid to have a cuſtom, (the reſult of idle vanity or of politic oſtentation) of directing a date tree to be placed as a threſhold to one of the gates of his capital, and of commanding his horſemen to en-

" * The ſultan of Bornou commands a vaſt army of horſemen, and is a much more powerful monarch than the emperor of Morocco. *Ben Alli.*"

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ter the town one by one, that the parting of the tree in the middle, when worn through by the trampling of the horſes, may enable him to judge of the ſufficiency of their numbers, and operate as a ſignal that his levy is complete.

" In their manners, the people of Bornou are ſingularly courteous and humane. They will not paſs a ſtranger on the road till they have ſtopped and ſaluted him: the moſt violent of their quarrels are only conteſts of words; and though a part of the buſineſs of their huſbandry is aſſigned to the women, yet as their employment is confined to that of dropping the ſeed in the furrows, and of removing the weeds with a hoe, it has more of the amuſement of occaſional occupation, than of the harſhneſs of continued labour.

" Paſſionately attached to the tumultuous gratifications of play, yet unacquainted with any game but drafts, they often ſit down on the ground, and forming holes to anſwer the purpoſe of ſquares, ſupply the place of men with dates, or the meaner ſubſtitute of ſtones, or of camel's dung. On their ſkill in the management of theſe rude inſtruments of the game, they ſtake their gold duſt, their braſs money, and even their very clothes; and as the bye-ſtanders on theſe occaſions conſtantly obtrude their advice, and ſometimes make the moves for the perſon whoſe ſucceſs they wiſh, their play is uſually accompanied by that conflict of abuſe, and vehemence of ſcolding, which mark and terminate the ſharpeſt of their quarrels.

" Such is the amuſement of the lower claſſes of the people: thoſe of a ſuperior rank are devoted to the more difficult and more intereſting game of cheſs, in which they are eminently ſkilled.

" In countries that afford without cultivation, or that give in return for ſlight exertions of labour, the principal requiſites of life, few articles of export are likely to be found. Thoſe of the Bornou empire conſiſt of gold duſt*, ſlaves, horſes, oſtrich feathers, ſalt, and civet.

" By what means the gold duſt, that appears to be a principal article of trade, is procured by the inhabitants, whether from mines in the country, or by purchaſe from other nations, the ſhereef has not explained. But of their mode of obtaining the ſlaves, who conſtitute another extenſive branch of their commerce, he gives the following account:

" South eaſt of Bornou, at the diſtance of about twenty days travelling, and ſeparated from it by ſeveral ſmall deſerts, is ſituated an extenſive kingdom, of the name of Begarmee, the inhabitants of which are rigid Mahometans, and though perfectly black in their complexions, are not of the Negro caſt. Beyond this kingdom to the Eaſt are ſeveral tribes of Negroes, idolaters in their religion, ſavage in their manners, and accuſtomed, it is ſaid, to feed on human fleſh. They are called the Kardee, the Serrowah, the Showva, the Battah, and Mulgui. Theſe nations the Begarmeeſe, who fight on horſeback, and are great warriors, annually invade; and when they have taken as many priſoners as the opportunity affords, or their purpoſe may require, they drive the captives, like cattle, to Begarmee. It is ſaid that if any of

" * At Bornou I exchanged for gold duſt and oſtrich feathers the merchandize which I brought from Tripoli. *Ben Alli.*"

them,

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them, weakened by age or exhauſted by fatigue, happen to linger in their pace, one of the horſemen ſeizes on the oldeſt, and cutting off his arm, uſes it as a club to drive on the reſt.

"From Begarmee they are ſent to Bornou*, where they are ſold at a low price; and thence many of them are conveyed to Fezzan, where they generally embrace the muſſulman faith, and are afterwards exported by the way of Tripoli to different parts of the Levant.

"Such is the mode of obtaining the greateſt part of the ſlaves who are annually ſold in Bornou: but as ſeveral of the provinces of the empire are inhabited by Negroes, their inſurrections, real or pretended, afford to the ſovereign an opportunity of increaſing his income by their ſale.

"A more politic and more effectual mode of aiding his finances is fruitleſsly offered by the ſalt lakes of the province of Domboo: for, as the great empire of Caſhna is entirely deſtitute of ſalt, and none is found in the dominions of the Negroes, the ſole poſſeſſion of this article might inſure to the king of Bornou a conſtant and ample revenue of the beſt kind, a revenue collected from the ſubjects of foreign ſtates. But ſuch is the prevalency of antient cuſtom over the obvious ſuggeſtions of policy, that the people of Agadex, a province of the Caſhna Empire, are annually permitted to load their immenſe caravans with the ſalt of Bornou, and to engroſs the profits of this invaluable trade. The ſalt is collected on the ſhores of the ſeveral lakes which produce it, and the only acknowledgement that the merchants of Agadez give in return for the article, is the trifling price which they pay in braſs and copper (the currency of Bornou) to the neighbouring peaſants.

"The civet, which forms another article of the export trade of Bornou, and the greateſt part of which is ſent to the Negro ſtates who inhabit far to the ſouth, is obtained from a ſpecies of wild cat that is common in the woods of Bornou and of Caſhna.

"This animal is taken alive in a trap prepared for the purpoſe, is placed in a cage, and is ſtrongly irritated till a copious perſpiration is produced. Its ſweat, and eſpecially the moiſture that appears upon the tail, is then ſcraped off, is preſerved in a bladder, and conſtitutes the much valued perfume. After a ſhort interval, the operation is renewed, and is repeated, from time to time, till at the end of twelve or fourteen days the animal dies of the fatigue and continual torment. The quantity obtained from one cat is generally about half an ounce.

"Of manufactures, none for exportation are furniſhed by the people of Bornou; but the ſhereef remarks that, for their own conſumption, they fabricate from the iron ore of their country, though with little ſkill, ſuch ſlight tools as their huſbandry requires†."

* The Sultan of Bornou is continually at war with the various idolatrous tribes of Blacks who border on his dominions. Thoſe who are taken priſoners are ſold to the Arabs, and this traffic conſtitutes the principal commerce of the country.

Slaves are every day brought to him; for the acquiſition of this ſort of plunder is his conſtant occupation. *Ben Alli.*

† From the hemp of the country, a coarſe linen is manufactured by the people of Bornou. Their cotton, which is alſo a native produce, is ſpun to a thread of remarkable fineneſs, and is then converted to callicoes and muſlins of about nine inches in breadth;

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The preſent State of SAMAR, one of the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, and of its native INHABITANTS.

[From the firſt volume of Travels round the World, by M. De Pagés.]

"THE natives, eſpecially ſuch as reſide on the ſea coaſt, were formerly Mahometans; but the miſſionary jeſuits having converted them to the religion and allegiance of Spain, now exerciſe over them an authority almoſt unlimited. For the moſt trivial offences, infants, children, men, women, old and young, without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex, are ſubjected to the diſcipline of the whip; and the aſcendency acquired by the clergy over the minds of the people in their reſpective pariſhes is ſuch, that the Indian, having received his ſtripes with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, thanks the jeſuit for his good offices, and departs fully ſatisfied of the neceſſity of a puniſhment which nothing but an honeſt zeal for his welfare could have induced him to inflict. The cenſure of the church is in general attended with real penitence on the part of the offender; who, as I was aſſured, is rarely known to relapſe into the ſame fault. Puniſhment is always executed in public; and each individual being aware that by reaſon of human frailty he is equally liable to the rod of diſcipline with his neighbour, it ſtamps no diſgrace, in the eſtimation of others, on the character of the delinquent. The jeſuits are at great pains to inſtruct them in matters of religion; and hence, beſides the ordinary feſtivals of the church, two days of the week are ſet apart for divine ſervice, in which the Indian celebrates the praiſes of his Creator with ſuch melody, unction, and ingenuous ſimplicity, as beſtow real ſublimity on the exerciſes of his devotion. I happened to be preſent at the parochial feaſt, which was obſerved with much apparent piety by the Indians, though in a manner conſonant to the genius of the Spaniards. In the morning the banners of the Virgin, and St. Francis, are diſplayed from the baſtions of the caſtle, and ſaluted at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun by a diſcharge of artillery. On this occaſion it had been formerly cuſtomary to give the Indians a ball in the church; but this religious dance having been found to terminate ſometimes in certain irregularities, it was now aboliſhed. —— I return to the character of the parochial clergy.

"The jeſuit, by means of confeſſion, has acceſs to the moſt ſecret thoughts of the Indian; who repairs, in the ſimplicity of his heart, to ſubmit not only his offences, but every thing that is either the object of his hope or fear, to the ear of his paſtor. Advice and admonition on the part of the prieſt, is always accompanied with ſome ſmall preſent, conſiſting in wine, medicine, liquor or animal food; and thus, by mingling kindneſs with ſeverity, and

and of a length which varies from fifteen to twenty yards. Such of theſe cotton manufactures as are enriched with the blue die of the country, which from the ſuperiority of the indigo, is preferable to that of the Eaſt Indies, are valued more highly than ſilk; yet their only ſupply of the latter is that which the merchants of Barbary convey.

They alſo fabricate a ſpecies of carpet, as a covering for their horſes. Tents, from wool and the hair of goats and of camels, are made for the uſe of the army.

The little ſilver they have is converted by their own artiſts into rings.

rewards

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wards with punishment, the natives are gradually reclaimed from their ignorance and misconduct. Like good children, they learn to regard the missionary as one sent from heaven to conduct them by the path of peace and innocence to temporal as well as eternal happiness. He acquires in their minds all the rights and consequence of an earthly parent, whom nature authorizes to establish the principles of virtue and good order in his family. Hence, in situations of common danger, he is their leader by sea and land; and, on account of his superior wisdom and courage, is looked up to as a strong tower against the invasion and inroads of the Mahometans. It is competent to each missionary in his own parish to issue orders for building or repairing the fort, for providing it in cannon and ammunition, and for the construction of war-canoes, which he frequently commands in person. He appoints all subordinate officers, presides over the discipline of the militia, regulates the number of the guards, and even directs the sentinel to his proper post. In fine, the clergy of Samar are the friends as well as the pastors, the temporal as well as the spiritual leaders of the flock; amongst whom I was unable to discover either the imperious bigot, or the low Levite who earns the emoluments of his profession by a studied accommodation of his life to the taste and humour of his superiors.

"I am no friend to the exorbitant power of the church; but whatever be the ultimate views of monastic policy, good perhaps in some respects, and bad in others, I must say, that on this island it seems to have a happy influence on the real interests of the people. The maxims of the jesuits conduct here seem, in matters both of a civil and spiritual nature, much to resemble those exercised by their brethren in the missions of Paraguay; though the product of the people's industry being permitted to remain in their own hands, and at their own disposal, is a circumstance much to the credit of the former. I cannot conclude the just encomium of these men, without observing, that in a situation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors might with little encouragement have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection, I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to civil authority, but at the same time with a strength and firmness of mind truly manly and heroic. There now only remain in the dominions of Spain the jesuits of the Marian isles, whom we had no authority to molest; and in America, those of California, whom the natives, under different pretences, had hitherto contrived to retain in the country. As to such as were formerly scattered over the other parts of New Spain, they had long since taken their passage for Europe.

"In this island the soil is extremely fertile, easily cultivated, and rewards the industry of the labourer with at least forty fold. Besides other grain, the Indians sow a considerable quantity of rice, but which is wholly intended for the use of the parochial clergy, the settlement of Manilla, and the governor of the province. The common food of the natives consists chiefly in a species of potatoe, yams, and a root named *gaby*. Agreeably to the example of the Indians, I lived here entirely on roots, whose sugary taste is much more pleasant than the uniform insipidity of boiled rice. At first they seemed heavy and flatulent, but they soon became familiar to my stomach; and I was satisfied in the end that

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they are more nutritious to the conſtitution, as well as more reliſhing to the taſte. I ate likewiſe a good deal of pork, which is leſs in ſize, and runs more in filaments, than ours. This fleſh, though black, and conſiſting of ſtrong fibres, like thoſe of the ox, is much ſweeter, and by no means difficult of digeſtion. The Indian has a ſurpriſing dexterity at diſcovering the tabon's neſt, and is ſometimes ſo lucky as to light upon no fewer than forty in one hoard; but from the ſhort experience I had of this aliment, I thought it heavy and indigeſtible. From the ſap of the cocoa, nipe, and cabonegro-trees, they obtain the materials for an excellent ſpecies of brandy. The laſt of theſe owes its name to the black colour of its fibres, which are manufactured by the natives into cables, and different kinds of cordage. Another article of Indian food, is the ſubſtance of the cocoa nut, which is eaten in the firſt ſtage of congelation; for after it becomes ſolid, and acquires, in ſome degree, the taſte of a freſh almond, it ceaſes to be equally digeſtible.

"The only inſtrument uſed by the Indian, either for the purpoſes of war or induſtry, is a kind of couteau-de-chaſſe, named, as is above mentioned, cris, or campilan; an inſtrument which, after ſerving him againſt the enemy, enables him to cut down the largeſt tree of the wood, to be formed into a canoe, or ſplit into deals for more ordinary uſes. When the campilan has been ſo much worn as to be of little further ſervice to him, it is ſtill employed by his wife to grub up a light ſoil, in which ſhe plants yams, potatoes, and other roots. In the ſpace of two months they are dug up in a ſtate of maturity, and of a wonderful ſize, inſomuch that within the compaſs of eighty yards, the Indian finds his annual ſupply of theſe articles for the maintenance of a numerous family.

"The ſugar-cane, cabbages, garlic, onions, melons, the Chineſe-orange, lemons, vegetables, and, though in ſmall quantity, ſeveral other kinds of fruit little known in Europe, are cultivated on this iſland. It abounds in figs, of which I reckoned no fewer than thirteen or fourteen different ſpecies, with a great variety of perfumes. The natives are inſtructed to give particular attention to the culture of the cocoa-tree, which grows here to an uncommon ſize. Their woods produce the *pamplemous*, a ſpecies of orange near five inches in diameter, pepper, honey, and wax. Indeed, all theſe iſlands are eminently diſtinguiſhed by the labours of the bee; and hence, I have ſeldom made an excurſion into the woods, without meeting numbers of bee-hives, ſuſpended in the form of oblong gourds from the branches of the trees.

"The bounty of nature in Samar is no leſs viſible in the variety and excellence of its game. The woods ſwarm with birds of almoſt every deſcription, particularly the common fowl, which is diſtinguiſhed, however, from ours by the ſhortened proportions of her body and legs. The colour of the hen is grey, with feathers ſpotted like a partridge. There are three different ſpecies of turtle-dove; the firſt grey, and as large as a pullet; the ſecond ſeems, however, to be only a dwarfiſh breed of the firſt; the third is green, and when prepared for the table affords delicate eating. I met with a kind of bird, peculiar, I believe, to theſe iſlands, named calao, as large as a gooſe, and agreeable to the taſte, but extremely ſhy and difficult of approach. He frequents low fenny grounds,

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grounds, perches on the talleſt tree in their vicinity, and flits through the air with a flight ſingularly rapid. This bird may be diſtinguiſhed by a large red oblong crown, which ſeems to be of the ſame ſubſtance with, and indeed only a continuation of his bill. This ornament, added to his ſize, gives him a kind of majeſtic air. The feathers are black, mixed with a duſky red. I had the good fortune to obtain a very beautiful head of the calao, which I had the honour to preſent to the academy of ſciences at Paris. The parroquet, cockatoo, and another pretty little ſpecies of the ſame genus, no larger than a linnet, are ſurpriſingly common. There is alſo found here a very ſmall bird, of the diminutive ſize of a waſp, whoſe colours, conſiſting in a ſhade of yellow, mixed with red and blue, are peculiarly vivid and beautiful. Many kinds of monkies, one of which is remarkably large, roe-bucks, wild buffaloes, and other quadrupeds, abound in the woods. I was told a great deal concerning the difference of ſize, and peculiar qualities, of their ſerpents; but I confeſs I ſaw none either ſo extremely large, or ſurpriſingly ſmall, as to juſtify the reports of the natives.

"In theſe favoured iſles, nature ſeems to have been providentially mindful of the cloathing, as well as of the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants. The foot of a tall ſpecies of the *figbannan* conſiſts in numberleſs folds of bark, which, in a certain period of putrefaction, are ſeparable without art or difficulty. Theſe pierced together afford them a ſpecies of fine linen, harſh indeed, and diſagreeable to the ſkin, in its natural ſtate, but which they have learned to render ſufficiently ſoft and pliable, by a preparation of lime. Beſides ſerving them as the materials of linen cloth, it is likewiſe uſeful to them for the purpoſes of cordage.

"Man, in fine, is fed, cloathed, and lodged, in Samar, at little expence of toil, either in mind or body. His rivers are every where ſhaded with the bamboo, and his woods ſupply him with the nipe and routan, two ſhrubs which are made to anſwer all the purpoſes of nails; and ſuch is the dexterity of the Indians in uniting the different pieces of bamboo, that in the whole conſtruction of his hut neither iron or any other metal is to be found. Two months induſtry in the courſe of the year ſuffice to provide for the wants of a people, whoſe innocent and gentle manners are to me the ſtrongeſt proofs of the real happineſs they enjoy.

"The deportment of the men is eaſy, open, and affable; the women are gay and lively, and poſſeſs in ſome degree the flippancy of the coquette, without, however, being inclined to the vice of proſtitution. The Indian has little propenſity to labour, but he cannot be accuſed of avoiding it when any emergency renders it expedient. Vanity and lying are the only immoralities I could diſcover among them; and, though I have not found them prone either to jealouſy or theft, they ſeemed, however, conſiderably keen in their dealings with Europeans. I am diſpoſed to believe that ſenſibility of mind in the Indian is particularly nice and delicate, having obſerved in the exerciſe of his friendſhips a warmth and openneſs of heart which I have not diſcovered in an equal degree in any other people.

"A ſalute, the common token of love betwixt the ſexes, and of affection among relations, is here preceded by a gentle aſpiration of incenſe on that part of the face to which the lips are meant to be ap-

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plied. The Biſſayan Indians in general diſcover a natural taſte for muſic, and a propenſity to the mechanic arts; and I am convinced nothing but want of experience prevents their attaining a very high degree of eminence in theſe purſuits. The flexibility of their nerves and muſcles may, perhaps ſcarcely be credited: but the fact is, that they handle ſmall objects with their feet with equal eaſe and dexterity as we do with our hands; and can exert a force in pinching with their toes, not leſs than that of an European when he pinches with his fingers. With the aſſiſtance of his campilan alone the Indian makes his fiddle or guitar, cuts down the largeſt tree in the foreſt, and ſhapes and excavates it into the form of a canoe. At one time it is uſed to carve on the bamboo, deſigns of no mean effect, for the ornament of his houſe; at another, it is turned againſt the enemy for his perſonal defence. This, in ſhort, ſeems to be the only edged tool known, or at leaſt in uſe, among the Indians of Samar.

"Among their productions of art, the Indian mat merits particular notice, which is a ſpecies of manufacture of ſuch fineneſs, that a piece of ſix feet went eaſily into my pocket. It is executed in various handſome deſigns, and painted with very lively and elegant colours, which they have the art of extracting from different trees.

"Silk, cotton, and the fibres of the fig-bannan above mentioned, furniſh the Indian with the raw materials of his beſt manufactures in cloth. He makes a kind of lace, and embroiders his ſilk ſtuffs with ſurpriſing elegance and addreſs. Each family is provided in a loom, for its own domeſtic purpoſes. At ſea you find the Indian a ſhip's carpenter, ſail-maker, and caulker; on land, a rope-maker, and ſhip-builder: but though he exerciſes occaſionally almoſt all the mechanic arts for his own amuſement or convenience, he is never found to proſecute any one of them, excluſively of the reſt. I was informed, but with what degree of certainty I will not pretend to ſay, that even the art of writing with a kind of pencil on the leaves of the cocoa-tree, once exiſted in this iſland.

"They have a cuſtom, implied in the word *maſſarer*, of cracking the joints, and pinching the fleſh in different parts of the body, which, as they conceive, tends to promote the free circulation of the blood and humours. That of rubbing the children's limbs with oil is likewiſe common; uſages which, as they are not peculiar to them, but prevalent over the whole continent of Aſia, may be preſumed to have long been found to have a ſalutary effect. In place of cupping they uſe ſevere pinchings on the neck and ſhoulders, which they continue to exerciſe until they are ſatisfied they have attained their end. They let blood by means of inciſions made in the ſkin; and as to phyſic, they are wonderfully verſant in the virtues of many flowers, balms, and plants, the uſe and application of which they owe to nature and their own experience alone.

"Large breeches, which deſcend below the calf of the leg, a ſhirt falling over them to the middle of the thigh, and a handkerchief twiſted round the head in the manner of a turban, conſtitute their ordinary dreſs. On occaſions of ceremony they appear in their round hat, and a kind of bed-gown conſiſting of ſilk and cotton. Thick ſhort fingers, and long nails on the middle and little ones, are eſteemed highly becoming, inſomuch that I have obſerved them

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them on different perſons full two inches in length. The women wear a kind of apron, which, after paſſing ſeveral times round the waiſt, falls down to the toe; and ſome of them a petticoat of ſo very fine and tranſparent a texture, that a ſenſe of modeſty obliges them to tuck up a corner of it to the fore part of the girdle, whereby one leg is completely expoſed. Their ſhift deſcends only to the top of the hip; and the head-dreſs differs but little from that of the men, except that they roll their hair high on the head, ſo as in ſome degree to give it the appearance of a crown. If to theſe we add a gown worn only on extraordinary occaſions, I have mentioned every article of their apparel.

"The hair of both ſexes is remarkably fine, particularly that of the women, which they are accuſtomed to comb with great care, and to anoint frequently with oil of the cocoa-nut, in order to ſtrengthen and render it of a deep black. Their noſe is ſhort and depreſſed, but the noſtrils are by no means dilated like thoſe of the negro; nor, indeed, have I often obſerved an ugly or ill-favoured woman on thoſe iſlands. The features are ſmall, and not always regular; but they have beautiful eyes, and faces uncommonly intereſting and expreſſive. They uſe pitchers of the bamboo; and ſome of them have a light ſort of leaf hat, ſimilar to what is worn by Indians of the firſt diſtinction. One of the moſt beautiful objects, in my opinion, that can meet the eye of a painter, is a fine young Indian on her way to fetch water from the well. The large leaf hat, the delicate arrangement of the thin tranſparent petticoat, and a light bamboo-pitcher in each hand, beſtow a ſurpriſing grace and dignity on her perſon. In the remote parts of the country, and eſpecially at a diſtance from the miſſionaries, perſons of both ſexes appear almoſt naked.

"The natives of Samar have fiſh in plenty and variety from their rivers, as well as the ſea-coaſt, the latter of which ſupplies them likewiſe in very elegant pearls; and their manner of fiſhing, from its ſingularity, merits notice:—There is a certain pea of an intoxicating quality, named *coco*, found in the iſland, which being reduced to a powder, is ſcattered by the Indian, at low water, all over the ſand. Upon the return of the tide, the fiſh which have eaten the bait, appear floating in a ſtate of inſenſibility on the ſurface of the water, and are picked up with eaſe in what numbers the fiſherman judges convenient.

"The iron-tree, ebony, and dying-wood, grow in every part of the iſland; and gold-duſt is found in ſome quantity in its more interior regions; but the monks, in their concern for the morals of the people, have been careful to get this dangerous branch of traffic into their own hands. The Spaniards themſelves are forbidden to reſide in the Indian villages, under the pretext of protecting the innocence of the natives againſt the corruption of European manners. The council at Manilla, however, has lately reſtrained, by various regulations, the exorbitant power aſſumed by the clergy in thoſe iſlands.

"It would require the elegant genius of a Virgil or Theocritus, to make the reader conceive the natural advantages of Samar—the country, of all thoſe I have yet ſeen, or that perhaps exiſt in this planet, the moſt eminently beautiful. How often have I envied the Biſſayans (for, except the natives of Luconia, it is thus they name all the inhabitants of the Philippine iſles) the happy re-

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tirement of this little inſular paradiſe! If in the province of Tegas, the mind of the traveller is conſtantly rouſed and agitated by objects of grandeur and magnificence, in the iſland Samar, he is ſoothed and enchanted with an elegant and rich diſplay of ſimple beauty. In the former the eye flits in ſucceſſion over nature's ſtupendous works, from the noble but gloomy foreſt to the widely extended plain, bounded by the diſtant horizon; and thence to rivers and lakes, the noiſe and vaſt ſurface of whoſe waters are formed to impreſs the mind with the awful majeſty of the Creator. In the latter are the emanations of his goodneſs, ſprings, fountains, and rivulets; landſcapes elegantly compoſed by various blendings of woods and lawns, curiouſly interſecting each other as they ſeem to float over the varied aſpect of the ſoil. Woods, it is true, without the extent and magnitude of the Tegan foreſt, but which, enlivened by the bloſſoms of ſpring, or loaded with their autumnal fruits, yield balſam for the wounds, and odours for the refreſhment of the natives. The wild bee-hive hanging from the branches; the air highly perfumed with a very fragrant ſpecies of wild jeſſamy, and the ſweet roſes of China; every thing, in fine, preſents nature in adoleſcence, ſuch as ſhe exiſts before the folly and caprice of man have learned to diſfigure or efface her native charms.

"Here I was often at a loſs to determine which had the moſt claim to my admiration, the beauty of the country, or the gentle and innocent manners of the natives. Having continued my travels half round the globe, I had become leſs addicted to local and illiberal partialities, and in ſome meaſure ſenſible how little the narrow prejudices of education accord with the ſentiments of an open and candid mind. Hence, if I envied the Biſſayan's country, I was ſtill more covetous of his ſociety, of that ſincerity viſible in the whole tenour of his conduct, and above all of that calm ſerenity of mind but little exhibited by the more poliſhed circles in modern Europe. I ſurveyed with ſatisfaction the ſmalleſt of nature's works, which the levity of a refined imagination has in no inſtance taught the Biſſayan either to impair or deſtroy. My heart was enchanted in my attendance on their religious worſhip, which is accompanied with a very ſimple but intereſting and expreſſive ſpecies of muſic. Under theſe and ſimilar impreſſions, I became particularly diſpoſed to acknowledge the goodneſs of divine providence, which had led me as it were by the hand through all my wanderings; and my thoughts being turned towards religion in general, I gave more attention than uſual to the conſideration of my own.

"The language of chriſtianity teaches us to aſcribe to the divine mind an attribute of excellence unknown in any other religious ſyſtem. In the new Teſtament he is repreſented equally tranſcending in meekneſs, gentleneſs, and humility, as in power, wiſdom, and majeſty; and not leſs great and adorable for the examples of his condeſcenſion, than for that aſtoniſhing grandeur diſplayed in the number and magnitude of his works. By other religions he has been pourtrayed as the object of awe and terror; by this he is revealed in the amiable character of brother and friend, as well as of law-giver and judge. Qualified, therefore, to quiet the fears, to encourage the hopes, and in one word to conſtitute the happineſs of all who ſubmit to its precepts in the ſame

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ioneſty and ſimplicity with the good Biſſayans, the elements of the chriſtian ſcheme eſtabliſh, in their uniform ſpirit and tendency, an unqueſtionable claim to the univerſal belief and acceptance of mankind."

CHARACTER of the PEASANTRY of NORWAY, with a SHORT ACCOUNT of the PRESENT STATE of that COUNTRY.

From the third volume of Coxe's Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark.]

THE Norwegians, being the ſame race with the Danes, nd ſo long connected with them in eligion and government, ſpeak the ame language, with a neceſſary mixure of provincial expreſſions. Vilſe, a native of Norway, informs s, that the gentry and inhabitants f the principal towns, allowing for few provincial expreſſions, ſpeak urer Daniſh than is uſual even in Denmark, not excepting Copenhaen; that the inhabitants of the aſtern confines bordering on Swelen naturally blend many Swediſh vords; that throughout the whole ountry the general accent and caence is more analogous to the Swediſh than to the Daniſh pronunciaion; and that the inhabitants on he weſtern coaſts, who have a more onſtant communication with the Danes, partake leſs of this peculirity.

"The Norwegians maintain their wn army, which conſiſts of 24,000 nfantry, and 6,000 cavalry. The roops are much eſteemed for their ravery, and, like the Swiſs mounaineers, exceedingly attached to their ountry.

"The horſes which ſupply their avalry are ſmall, but ſtrong, active, nd hardy.

"Every peaſant (thoſe excepted, who inhabit the coaſts, and are claſſed as ſailors) not born in a town, or upon ſome noble eſtate, is by birth a ſoldier, and enrolled for ſervice at the age of ſixteen. From that year until he has attained the age of 26, he is claſſed in the young militia. At 26 he enters into the old militia, and continues to ſerve till 36, at which period he receives his diſcharge. The militia take the field every year in the month of June, and remain encamped about a month.

"Norway is bleſſed with a particular code, called the Norway Law, compiled by Grieffelfeld, at the command of Chriſtian the Fifth, the great legiſlator of his country. By this law, the palladium of Norway, the peaſants are free, a few only excepted on certain noble eſtates near Frederickſtadt. But the virtue of this law extends itſelf even to thoſe ſerfs, for no proprietor can have more than one of theſe privileged eſtates; and unleſs he poſſeſſes a title or certain rank, and reſides on his eſtate, he loſes his privilege, and the peaſants are free.

"The benefits of the Norway code are ſo viſible in its general effects on the happineſs and in the appearance of the peaſants, that a traveller muſt be blind who does not inſtantly perceive the difference between the free peaſants of Norway and

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and the enſlaved vaſſals of Denmark, though both living under the ſame government.

" Many of the peaſants pretend to be deſcended from the antient nobles, and ſome even from the royal line: they greatly pride themſelves upon this ſuppoſed deſcent, and are careful not to give their children in marriage but to their equals in birth and blood.

" A curious cuſtom prevails in Norway, called odels right, or right of inheritance, by which the proprietor of certain freehold eſtates may re-purchaſe his eſtate, which either he or any of his anceſtors have ſold, provided he can prove the title of his family. But in order to enforce this claim, his anceſtors, or he, muſt have declared every tenth year, at the ſeſſions, that they lay claim to the eſtate, but that they want money to redeem it; and if he, or his heirs are able to obtain a ſufficient ſum, then the poſſeſſor muſt, on receiving the money, give up the eſtate to the odels-man. For this reaſon, the peaſants who are freeholders, keep a ſtrict account of their pedigree. This cuſtom is attended with advantages and diſadvantages. As to the advantages, it fixes the affections of the peaſant on his native place, and he improves with pleaſure thoſe poſſeſſions which are ſo ſtrongly ſecured to him: it increaſes the conſequence and excites the induſtry of his family. On the contrary, the eſtate loſes its value when ſold to another perſon, becauſe, as he poſſeſſes only a precarious eſtate, which he may be obliged to reſign, he is not inclined to improve the lands, as if they were irrecoverably his own.

" The Norwegian peaſants poſſeſs much ſpirit and fire in their manner, are frank, open, and undaunted, yet not inſolent; never fawning to their ſuperiors, yet paying proper reſpect to thoſe above them.

" Their principal mode of ſalute is by offering their hand; and when we gave them or paid them a trifle, the peaſants, inſtead of returning thanks by words or by a bow, ſhook our hands with great frankneſs and cordiality.

" The peaſants of Norway are well clothed and well lodged, and appear to poſſeſs more comforts and conveniencies of life than any which I have ſeen in the courſe of my travels, excepting in ſome parts of Switzerland.

" They weave their ordinary cloth and linen; they make alſo a kind of ſtuff like a Scotch plaid. The cloth which the men uſe for their coats is principally of a ſtone colour, with red button holes, and white metal buttons.

" The women, while employed in their houſehold affairs, frequently, as in Sweden, appear only with a petticoat and a ſhift, with a collar reaching to the throat, and a black ſaſh tied round the waiſt. Their linen is remarkably fine: and as they are uſually well made, this mode of dreſs ſets off their ſhapes to the higheſt advantage.

" The common food of the peaſant is milk, cheeſe, dried or ſalted fiſh, and ſometimes, but rarely, fleſh or dried meat, oat-bread called flad-brod, baked in ſmall cakes about the ſize and thickneſs of a pancake; it is uſually made twice a year. I obſerved a woman employed in preparing it: having placed over the fire a round iron plate, ſhe took a handful of dough, and rolled it out with a rolling-pin to the ſize of the iron plate; ſhe then placed it on the plate, and baked it on one ſide, then turned it on the other with a ſmall ſtick. In this manner ſhe baked an aſtoniſhing number in leſs

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than a quarter of an hour; and I was informed that one woman, in one day, can bake ſufficient for the family during a whole year. The peaſants alſo, in times of ſcarcity, mix the bark of trees, uſually of the fir tree, with their oatmeal; then dry this bark before the fire, grind it to powder, mix it with ſome oatmeal, then bake it, and eat it like bread: it is bitteriſh, and affords but little nouriſhment.

"As a luxury, the peaſants eat ſharke, or thin ſlices of meat, ſprinkled with ſalt, and dried in the wind, like hung beef; alſo a ſoup made like a haſty-pudding, of oatmeal or barley-meal, and in order to render it more palatable, they put in it a pickled herring or ſalted mackerel.

"The uſe of potatoes has been lately introduced, but thoſe roots do not grow to any ſize in a country where the ſummer is ſo ſhort.

"Fabricius ſtrongly recommends, in times of ſcarcity, the moſſes and lichens, and particularly the *liches iſlandicus*, which yields a very nouriſhing ſuſtenance, and is commonly uſed for food in Iceland.

"According to a ſeries of meteorological obſervations taken by Mr. Wilſe, paſtor of Sydeborg, it ſnows moſt in December and in the middle of January. It rains moſt in April, October, and Auguſt. The cleareſt weather is from the middle of June to the middle of July, and during the whole month of March. Winds are moſt violent in the middle and latter end of April, May, and October. The ſtilleſt ſeaſon is in January; from the tenth of June to the eleventh of July, and in the middle of Auguſt, a circumſtance very profitable to the oat-harveſt, which of all corn is more eaſily ſubject to caſt its ripe grain in windy weather. If we compare the climate of Norway with the climate of London, March at London is like April and the beginning of May in Norway; and the March of Norway is our January. On account of the frequent ſpring froſts, ſeeds ought not to be ſown in gardens before the twentieth of May; and the froſts of the latter end of Auguſt are no leſs detrimental.

"The heat and cold varies ſo much in Norway, that in June or July, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, as obſerved by Mr. Wilſe at Sydeborg, near Frederickſhall, not unuſually riſes to 88, and on the firſt of January 1782, fell to —22, or 54 degrees below the freezing point. At Eger, according to profeſſor Stroem's obſervations, it fell on that ſame day to—36½; and at Kongſberg to—40, or 72 below freezing point, a degree of cold by which quickſilver is congealed. This extreme riſe and fall of the quickſilver makes a difference of 110 degrees between the greateſt heat and greateſt cold at the ſame place; a difference much more conſiderable than is obſerved at Upſala or Stockholm, which lie nearly in the ſame latitude as Sydeborg.

"In ſome places vegetation is ſo quick, that the corn is ſown and cut in ſix or ſeven weeks.

"Tillage cannot generally be very flouriſhing in a country, which is in many parts ſo rocky as to defy the plough; where the climate is ſo ſevere, that the hoar-froſts begin in September, and where the cold in the highlands prevents the maturity of the corn. It is true, indeed, that the ſmall vallies, and the intervals between the rocks, are uſually provided with a fruitful ſoil, and that the induſtry of the peaſants covers the naked rocks, and the ſandy grounds with a new earth; yet the arable grounds are few, and no parts of

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Norway yield ſufficient corn for interior conſumption, the diſtricts of Hedemark, Toten, and Ringerike, excepted.

"This deficiency is occaſioned by the nature of the climate and ſoil. In ſpring, and in the firſt ſummer months, the drought and heat are frequently ſo intolerable, and the vegetable mould ſo thin, that the roots of the corn and graſs are burned up, if a few days of ſunſhine ſucceed each other without rain. Alſo the greateſt part of the ſoil is ſo much blended with ſand, that too much rain cannot fall in ſpring and ſummer. In autumn, on the contrary, the decreaſed warmth, and the great quantity of rain prevents the corn from ripening, and it is frequently cut green. Not unuſually, when a favourable ſeaſon has ripened the corn, the frequent and violent autumnal rains hinder the carrying of it in until it is almoſt ſpoiled. Alſo the ſmall quantity of arable land ſeldom lies fallow, but is ſowed every year, and therefore requires more manure than can be eaſily procured.

"All theſe circumſtances ſo much counteract the induſtry of the Norwegian farmers, that even in the moſt favourable ſeaſons, a conſiderable importation of corn is annually neceſſary; and in unfavourable harveſts the utmoſt dearth is experienced in all the inland parts, as the tranſport of the corn from the ſea coaſts is highly expenſive.

"In order to dry the corn expoſed to the heavy rains, the peaſants fix forked poles, about ten feet high, place rows of other poles tranſverſely, on which they file the ſheaves, the lowermoſt row hanging about two feet from the ground. They are alſo frequently obliged to bake the corn in wooden ſheds, heated by means of ſtoves.

"As Norway, therefore, does not produce ſufficient corn for its own conſumption, Denmark enjoys the excluſive privilege of ſupplying with grain that part called Sudenfields, comprehending the two governments of Aggerhuus and Chriſtianſand. This monopoly frequently occaſions a ſcarcity of corn; but though ſometimes attended with great inconveniencies and occaſional diſtreſs, yet will not be aboliſhed without great difficulty, becauſe the Daniſh nobles, who are always at the head of affairs, find their intereſt in its continuance.

"But Norway, however deficient in arable land, is exceedingly rich in paſture, and conſequently produces much cattle. The mode of keeping the cows is ſimilar to that practiſed in the mountains of Switzerland. About the middle of May they are driven to the meadows; towards the middle of June are ſent to paſture on the heights, or in the midſt of the foreſts, where they continue till autumn. The cows are uſually attended by a woman, who inhabits a ſmall hut, milks them twice a day, and makes butter and cheeſe on the ſpot. On their return the cattle are paſtured in the meadows, until the ſnow ſets in about the middle of October, when they are removed to the ſtables, and fed during winter with four-fifths of ſtraw, and one-fifth of hay. The horſes are uſually foddered with hay during winter, and are ſeldom paſtured before the beginning of June. In ſome places the cattle are fed alſo with ſalted fiſh.

"Agriculture has been of late years greatly improved in theſe parts, and the landed eſtates are increaſed within theſe laſt fifty years near one third in their value. This improvement is conſiderably owing to the labours and encouragement of the patriotic

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triotic ſociety, which gives premiums for the beſt improvements and inſtructions in every part of farming.

"The fiſheries, particularly on the weſtern coaſt, furniſh employment and wealth to the natives, and are the means of ſupplying the fineſt ſailors for manning the Daniſh fleet in times of war.

"The principal fiſh, which, dried and ſalted, furniſh ſo conſiderable an article of exportation, are the cod, the ling, and the whiting: their livers, beſides, yield train oil, and the ſmalleſt are given as winter fodder to the cattle.

"The herring fiſhery is not ſo profitable as formerly, as theſe fiſh, which uſed to frequent the coaſts of Norway, in their progreſs from the north pole, now keep at a greater diſtance from theſe ſhores, and firſt approach the rocks of Marſtrand and Stroemſtrand, which has transferred to the Swedes the principal herring-fiſhery in theſe parts, though ſtill ſufficient profit accrues to thoſe enterpriſing fiſhermen who venture further from the coaſts.

"The ſalmon are taken partly in the bays, and partly in the rivers, the ſtreams of which they aſcend for the purpoſe of ſpawning in ſpring. This is the moſt coſtly fiſh in theſe parts, and is cured by ſalting and ſmoking.

"Mackerel might alſo be taken in much larger quantities, if many of the Norwegians were not prejudiced againſt eating them, from a ſtrange notion, that ſhoals of mackerel often attack and devour the human ſpecies, when bathing in the ſea.

"The extenſive foreſts of Norway, which furniſh riches to the proprietors, and ſo much employment to the natives, are applied to the following purpoſes:

"1. For ſpars, beams, and planks, which are exported in ſuch large quantities. 2. For charcoal, which is required for the ſmelting of the ores, for the glaſs furnaces, and other manufactures. The wood uſed for this purpoſe is uſually of an inferior ſort, and chiefly in the inner parts, where the tranſport of the planks is too expenſive. 3. For building, the greateſt part of the houſes in Norway being conſtructed of wood; for although there is plenty of ſtone, yet the tranſporting of the materials, and the lime, are too expenſive for common uſe. 4. For the roads, which, in the more northern parts, are almoſt entirely formed with wood. 5. For turpentine, for which the oldeſt trees are moſtly uſed. 6. For fencing and incloſing the fields, quickſet hedges being almoſt unknown. The wood uſed for incloſures is chiefly pine or fir, and muſt be renewed every three or four years. 7. For fuel. 8. For manure, by the ſame proceſs of burning the trees and manuring the ſoil with the aſhes, which is practiſed in Sweden, and is ſo deſtructive to the foreſts.

"Beſides theſe general uſes derived from the foreſts, the particular trees are beneficially employed to the following purpoſes:

"The bark of the pine or fir, and alſo of the elm, which is not common in Norway, is dried, ground, and mixed among meal, and is boiled up with other food, to feed ſwine, who thrive much upon it.

"The birch, which flouriſhes in theſe northern regions, is particularly uſeful for various purpoſes. It is more generally uſed for fuel than any other wood. The outer bark, or the white rind, on account of its firmneſs and ſap, eaſily eſcapes putrefaction

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ſtrefaction even in the dampeſt places: and for this reaſon is employed for covering the roofs of the houſes, in order to keep out the rain.

" This mode of roofing occaſions ſuch a large conſumption of the outward bark, that the birch, which are felled, would not ſupply a ſufficient quantity; it is, therefore, not unuſual to ſtrip off the outward bark while the tree is ſtanding, and if peeled with care, it always grows again.

" The inner bark of the birch is applied like the bark of oaks for tanning hides, fiſhing nets, and ſails, which it renders more durable.

" This tree alſo ſupplies a kind of wine by the following proceſs: a hole is bored in the trunk, and the wine diſtils into a flaſk placed under it. The tree ſuffers little damage, if the hole is immediately cloſed by a wooden peg. The twigs of the birch, as well as the elder and aſpen are given to horſes in ſcarcity of fodder. A decoction of oak leaves in beer is uſed by the peaſants as a cure for the rheumatiſm, by applying a cloth dipped in the decoction to the part affected.

" The general exports of Norway are tallow, butter, ſalt, dried fiſh, timber and plank, horſes and horned cattle, ſilver, allum, Pruſſian blue, copper, of which the celebrated mine of Roras yields annually to the value of £. 67,500; and iron, of which the moſt productive mine is near Arendal.

" Norway abounds in lakes and rivers, more than any country I ever viſited excepting Switzerland. It is remarkable for the number and beauty of the bays fringed with wood. Many of the lakes are ſo large, that they appear like inlets of the ſea: and the bays are ſo ſmall, that they appear like lakes: but I am anticipating my journal."

CHARACTER, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of the PEOPLE of MOROCCO.

[From Lempriere's Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Moggodore, &c.]

" TO think juſtly and with candour of the Moriſh character, we muſt take into our conſideration the natural effects of a total want of education, a moſt rigidly arbitrary government, and a climate calculated, as far as climate has influence, to ſtimulate and excite the vicious paſſions, as well as by its debilitating and relaxing influence to weaken and depreſs the nobler energies of the mind. To theſe we may add the diſadvantages ariſing from the want of a free intercourſe with other nations, and the influence of an abſurd and uncharitable religion.

" In ſuch a ſtate of things the traveller is not to be ſurpriſed if he obſerves moſt of the vices of ſavage nations grafted upon thoſe of luxury and indolence; if he obſerves ſuperſtition, avarice, and luſt, the leading features of character, with their natural concomitants, deceit and jealouſy; he is not to be ſurpriſed if he finds but little of the amiable attachments and propenſities, little of friendſhip or ſocial union with each other, ſince the nature of the government, and the habits

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habits of his private life, are calculated to inſpire each man with a diſtruſt and ſuſpicion of his neighbour.

"I will not aſſert, however, that this character will univerſally apply.—However the cuſtoms and government of a nation may militate againſt virtue and excellence, there are always ſplendid exceptions to the prevalent vices of every ſociety. There are certainly among the Moors many whoſe private virtues would do honour to any civilized nation; but I am ſorry to add, that thoſe characters are not numerous. Groaning under the ſevereſt oppreſſions of deſpotiſm, they loſe all ſpirit for induſtry and improvement, and ſuffer indolence and ignorance to reign without controul. Senſible of the uncertainty of enjoying the fruits of labour and ingenuity, the great majority of the people remain content with the bare neceſſaries of life, or when in power, endeavour to enrich themſelves by the ſame means which had before kept them in a ſtate of poverty.

"Arts and ſciences ſeem to be almoſt unknown here, or, if at all cultivated, it is only by the Jews, who indeed are the only induſtrious and ingenious people in the country. The Moors in general may be conſidered as exiſting in the paſtoral ſtate, following only a few mechanical trades, and leaving every thing that requires invention to the Jews, who have likewiſe the principal management of their commercial and pecuniary matters; and even thoſe few of the Moors who are merchants, are obliged to have Jew agents for the purpoſe of tranſacting their buſineſs.

"Fearful of having it diſcovered that they are rich, ſooner than part with money, which, under ſuch circumſtances, is of little or no uſe to them, they deprive themſelves of the luxuries and even comforts of life; they hoard up and conceal their treaſures, though ſeldom ſo artfully but they are at length detected, and conſequently plundered by the baſhaw, the prince, or the emperor. To conceal more effectually their riches, they are obliged to have recourſe to every form of diſſimulation and deceit; and being exerciſed in theſe qualities during the early part of life, at a more advanced period they become an eſtabliſhed part of their character.

"The Moors are naturally of a grave and penſive diſpoſition, fervid in profeſſions of friendſhip, but very inſincere in their attachments. They have no curioſity, no ambition of knowledge; an indolent habit, united to the want of mental cultivation renders them perhaps even more callous than other unenlightened people to every delicate ſenſation, and they require more than ordinary excitement to render them ſenſible of pleaſure or of pain. This langnor of ſentiment is, however, unaccompanied with the ſmalleſt ſpark of courage or fortitude. When in adverſity, they manifeſt the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors, and in proſperity, their tyranny and pride is inſupportable. They frequently ſmile, but ſeldom are heard to laugh loud. The moſt infallible mark of internal tranquillity and enjoyment is, when they amuſe themſelves with ſtroking or playing with their beard. When rouſed by reſentment, their diſputes rarely proceed further than violently to abuſe each other in the moſt opprobrious language. They never fight or box with their fiſts, like our peaſantry, but when a quarrel proceeds to great extremities, they collar each other, and ſometimes terminate a diſpute by aſſaſſination.

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"It has been somewhere remarked, that whatever debases the human spirit corrupts at the same time and depraves the heart. That abjectness of disposition, which a state of slavery induces, eradicates every noble, every generous sentiment. The Moors are dishonourable and unfair in all their dealings; nor are the greatest among them exempt from propensities which would disgrace the meanest of the civilized inhabitants of Europe. When the late emperor's army was at Tangier, one of the consuls invited the Moorish general and his particular friend to tea. Soon after their departure the consul missed one of his tea-spoons, and knowing the dispositions of the Moors, sent to the general for it; who immediately returned it, and simply apologized, by saying he had put it into his pocket by mistake.

"When we treat of national genius or character, it were to be wished that language supplied us with some term which might serve to indicate that habit or custom is the great framer of the characters of nations. Of this truth there can be no stronger evidence than Morocco affords. Torpid and insensible as I have represented the Moors in general to be, this character is by no means applicable to them in early life. In the state of childhood they possess an uncommon share of vivacity and acuteness, but they sink gradually into indolence and stupidity as they advance in life. It is evident, therefore, that to the want of education only this circumstance is to be attributed. While at school they are scarcely less remarkable for attention than ability; and as they commit their lessons to memory, no small share of application is required. This course is, however, extremely limited, and continues for a very short period; it consists at most of being instructed in certain parts of the Koran, and perhaps learning to write. After this all attention to learning ceases; and though their parents never indulge them, yet they are rarely chastised, and are left to themselves in general almost in a state of nature.

"A late eloquent writer has remarked, that "the antients did not, "like Archimedes, want a spot on "which to fix their engines, but they "wanted an engine to move the mo-"ral world. The press is that en-"gine,"— and to the want of it may fairly be attributed the ignorance, the stupidity, the slavery of the African nations. The art of printing is entirely prohibited and unknown in Barbary; and, from some inexplicable cause, most of the manuscripts which were possessed by their Saracen ancestors are lost to the present generation of Moors. A few indeed are still in being, which treat of astronomy, astrology, and physic; but those on astrology only are at present studied.

"If any thing could effect an important and beneficial change in these people, it would be the example of some great and magnanimous monarch, who by some singular revolution might be raised to the throne of Morocco. In so despotic a government, where religion conspires with habit in teaching the subject to consider his prince as something more than man, much more might be effected by example, than in a free country, where the sovereign is merely considered as an individual placed on the throne for the public good, subject to all the imperfections and frailties incident to human nature, and where the mind by being allowed a free scope for reflection, disdains all authority but that of reason and truth.

"The plan adopted, however, for

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for the education of the princes of Morocco, ſo far from tending to the improvement of their minds, or the enlargement of their ideas, ſerves, on the contrary, too frequently to render them ſtill more remarkable for vice and brutality than even the worſt of their ſubjects. As ſoon as they become of an age that renders it imprudent to truſt them any longer within the walls of the harem, they are taken out, and put under the care of one of their father's confidential negroes; with whom they ſoon form a cloſe intimacy, from whom they imbibe all the bad qualities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of ſlavery, and by whom they are alſo initiated in vices of every kind, in debauchery, cruelty, and oppreſſion. Their education extends no further than to read and write; and their knowledge of the world is confined to what they can obſerve and learn in the courſe of a pilgrimage to Mecca. They are totally unacquainted with the political hiſtory of every foreign power; and their knowledge of their own government is confined principally to its worſt parts. To acquaint themſelves with the reſources of the country, and the improvements which from its ſituation it would admit of, or to direct any part of their attention to thoſe regulations in their government which might tend to the advantage and eaſe of their ſubjects, or to their own real aggrandizement, is as much out of the line of their education, as the Principia of Newton. Thus they aſcend the throne with all the prejudices of ignorance, with all the vices of barbariſm, with a pride that teaches them to look upon their fellow creatures as inferior beings, and without any ſentiments of tenderneſs, compaſſion, or true policy, to reſtrain the arm of deſpotiſm from its moſt cruel and fatal exceſſes. Thus ill-qualified in general are the ſovereigns of Morocco for effecting a reformation in the manners and character of their people.

"The ignorance of the Moors is, however, no bar to their loquacity. They ſpeak very loud, and generally two or three at a time, as they are not very exact in waiting for a reply. Uſeleſs as the forms of politeneſs may appear in the eye of the philoſopher, there are ſome of them which probably conduce in no trifling degree to even our intellectual excellence and improvement.

"Perſonal cleanlineſs has been pointed out by modern philoſophers as one of thoſe circumſtances which ſerve to mark and determine the civilization of a people. It was in vain that Mahomet enjoined the frequency of ablution as a religious duty to the Moors. Their dreſs, which ſhould be white, is but ſeldom waſhed, and their whole appearance evinces that they perform this branch of their religious ceremonies in but a ſlovenly manner. With this degree of negligence as to their perſons, we may be juſtly ſurprized to find united a moſt ſcrupulous nicety in their habitations and apartments. They enter their chambers bare-footed, and cannot bear the ſlighteſt degree of contamination near the place where they are ſeated. This delicacy again is much confined to the inſides of their houſes. The ſtreets receive the whole of their rubbiſh and filth; and by theſe means the ground is ſo raiſed in moſt parts of the city of Morocco, that the new buildings always ſtand conſiderably higher than the old.

"The perſons of the Mooriſh men are ſo diſguiſed by their dreſs, that it is impoſſible to acquire any good idea of their form or proportion. In height they are commonly

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above the middle size, and they are rather meagre than fat. Their complexions in general are sallow in the northern parts of the empire, but are darker in proportion to their situation towards the south. Their features have universally a great sameness. Their eyes are black and full, they have an aquiline nose, and in general a good set of teeth.

"The dress of the men consists of a short linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves hanging half-way down to the ground. A pair of loose linen drawers, reaching almost to the ankle; over which they wear another loose pair, made of woollen cloth. Over the shirt they wear two or three woollen cloth waistcoats of different colours, and of European manufacture; these garments are made full as loose as our great coats: they are connected before by very small buttons, and are fastened tight round the waist by a silk belt. Over these waistcoats they throw a velvet cord, which crosses the right shoulder, and suspends on the left side a curved dagger or knife, sheathed in a brass case. This is the dress the Moors wear when in their houses, but when they go abroad they cover it with the haick, a part of dress which has been already noticed. It is thrown over the whole of their other cloathing in a careless but easy manner, something similar to the Scotch plaid.

"Those Moors who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to wear a turban, and are named Hil-hatch. They are always treated with peculiar respect. Even those beasts of burden indeed which have performed this journey are held in great veneration, and upon their return are exempted from labour. The other class of Moors wear only plain red caps. The Moors in general shave their heads close, leaving on the upper part a single lock, and wear their beards long. They use no stockings or shoes, but substitute in the place of the latter yellow slippers. They are very fond of beads, of which the better order always carry a rosary in their hands; but they use them more as a matter of amusement than for any religious purpose. Many also wear plain gold rings on their fingers; and those whose circumstances will allow them to go to that expence, possess likewise watches, which, like the rosary, they consider rather as an ornament than an article from which any great utility can be derived. Very few, in fact, are properly acquainted with their use.

"This may serve to give some idea of the dress of the rich; but among the poorer class of people some wear the linen drawers, shirt, and one woollen waistcoat, and over it the haick; and others have merely a coarse woollen frock, belted round the waist, and covered with the haick. When the weather is cold or rainy the Moors in general lay aside the use of the haick, and substitute the sulam, a loose cloak, made of white or blue woollen cloth of European manufacture, which reaches down to their feet, and has a hood to protect and cover the head.

"The houses in most of the towns in this empire appear at a little distance like vaulted tombs in a churchyard; and the entrance into the best of them has but a mean appearance. The rooms are generally on the ground floor, and whitened on the outside. As the roofs are quite flat, they serve as verandos, where the Moorish women commonly sit for the benefit of the air, and in some places it is possible to pass nearly over the whole town, without having occasion to descend into the street.

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"As the beſt apartments are all backwards, a ſtable, or perhaps ſomething worſe, is the place to which viſitors are firſt introduced. Upon entering the houſe, the ſtranger is either detained in this place, or in the ſtreet, till all the women are diſpatched out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a ſquare court, into which four narrow and long rooms open by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, ſerve likewiſe to introduce light into the apartments. The court has generally in its centre a fountain, and if it is the houſe of a Moor of property, it is floored with blue and white checquered tiling. The doors are uſually painted of various colours in a checquered form, and the upper parts of them are frequently ornamented with very curious carved work. None of the chambers have fire-places, and their victuals are always dreſſed in the court-yard, in an earthen ſtove, heated with charcoal.

"When the viſitor enters the room where he is received by the maſter of the houſe, he finds him ſitting croſs-legged and bare-footed on a mattreſs, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or elſe on a common mat. This, with a narrow piece of carpeting, is in general the only furniture he will meet with in Mooriſh houſes; though they are not deſtitute of other ornaments. In ſome, for inſtance, he will find the walls decorated with looking-glaſſes of different ſizes. In others, watches and clocks in glaſs caſes; and in ſome the apartments are hung with the ſkins of lions or tigers, or adorned with a diſplay of muſkets and ſabres. In the houſes of thoſe who live in the very firſt ſtyle, an European mahogany bedſtead, with one or two mattreſſes, covered with fine white linen, is ſometimes placed at each end of the room. Theſe, however, are only conſidered as ornaments, as the Moors always ſleep on a mattreſs, or a mat placed upon the floor, and covered only with their haick, or perhaps a quilt.

"As the law of Mahomet ſtrictly proſcribes the uſe of pictures of every deſcription, this delightful ſpecies of ornament finds no place in the houſes of the Moors. I was, however, acquainted with a Moor at Morocco, who uſed to exhibit a raree-ſhow to his friends and acquaintance, all of whom appeared to expreſs infinite ſurprize and admiration at his exhibition. This, indeed, was not the only inſtance in which he was guilty of violating the Mahometan law. He ſcrupled not to drink very freely his bottle of port or claret, which, as it was manufactured by chriſtians, was from that circumſtance an aggravated offence. He employed me to procure for him from Mogodore three dozen of claret, which appeared to adminiſter to him infinite comfort and ſatisfaction. This affection indeed for the productions of Europe made him perhaps more than uſually favourable to its natives. However this may be, he was the only man who ſhewed me much attention during my reſidence at Morocco. He repeatedly took me to his houſe, and made me little preſents of various kinds, which at that place proved very acceptable.

"When a Moor receives his gueſts he never riſes from his ſeat, but ſhakes hands, enquires after their health, and deſires them to ſit down, either on a carpet or a cuſhion placed on the floor for that purpoſe. Whatever be the time of day, tea is then brought in on a tea-board with ſhort feet. This is the higheſt compliment that can be offered by a Moor;

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for tea is a very expenſive and ſcarce article in Barbary, and is only drank by the rich and luxurious. Their manner of preparing it is by putting ſome green tea, a ſmall quantity of tanſey, the ſame portion of mint, and a large proportion of ſugar (for the Moors drink their tea very ſweet) into the tea-pot at the ſame time, and filling it up with boiling water. When theſe articles are infuſed a proper time, the fluid is then poured into remarkably ſmall cups of the beſt India china, the ſmaller the more genteel, without any milk, and, accompanied with ſome cakes or ſweetemeats, it is handed round to the company. From the great eſteem in which this beverage is held by the Moors, it is generally drank by very ſmall and ſlow ſips, that its flavour may be the longer enjoyed; and as they uſually drink a conſiderable quantity whenever it is introduced, this entertainment is ſeldom finiſhed in leſs time than two hours.

"The other luxuries of the Moors are ſnuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and ſmoaking tobacco, for which the greater part uſe wooden pipes about four feet in length, with an earthen bowl; but the princes or emperor generally have the bowls made of ſolid gold. Inſtead of the indulgence of opium, which, from the heavy duty impoſed upon that article by the emperor, is too expenſive to be uſed by the Moors, they ſubſtitute the achicha, a ſpecies of flax. This they powder and infuſe in water in ſmall quantities. The Moors aſſert, that it produces agreeable ideas, but own that when it is taken to exceſs it moſt powerfully intoxicates. In order to produce this effect, they likewiſe mix with their tobacco an herb named in this country, khaf, which by ſmoaking occaſions all the inebriating effects of the achicha. The uſe of ſpirits as well as wine is ſtrictly forbidden by the Koran; there are, however, very few among the Moors who do not joyfully embrace every private opportunity of drinking both to exceſs.

"With reſpect to the hours for eating, the people of this country are remarkably regular. Very ſoon after day-break they take their breakfaſt, which is generally a compoſition of flour and water boiled thin, together with an herb which gives it a yellow tinge. The male part of the family eat in one apartment, and the female in another. The children are not permitted to eat with their parents, but take their meals afterwards with the ſervants; indeed in moſt other reſpects they are treated exactly as ſervants or ſlaves by their parents. The meſs is put into an earthen bowl, and brought in upon a round wooden tray. It is placed in the centre of the gueſts, who ſit croſs-legged either on a mat or on the floor, and who form a circle for the purpoſe. Having previouſly waſhed themſelves, a ceremony always performed before and after meals, each perſon with his ſpoon attacks vigorouſly the bowl, while they diverſify the entertainment by eating with it fruit or bread. At twelve o'clock they dine, performing the ſame ceremonies as at a breakfaſt. For dinner, from the emperor down to the peaſant, their diſh is univerſally cuſcoſoo, the mode of preparing which has been already deſcribed. I believe I have intimated more than once that neither chairs, tables, knives or forks, are made uſe of in this country. The diſh is therefore brought in upon a round tray and placed on the floor, round which the family ſit as at breakfaſt, and with their fingers commit a violent aſſault on its contents; they are at the ſame time,

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time, however, attended by a ſlave or domeſtic, who preſents them with water and a towel occaſionally to waſh their hands. From the want of the ſimple and convenient invention of knives and forks, it is not uncommon in this country to ſee three or four people pulling to pieces the ſame piece of meat, and afterwards with their fingers ſtirring up the paſte or cuſcoſoo, of which they often take a whole handful at once into their mouth. Their manner of eating indeed was to me ſo diſguſting, that though cuſcoſoo is in reality a very good diſh, yet it required ſome time to get rid of my prejudice ſo far as to be induced to reliſh it. At ſunſet they ſup upon the ſame diſh, and indeed ſupper is their principal meal.

"Such is the general mode of living among the principal people in towns. There are conſiderable multitudes, however, who do not fare ſo well, but are obliged to content themſelves with a little bread and fruit inſtead of animal food, and to ſleep in the open ſtreets. This kind of exiſtence ſeems ill calculated to endure even in an inactive ſtate; far more ſevere muſt it therefore be to thoſe who exerciſe the laborious employment of couriers in this country, who travel on foot a journey of three or four hundred miles, at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a day, without taking any other nouriſhment than a little bread, a few figs, and ſome water, and who have no better ſhelter at night than a tree. It is wonderful with what alacrity and perſeverance theſe people perform the moſt fatiguing journies at all ſeaſons of the year. There is a regular company of them in every town, who are ready to be diſpatched at a moment's warning to any part of the country their employers may have occaſion to ſend them. They conſtitute in this empire the only mode of conveyance for all public and private diſpatches; and as they are well known in the place to which they belong, they are very punctual in delivering every thing that is put into their hands. From their ſteady pace in travelling, at the rate of about four miles an hour, and from their being able to paſs over parts which from the mountainous ſtate of the country, and from the want of good roads, perſons on horſeback would find inacceſſible, they are indeed by far the moſt expeditious meſſengers that could be employed. As a proof of the amazing exertions of which they are capable, I need only mention, that there have been repeated inſtances of a courier proceeding from Morocco to Tangier, which is a journey of about three hundred and thirty miles, in ſix days.

"As none but the very vulgar go on foot in this country; for the purpoſe of viſiting, mules are conſidered as more genteel than horſes; and the greateſt pride of a Moor is to have ſuch as walk remarkably faſt, and keep his footmen, of which the number is proportionable to the rank and conſequence of the maſter, on a continued run.

"As the Moors are not fond of admitting men into their houſes, except upon particular occaſions, if the weather is fine they place a mat, and ſometimes a carpet, on the ground before their door, ſeat themſelves upon it croſs-legged, and receive their friends, who form a circle, ſitting in the ſame manner, with their attendants on the outſide of the groupe. Upon theſe occaſions they either drink tea, or ſmoke and converſe. The ſtreets are ſometimes crowded with parties of this kind; ſome engaged in playing at an inferior kind of cheſs or draſts, at which

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they are very expert; but the majority in converſation. The people of this country, indeed, are ſo decidedly averſe to ſtanding up, or walking about, that if only two or three people meet, they ſquat themſelves down in the firſt clean place they can find, if the converſation is to hold but for a few minutes."

"The manner of ſalutation among the Moors, is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion they ſhake hands, and afterwards kiſs each other's hand. When an inferior meets a ſuperior, ſuch as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kiſſes that part of his haick which covers the arm, and ſometimes, as a higher mark of reſpect, he will kiſs his foot. But the compliment due to the emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to proſtrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiouſly embrace and kiſs each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of enquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but ſeldom allow time for a reply.

"The common topics for converſation among theſe people, are the occurrences of the place, religion, their women, and their horſes. As curioſity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may eaſily be conjectured that the Moors are not deficient in this reſpect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumſtance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleaſure and what pride they ſeem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may ſerve to render it more palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plauſibility.

"Religion is alſo a favourite topic; but this ſubject is confined principally to thoſe ſocieties which are frequented by their talbs, or men of letters. As theſe gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifeſting their ſuperiority over thoſe who are not ſo happy as to be diſtinguiſhed by thoſe accompliſhments.

"Decency of manners and delicacy in converſation are among the moſt certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally univerſal characteriſtics of ignorance and barbariſm. The converſation of the Moors concerning their women is of the moſt trifling and diſguſting deſcription, and conſiſts of abſurd and vulgar obſervations, equally repugnant to decency and common ſenſe.

"The ſubject, however, on which, like our young men of faſhion in England, they appear moſt calculated to ſhine, is their horſes. It would indeed be truly diſgraceful not to be accompliſhed upon this topic, ſince it appears to occupy, both day and night, by far the greateſt portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated that theſe animals are ſeldom kept in ſtables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at ſun-ſet; and the only mode which they uſe to clean them, is by waſhing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and ſuffering them to dry themſelves.

"Notwithſtanding the attachment which the Moors manifeſt to their horſes, they moſt certainly uſe them with great cruelty. Their higheſt

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higheſt pleaſure, and one of their firſt accompliſhments, is, by means of long and ſharp ſpurs to make the horſe go full ſpeed, and then to ſtop him inſtantaneouſly; and in this they certainly manifeſt uncommon dexterity. The iron work of their bridles is ſo conſtructed that by its preſſure on the horſe's tongue and lower jaw, with the leaſt exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth full of blood, and if not uſed with the utmoſt caution throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a ſingle rein, which is ſo very long that it ſerves the purpoſe of both whip and bridle. The Mooriſh ſaddle is in ſome degree ſimilar to the Spaniſh, but the pummel is ſtill higher and more peaked. Their ſtirrups, in which they ride very ſhort, are ſo formed as to cover the whole of the foot. They either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the poſſeſſor. Their ſaddles, which are covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a perſon of conſequence, with red ſatin or damaſk, are faſtened with one ſtrong girt round the body, in the European ſtyle, and another round the ſhoulders.

"The Moors frequently amuſe themſelves by riding with the utmoſt apparent violence againſt a wall; and a ſtranger would conceive it impoſſible for them to avoid being daſhed to pieces, when juſt as the horſe's head touches the wall, they ſtop him with the utmoſt accuracy. To ſtrangers on horſeback or on foot it is alſo a common ſpecies of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to ſtop their horſes ſhort and fire a muſquet in their faces. This compliment I have experienced, and could very well have diſpenſed with their politeneſs.

"There is another favourite amuſement, which diſplays perhaps ſuperior agility:

"A number of perſons on horſeback ſtart at the ſame moment, and accompanied with loud ſhouts, gallop at full ſpeed to an appointed ſpot, when they ſtand up ſtrait in the ſtirrups, put the rein, which I have juſt obſerved is very long, in their mouths, level their pieces and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right ſhoulders, and ſtop their horſes nearly at the ſame inſtant. This I am told is their manner of engaging in an action.

"Though I am willing to allow the Moors the merit of ſitting a horſe well, and, as far as is neceſſary for the above-mentioned exerciſe, of having a great command over him, yet their horſes are ill bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them thoſe paces which in Europe are conſidered as the moſt agreeable for the common purpoſes of riding. As none of theſe animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the uſe of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young by taking them long and fatiguing journies, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they ſoon reduce their ſpirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, ſtand fire, gallop, and ſtop ſhort in the manner already related, and having accompliſhed this they are ſatisfied without any further qualification. For this reaſon a Barbary horſe ſeldom can perform any other pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full ſtrength, theſe horſes

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in a very few years become unfit for ſervice. The Moors ſeldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they conſider them ſo much more valuable than horſes, that they are never permitted to be exported.

"Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are paſſionately fond of muſic, and ſome few have a taſte for poetry. Their ſlow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the ſcience has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy ſameneſs; but ſome of their quick tunes are beautiful and ſimple, and partake in ſome degree of the characteriſtic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their ſongs, the conſtant ſubject of which is love, though there are few nations perhaps who are leſs ſenſible of that paſſion, has certainly leſs merit than the muſic.

"Their inſtruments are a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys; the mandoline, which they have learnt to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards; another inſtrument, bearing ſome reſemblance to a violin, and played upon in a ſimilar manner, but with only two ſtrings; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. Theſe united and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occaſions form a band, though ſolo muſic is more common in this unſocial country."

"The Moors marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they pleaſe; but if we except the very opulent, the people ſeldom avail themſelves of this indulgence, ſince it entails on them a vaſt additional expence in houſe-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever inſtitution is contrary to truth and ſound morality will in practice refute itſelf; nor is any further argument than this ſingle obſervation wanting to anſwer all the abſurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting marriage the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never ſee each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage ſettlements are made before the Cadi, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the huſband agrees to ſettle a certain ſum upon her, in caſe he ſhould die, or divorce her on account of barrenneſs, or any other cauſe. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of the father and mother, but thoſe of the concubines can each only claim half a ſhare.

"When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory viſits every day. At the ſame time a talb attends upon her, to converſe with her relative to the ſolemn engagement on which ſhe is about to enter; on theſe occaſions he commonly accompanies his admonitions with ſinging a pious hymn, which is adapted to the ſolemnity. The bride alſo with her near relations go through the ceremony of being painted afreſh; the nature of which cuſtom I ſhall deſcribe when I ſpeak of the harem.

"During this proceſs the bridegroom on the other hand receives viſits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, ſome playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing vollies of muſquetry.

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In all their feſtivals the diſcharge of muſquetry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactneſs, the Moors diſcharge their pieces as irregularly as poſſible, ſo as to have a continual ſucceſſion of reports for a few minutes.

"On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a ſquare or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and ſometimes with gauzes and ſilks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, ſhe is paraded round the ſtreets, accompanied by her relations and friends, ſome carrying lighted torches, others playing on the hautboys, and a third party again firing vollies of muſquetry.

"In this manner ſhe is carried to the houſe of her intended huſband, who returns about the ſame time from performing ſimilar ceremonies. On her arrival ſhe is placed in an apartment by herſelf, and her huſband is introduced to her alone for the firſt time, who finds her ſitting on a ſilk or velvet cuſhion, ſuppoſing her to be a perſon of conſequence, with a ſmall table before her, upon which are two wax candles lighted. Her ſhift, or more properly ſhirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a ſilk or velvet robe with cloſe ſleeves, which at the breaſt and wriſts is embroidered with gold; this dreſs reaches ſomething lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black ſilk ſcarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride ſits with her hands over her eyes, when her huſband appears and receives her as his wife, without any further ceremony: for the agreement made by the friends before the Cadi is the only ſpecific contract which is thought neceſſary.

"If the huſband ſhould have any reaſon to ſuſpect that his wife has not been ſtrictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another. For ſome time after marriage the family and friends are engaged in much feaſting and a variety of amuſements, which laſt a longer or ſhorter time, according to the circumſtances of the parties. It is uſually cuſtomary for the man to remain at home eight days and the woman eight months after they are firſt married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herſelf from her huſband if ſhe can prove that he does not provide her with a proper ſubſiſtence. If he curſes her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the firſt offence, eight ducats; for the ſecond, a rich dreſs of ſtill greater value; and the third time ſhe may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

"When any perſon dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpoſe of lamentation, in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleaſant, than their frightful moans or rather howlings: at the ſame time theſe mercenary mourners beat their heads and breaſts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are uſually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment the corpſe is waſhed very clean, and ſewed up in a ſhroud, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca; it is carried on a bier, ſupported upon men's ſhoulders, to the burying-place, which is always, with great propriety, on the outſide of the town, for they never bury their dead in the moſques, or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two abreaſt, who walk very faſt,

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faſt, calling upon God and Mahomet, and ſinging hymns adapted to the occaſion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, and the body is depoſited without any other ceremony than ſinging and praying in the ſame manner as on their way to the grave.

"They have no tombs in this country, but long and plain ſtones; and it is frequently cuſtomary for the female friends of the departed to weep over their graves for ſeveral days after their funeral.

"When a woman loſes her huſband ſhe mourns four months and eight days, during which period ſhe is to wear no ſilver or gold; and if ſhe happens to be pregnant, ſhe is to mourn till ſhe is brought to bed. For the above time the relations of her late huſband are obliged to ſupport her. I could not learn that any mourning was due from the huſband for the loſs of his wife; but it is cuſtomary, particularly among the great people, for a ſon to mourn for his father by not ſhaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain period."

ACCOUNT of a CYPRIAN HUNTING-MATCH.

[From the firſt Volume of the Abbé Mariti's Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Paleſtine.]

"IN this place I had the pleaſure of ſeeing a Cyprian hunting-match, a ſpectacle very common in the iſland; for, as I have already remarked, the Cypriots are remarkably fond of hunting. A ſportſman here ſeldom goes out alone, to purſue a feeble animal, with his fuſee and a couple of dogs. The Cypriots love exerciſe; but they wiſh to enliven theſe excurſions with mirth and jollity: they therefore go out in large parties, mounted on horſes, and accompanied by whole packs of dogs. The hunting-match at which I was preſent, was none of the leaſt brilliant, as it was that of the governor. Having arrived at a ſpacious plain, interſperſed with clumps of mulberry trees, ſome ruins, and thick buſhes, the ſportſmen began to form a ring, in order to incloſe the enemy. The barrier conſiſted of guards on horſe-back, with dogs placed in the intervals. The ladies of the greateſt diſtinction in Nicoſia, with a multitude of other people, ſtood upon a little hill, which I aſcended alſo; and from that eminence I enjoyed the amuſement, without ſharing in the fatigue. The governor and his ſuite were poſted in different parts of the plain, and, as ſoon as the appointed moment arrived, the hunt was opened with the ſound of muſical inſtruments. Part of the dogs were then let looſe; which, ranging through the buſhes and underwood, ſprung a great number of rails, partridges, and woodcocks. The governor began the ſport, by bringing down one of theſe birds; his ſuite followed his example; and the winged tribe, into whatever quarter they flew, were ſure of meeting with inſtant death. I was ſtruck with the tranquility of the ſtationary dogs; for, notwithſtanding the inſtinct by which they were ſpurred

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ſpurred on, not one of them quitted his poſt: but the reſt ran about in purſuit of the game, and the plain was cleared in an inſtant. The ſcene was now changed: a hare ſtarted up from a buſh; the dogs purſued; and while the latter made a thouſand turnings in order to eſcape, ſhe every where found an enemy. She however often defeated the greyhounds: and I admired, in ſuch caſes, the ſagacity of theſe animals; which, diſdaining the aſſiſtance of thoſe that were young and inexperienced, conſequently liable to be deceived, waited until ſome of the cunning old ones opened the way for them; and then the whole plain was ſoon in motion. During this ſcene, the beauty of the ſeaſon, and the cheerfulneſs by which I was ſurrounded, the barking of the dogs, repeated a thouſand times by the echoes of the hills, the cries of the hunters, and the ſound of the horns, exalted my imagination; and kept me, as I may ſay, in a kind of enchantment. When the poor animal was juſt ready to become a prey to its enemies, the governor ruſhed forwards; and throwing a ſtick, which he held in his hand, before the dogs, they all ſtopped, and not one of them ventured to paſs this ſignal. One of thoſe ſwift greyhounds, of which I have ſpoken in the firſt chapter, being then let looſe, purſued the hare; and having come up with it, carried it back, and jumping up on the neck of the governor's horſe, placed it before him. The governor took it in his arms; and, delivering it to one of his officers, gave him orders, if it continued alive, to ſhut it up in his park, where he maintains a great many priſoners of the ſame kind. I admired, above all, the diſcipline of the dogs and the humanity of the governor, who thought it his duty to preſerve an animal which had afforded him ſo much pleaſure."

CLASSICAL

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CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

CHARACTER of the TRAGEDIES of ÆSCHYLUS.

[From the ſixth Volume of the Travels of Anacharſis the younger in Greece.]

"LET us continue to follow the immenſe ſtrides he has made in the dramatic career, and examine the manner in which he has acquitted himſelf in the different parts of tragedy, that is to ſay in the fable, manners, ſentiments, diction, decoration, and muſic.

"His plots are extremely ſimple: he diſregarded or was not ſufficiently acquainted with the art of avoiding improbabilities, complicating and developing an action, cloſely connecting its different parts, and haſtening or retarding it by diſcoveries, and other unforſeen accidents. He ſometimes only intereſts us by the recital of facts, and the vivacity of the dialogue; and at other times by the vigour of his ſtyle, and the terror of his ſcenes. He appears to have conſidered the unity of action and of time as eſſential, but that of place as leſs neceſſary. The chorus with him is no longer confined to chanting certain odes or ſongs, but makes a part of the whole. It is the comforter of the wretched, the counſellor of kings, the terror of tyrants, and the confidant of all. Sometimes it participates in the action during its whole continuance. This is what the ſucceſſors of Æſchylus ought more frequently to have practiſed, and what he has not always practiſed himſelf.

"The character and manners of his perſonages are ſuitable, and rarely fail in conſiſtency. He uſually choſe his models from the heroic times, and ſuſtains his characters at the elevation to which Homer had raiſed his heroes. He delights in exhibiting vigorous and free minds, ſuperior to fear, devoted to their country, animated by an inſatiable thirſt of glory and of combats, more noble than thoſe of the preſent age, and ſuch as he wiſhed to form for the defence of Greece; for he wrote in the time of the Perſian war.

"As he inclines more to excite terror than pity, far from endeavouring to ſoften the harſh features of certain characters, he ſeeks only to render them them more ferocious; but without injury to the theatrical intereſt. Clytæmneſtra, after having murdered her huſband relates the atrocious deed with bitter deriſion, and the intrepidity of remorſeleſs villany. Her crime would be horrible if it were not an act of juſtice in her eyes, if it were not decreed by Fate, and if it were not requi-

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requiſite, according to the received principles of the heroic ages, that blood unjuſtly ſhed ſhould be waſhed away by blood. Clytæmneſtra lets us ſee her jealouſy of Caſſandra, and her love for Ægiſthus; but motives ſo feeble did not guide her hand. Nature and the gods have compelled her to take vengeance; and thus ſhe addreſſes the chorus of Argives:

I tell thee, my firm ſoul diſdains to fear.
Be thou diſpoſs'd t' applaud, or cenſure me,
I reck it not: there Agamemnon lies;
My huſband, ſlaughter'd by this hand: I dare
Avow his death, and juſtify the deed.
——— I ſtruck him twice, and twice
He groan'd, then died. A third time, as he lay
gored him with a wound, a grateful preſent
To the ſtern god, that in the realms below
Reigns o'er the dead: there let him take his ſeat.
He lay; and ſpouting from his wounds a ſtream
Of blood, bedew'd me with theſe crimſon drops;
I glory in them like the genial earth,
When the warm ſhower's of heaven deſcend, and wake
The flowrets to unfold their vermeil leaves.
—For Iphigenia, my lamented child,
Whom he unjuſtly ſlew, he juſtly died.
—Thou ſay'ſt, and ſay'ſt aloud I did this deed:
Say not that I, that Agamemnon's wife
Did it. The Fury fatal to this houſe,
In vengeance for Thyeſtes' horrid feaſt,
Aſſum'd this form, and, with her ancient rage,
Hath for the children ſacrified the man.

POTTER.

"This idea will become more manifeſt from the following reflection. Among the diſorders and myſteries of nature none made a more forcible impreſſion on Æſchylus than the ſtrange deſtiny of the human race; with reſpect to man, the crimes he commits, and the woes of which he is the victim; and with regard to the powers above him, celeſtial vengeance and blind fatality; by the former of which mortals are purſued when guilty, and by the latter impelled when unfortunate. Such is the doctrine which he had derived from his intercourſe with the ſages, which he has inculcated in almoſt all his dramas, and which, holding the minds of the audience in continual terror, inceſſantly exhorted them not to draw on them the anger of the gods, and to ſubmit to the ſtrokes of fate. Hence the ſovereign contempt which he teſtifies for the illuſive goods by which we are dazzled, and that force of eloquence with which he pourtrays the miſchiefs of fortune. Caſſandra exclaims with indignation:

This is the ſtate of man: in proſperous fortune,
A ſhadow, paſſing light, throws to the ground
Joy's baſeleſs fabric: in adverſity,
Comes Malice with a ſponge moiſtened in gall,
And wipes each beauteous character away:
More than the firſt this melts my ſoul to pity.

POTTER.

"In his time no other ſtyle was known for heroic compoſition but that of the epopœia and that of the dithyrambic. As they ſuited the elevation of his ideas and ſentiments, Æſchylus, without enfeebling them, transferred them to tragedy. Hurried away by an enthuſiaſm which he was unable to govern, he laviſhes epithets, metaphors, every figurative expreſſion of the emotions of the ſoul, and whatever may give weight, ſtrength, and magnificence to language, or animate and render it impaſſioned. Beneath his vigorous

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ous pencil, narative, ſentiments and maxims are changed into images, which are ſtriking for their beauty or their ſingularity. In that tragedy, which may with propriety be called the offspring of Mars, the ſoldier who had been ſent by Eteocles to reconoitre the army of the Argives, thus addreſſes his ſovereign:

"Illuſtrious king of Thebes, I bring thee tidings
Of firm aſſurance from the foe; theſe eyes
Beheld each circumſtance. Seven valiant chiefs
Slew on the black-orb'd ſhield the victim bull,
And dipping in the gore their furious hands,
In ſolemn oath atteſt the god of war,
Bellona, and the carnage-loving power
Of Terror, ſworn from their firm baſe to rend
Theſe walls, and lay their ramparts in the duſt;
Or, dying with their warm blood ſteep this earth."

POTTAR.

"He ſays of a man of conſummate prudence: "He reaps thoſe "ſage and generous reſolutions "which ſpring in the deep furrows "of his ſoul:" and elſewhere; "The intelligence by which I am "animated has deſcended from hea"ven to earth, and cries to me in"ceſſantly: Beſtow but a ſlight re"gard on what is mortal." He thus warns a free people early to watch over the conduct of a citizen dangerous from his abilities and his riches: "Beware how you nurſe "up a young lion, how you careſs "him while he yet fears you, or "how you reſiſt him when he is "grown a ſtranger to fear."

"Yet theſe ſhining paſſages are accompanied, in ſome of his works, by an obſcurity which ariſes not only from his extreme conciſeneſs and the boldneſs of his figures, but alſo from new words, with which he affected to enrich his ſtyle. Æſchylus conceived that his heroes ought not to expreſs their ideas like the crowd, and that their diction ſhould be more elevated than vulgar language: it indeed frequently riſes above all known language. To give it vigour, words of exceſſive length, harſhly conſtructed from the fragments of ſeveral others, ariſe in the midſt of a ſentence, like thoſe proud towers, to uſe the compariſon of Ariſtophanes, which overlook the ramparts of a city.

"The eloquence of Æſchylus was too nervous to ſubmit to the refinements of elegance, harmony, and correctneſs; and his flights too daring not to expoſe him to frequent extravagance and failures. His ſtyle is in general noble and ſublime, in certain parts grand to exceſs, and pompous to inflation; but ſometimes degraded and diſguſting by ignoble compariſons, a puerile play on words, and other defects which are common to this author with all thoſe who poſſeſs more genius than taſte. But notwithſtanding his faults, he merits a diſtinguiſhed rank among the moſt celebrated poets of Greece.

"It was not ſufficient that the noble and elevated ſtyle of tragedy ſhould leave in the minds of the auditors a ſtrong impreſſion of grandeur; to captivate the multitude, it was requiſite that every part of the ſpectacle ſhould concur to produce the ſame effect. It was then the general opinion that Nature, by beſtowing on the ancient heroes a more lofty ſtature, had impreſſed on their perſons a majeſty which procured them as much reſpect from the people as the enſigns of dignity by which they were attended. Æſchylus therefore raiſed his actors on high ſtilts or buſkins. He covered their features, which were frequently

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quently disagreeable, with a mask that concealed their irregularity. He clothed them in flowing and magnificent robes, the form of which was so decent, that the priests of Ceres have not blushed to adopt it. The inferior actors were also provided with masks and dresses suited to their parts.

"Instead of those wretched scaffolds which were formerly erected in haste, he obtained a theatre furnished with machines, and embellished with decorations. Here the sound of the trumpet was reverberated, incense was seen to burn on the altars, the shades of the dead to arise from the tomb, and the Furies to rush from the gulphs of Tartarus. In one of his pieces these infernal divinities appeared, for the first time, with masks of a horrid paleness, torches in their hands, serpents intertwined in their hairs, and followed by a numerous retinue of dreadful spectres. It is said that, at the sight of them, and the sound of their terrific howlings, terror seized on the whole assembly, women miscarried, and children expired with fear; and that the magistrates, to prevent similar accidents in future, commanded that the chorus should consist only of fifteen actors instead of fifty.

"The effect of so many new objects could not but astonish the spectators; nor were they less surprised and delighted at the intelligence displayed in the performance of the actors, whom Æschylus almost always exercised himself. He regulated their steps, and taught them to give additional force to the action by new and expressive gestures.

"He instructed them still more effectually by his example, as he performed with them in his pieces. Sometimes he called in the assistance of an able master of the choruses, named Telestes, who had brought the art of gesture to perfection. In the representation of the seven chiefs before Thebes, he performed with such truth and expression, that his action might have supplied the place of the words.

"We have already said that Æschylus had transferred to tragedy the style of the epopœia and the dithyrambic; he also applied to it the lofty modulations and impetuous rhythmus of certain airs, or *nomi*, calculated to excite courage; but he did not adopt those innovations which began to disfigure the ancient music. His choral chant is full of grandeur and decorum; and constantly in the diatonic genus, which is the most simple and natural of all.

"Being falsely accused of having revealed in one of his dramas the Eleusinian mysteries, he with difficulty escaped the fury of the fanatic multitude: yet he forgave the Athenians this injustice, because his life only had been in danger. But when he saw the pieces of his rivals crowned in preference to his own —"I must leave to time," said he, "to restore mine to the place they merit;" and abandoning his country, went to reside in Sicily, where king Hiero loaded him with benefactions and honours. He died there a short time after, aged about seventy years. The following epitaph, which he composed himself, was engraven on his tomb:——

"Here lies Æschylus, the son of
"Euphorion, born in Attica. He
"died in the fertile country of Ge-
"la. The Persians and the woods of
"Marathon will for ever attest his
"valour."—At the time when he wrote these lines he was doubtless disgusted with literary fame, and knew no glory more illustrious than that

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that of arms. The Athenians decreed honours to his memory; and authors who design to dedicate their genius to the theatre, have more than once been seen to go to make libations, and recite their works, at his tomb.

"I have spoken at some length on the merit of this poet, because almost all the novelties he introduced were discoveries; and because it was more difficult, with the models which he had before his eyes, to raise tragedy to the elevation at which he left it, than, after him, to bring it to perfection."

ENQUIRY with RESPECT to the SINGING and DECLAMATION of the ANCIENT TRAGEDY.

[From the same Volume.]

"THE ancients have left us but little light on this subject; and modern critics have been divided in their opinions, when they have undertaken to elucidate it. It has been asserted the scenes were sung; and it has been affirmed that they were only declaimed, or recited. Some have added, the declamation was noted. I shall give in a few words the result of my enquiries.

"1. *The actors declaimed in the scenes.* Aristole, speaking of the means employed by certain kinds of poetry to produce imitation, says, that the dithyrambics, the nomi, tragedy, and comedy, made use of rhythm, melody, and verse; with this difference, that the dithyrambics and the nomi employed all the three together, and tragedy and comedy made use of them separately: and afterwards he says that, in the same piece, tragedy sometimes employs metre alone, and sometimes metre accompanied with melody.

"It is well known that the scenes were usually composed in iambic verse, because this kind of metre is most proper for the dialogue. But Plutarch, speaking of the musical execution of the iambic verses, says that, in tragedy, some were recited while the instruments played, and that others were sung. Declamation was then admitted in the scenes.

"2. *The actors frequently sang in the scenes.* To the proof afforded by the preceding passage in Plutarch, I shall add the following others. Aristotle assures us that the hypodorian and hypaphrygian modes or keys were used in the scenes, though they were not in the choruses.

"When Hecuba and Andromache sing on the stage," says Lucian, "we may pardon them; but for "Hercules so far to forget himself as "to sing, is an intolerable absurdity." The characters of a piece, therefore, sang on certain occasions.

"4. *Declamation was never used in the interludes, or intervals between the acts, but in these the whole chorus sang.* This proposition is not contested.

"4. *The chorus sometimes sang in the course of a scene.* This is proved from the passage in Pollux: "When, "instead of a fourth actor, some one "of the chorus is made to sing," &c. And likewise by the precept in Horace: Let the chorus sing nothing

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thing between the interludes which is not closely connected with the action:" as also by a number of examples. It will be sufficient to refer to the Agamemnon of Æschylus, from verse 1099 to verse 1186; the Hyppolytus of Euripides, from v. 58 to v. 72; the Orestes of the same poet, from v. 140 to v. 207, &c. &c.

"5. *The chorus, or rather its coryphæus, sometimes entered into dialogue with the actors, and this dialogue was only declaimed.* This was especially done when the chorus was asked for any explanations, or when itself requested them from one of the persons of the drama; in a word, as often as it immediately participated in the action. See, in the Medea of Euripides, verse 811; in the supplicants of the same poet, v. 634; in the Iphigenia in Aulis of the same, v. 917, &c.

"The first scenes of the Ajax of Sophocles will suffice, if I am not mistaken, to shew the manner in which declamation and singing were employed successively.

"Scene the first, *Minerva and Ulysses*; scene the second, *the same and Ajax*; scene the third, *Minerva and Ulysses*. These three scenes form the exposition of the subject. Minerva relates to Ulysses that Ajax, in a fit of frenzy, had killed the shepherds and slaughtered the flocks, imagining that he had sacrificed to his vengeance the chiefs of the army. This is a fact, and is narrated in iambic verses; whence I conclude that the three scenes were declaimed.

"Minerva and Ulysses go off, and the chorus enters: it is composed of Salaminians, who deplore the misfortune of their sovereign, of whose frantic actions they have been informed. The chorus entertains doubts, which it seeks to satisfy. It does not employ the iambic verse; its style is figurative. It is alone; it expresses itself in a strophe and an antistrophe, both containing the same number of verses of the same metre. This, therefore, is what Aristotle calls the first speech of the whole chorus; and, by consequence, the first interlude, which was always sung by all the voices of the chorus.

"After the interlude, scene the first, *Tecmessa and the chorus*. This scene, which continues from verse 200 to verse 307, is, as it were, divided into two parts. In the first, which contains 62 verses, Tecmessa confirms the accounts of the frenzy of Ajax; her lamentations and those of the chorus follow. The verses are anapæsts. In the part of the chorus is a strophe, with its corresponding antistrophe, perfectly resembling it in the number and measure of the verses. I suppose all this to have been sung. The second part of the scene, was no doubt, declaimed; it only consists of iambic verses. The chorus interrogates Tecmessa, who enters into a circumstantial account of the action of Ajax. The exclamations of Ajax are heard, the door of his tent is opened, and he appears.

"Scene the second, *Ajax, Tecmessa, and the chorus*. This scene, like the preceding, was partly sung and partly declaimed. Ajax (v. 348) sings four strophes, with their corresponding antistrophes. Tecmessa and the chorus reply by two or three iambic verses, which must have been sung, as I shall presently shew. After the last antistrophe and the answer of the chorus, begin, at verse 430, the iambics, which continue to verse 600, or rather 595. In these the prince, recovered from his delirium, signifies to Tecmessa and the chorus his resolution to put an end to his life: they entreat him

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to abandon such a design. He goes to see his son, takes him in his arms, and addresses to him an affecting speech. All this is declaimed. Tecmessa goes out with her child; Ajax remains on the stage; but he observes a profound silence, while the chorus executes the second interlude.

"From this examination, which I might carry farther, it is manifest that the chorus was considered under two different points of view, according as it was employed in either of the two distinct functions allotted to it. In the interludes, or intervals between the acts, the whole chorus sang together; in the scenes in which it participated in the action, it was represented by its coryphæus; which explains the expression of Aristotle and Horace, that the chorus sometimes performed the part of an actor.

"6. *By what marks may the parts of a drama which were sung be distinguished from those which were only recited?* I am not able to lay down rules for this distinction which will apply in every case; I can only say that it appears to me, that declamation had place as often as the interlocutors, following the thread of the action, without the intervention of the chorus, expressed themselves in a long series of iambics, at the head of which the scholiasts have written the word Iamboi. I incline to believe, but I will not positively assert, that all the other verses were sung. We may, however, in general, affirm that the earlier authors applied themselves more to the melopœia than their successors; the reason of which is evident. The dramatic poems deriving their origin from those companies of buffoons who traversed Attica, it was natural for the chant, or singing, to be regarded as the principal part of tragedy in its infancy; and hence, no doubt, it is that it prevails more in the pieces of Æschylus, and Phrynichus his contemporary, than in those of Euripides and Sophocles.

"I have said above, on the authority of Plutarch, the iambic verses were sometimes sung when the chorus performed the part of an actor. We in fact find this kind of verse in irregular stanzas adapted to be sung. Æschylus has often used it in modulated scenes; as, for example, that of the king of Argos and the chorus in the supplicants, verse 352: the chorus sings strophes and their corresponding antistrophes; the king replies five times, and each time by five iambic verses; a proof, unless I am mistaken, that all these responses were to the same air. See similar examples in the pieces of the same author; in the seven chiefs, v. 209 and 692; in the Persians, v. 256; in Agammenon, v. 1099; and in the supplicants, v. 747 and 883.

"7. *Was the declamation noted?* The Abbé Du Bos pretends that it was. He has been refuted in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres; in which it is proved that the instrument by which the voice of the actor was accompanied, was only employed to support the voice from time to time, and prevent it from rising too high or sinking too low."

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On the PROPER MODE of PRONOUNCING the GREEK VOWELS.

[From an Analytical Eſſay on the Greek Alphabet, by Richard Payne Knight.]

"THE proper mode of pronouncing the Greek vowels has been a ſubject of much controverſy ever ſince the revival of learning in the weſt; it having been ſoon diſcovered that the Byzantine Greeks, the only teachers of the language, had long loſt the art of ſpeaking it, though they continued to write it with purity, and even elegance. Eraſmus firſt compoſed a whimſical dialogue upon the ſubject; and ſoon after Cheke, profeſſor of Greek in the Univerſity of Cambridge, undertook to examine it; but his work was anticipated by an edict, publiſhed in the year 1542 by Stephen Gardener, biſhop of Wincheſter, and chancellor of the Univerſity, ſtrictly commanding that the mode of pronunciation eſtabliſhed by the modern Greeks ſhould be continued: by which the vowels H, I, and Υ, were conſidered merely as different ſigns for one ſound, the dipthongs OI and EI for another, and AI and E for another. Cheke and his friends found no difficulty in confuting theſe abſurdities; but neither he, nor thoſe who have followed him in the enquiry, have afforded us much real information, except that which was before given by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus. "The A," ſays that critic, "when extended, is the moſt ſonorous of the long vowels. It is pronounced by the mouth being very much opened, and the breath forced upwards. Next is the long Ε; to pronounce which the mouth is moderately opened, and the ſound, following the breath, preſſed down about the root of the tongue. Then comes the long O, which requires the mouth to be circular, and the lips contracted round, againſt the outward edges of which the breath muſt be ſtrongly impelled. The Υ is leſs ſonorous; for, the breath being conſtrained by a conſiderable contraction of the lips, the ſound produced is ſlender. Inferior to all is the I; for, the mouth being but little opened, there is a colliſion of the breath with the teeth, and the lips are not employed in elevating the ſound." This paſſage intirely ſubverts the authority of the Byzantine Greeks, as well as that of our own ſchools, none of which teach the true pronounciation of the vowels, except perhaps the Scotch. The critic has conſidered the long ones rather than the ſhort ones, not becauſe there was any difference in the mode of pronouncing them, but becauſe tone can be better illuſtrated and aſcertained in a long ſound than a ſhort one. It appears, from what he ſays, that the A was pronounced as the Italians now pronounce it, or as we pronounce it in the words *vaſt*, *paſt*, &c. The E was alſo as the Italians now pronounce it, or as we pronounce the A when followed by a conſonant and mute vowel, as in the words *mate*, *plate*, &c. The Italians have alſo the true pronounciation of the C, which we have miſerably corrupted, except when followed by a conſonant and mute vowels, as in the words *mode*, *loue*, &c. As for the Υ, I am in doubt whether any modern nation pronounces it exactly as the Greeks did: the Italians follow the Latins,

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whose *U* corresponded to the OY diphthong of the Greeks, the true pronounciation of which is retained by the French in their own *ou*. We pronounce it as the diphthong EY in some instances (as in ΥΔΩΡ), and in others, as the French pronounce the same diphthong (as in ΣΥΣ), a barbarous sound unknown to antiquity. Perhaps the nearest letter to it in modern alphabets is the French accented *U*; the sound of which is, indeed, poor and slender; but such Dionysius informs us that of the Greek Υ was.

"The vowels have varied but little in their forms, except that the Upsilon was antiently written like the Latin V, and the Iota by an indented line, thus ɾ, to distinguish it from the Gamma, which was represented by the straight perpendicular line. The confusion between these two forms probably produced the *J* consonant; which seems, in the Roman alphabet, to have had that affinity with the G which it still retains in most modern languages."

OBSERVATIONS on the LANGUAGE of BOTANY, by the Reverend THOMAS MARTYN, B. D. F. R. S. Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge, and Fellow of the Linnean Society. In a Letter to the President.

[From the first Volume of the Transactions of the Linnean Society.]

"SIR,

"I HAVE little doubt of your agreeing with me in opinion, that nothing has contributed more to the rapid progress which the science of botany has made within the last thirty or forty years, than the excellent language which Linneus invented, and which has been by common consent adopted, not only by those who follow the systematic arrangement of the illustrious Swede, but by all who study botany as a science. Without pretending to any peculiar foresight, we may venture to affirm, that the Linnean language will continue to be in use, even though his system should in after ages be neglected; and that it will be received into every country where the science of botany is studied, with certain modifications adapting it respectively to each vernacular tongue.

"So long as botany was confined to the learned few, there was no difficulty in using the terms of the Linnean language, exactly as the author had delivered it: but now that it is become a general pursuit, not only of the scholar, but of such as have not had what is called a learned education; and since the fair sex have adopted it as a favourite amusement; it is become necessary to have a language that shall be suitable to every rank and condition, a language that may be incorporated into the general fund, and carry with it the proper marks of the mother tongue, into which it is to be received.

"In order to attain this desirable end, I beg leave, sir, to submit to your consideration, and to that of the society over which you preside, these two fundamental principles: First, that we should adhere as closely

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loſely as poſſible to the Linnean anguage itſelf; and ſecondly, that re ſhould adapt the terminations, lurals, compounds and deriv tives, o the ſtructure and genius of our terling Engliſh.

" That we ought to adopt the innean terms themſelves, is ſufficiently apparent from the great dvantage reſulting from the uſe f one univerſal language. If we hange or tranſlate theſe terms, we oſe all this advantage, and become nintelligible to botaniſts of every ther nation, without any benefit ained on the other hand: for theſe ew terms will be equally difficult ven to the Engliſh ſtudent; and ill require as much explanation as he Latin or Greek, many of which ave preſcription and poſſeſſion to lead in their defence. To load he ſcience and our Engliſh tongue vith a uſeleſs addition of new words, s certainly an evil to be avoided.

" Thus, for inſtance, in the parts f fructification, if we adopt the erms *empalement*, *bloſſom*, *chive*, *bread*, *tip*, *pointal*, *ſeed-bud*, *ſhaft*, *ummit*, they require explanation, n their appropriate ſenſe, as much s *calyx*, *corolla*, *ſtamen*, *filament*, *nthera*, *piſtillum* or *piſtil*, *germen* or *erm*, *ſtyle*, and *ſtigma*, which are lready familiar to the ears of all who have ſtudied the ſcience of botany, even though they have little or no acquaintance with the learned anguages. For the ſame reaſons *egume* is to be preferred to *ſhell* or *od*, *ſiliqua* or *ſilique* to *pod*, *ſilicle* to *ouch*, *glume* to *huſk* or *chaff*, *culm* to *traw*, *digitate* to *fingered*, *ovate* to *gged*, *pinnatifid* to *feather-cleft*.

" Some few Engliſh terms, it muſt be owned, were uſed by the earned Grew; ſuch as *empalement*, *chive*, *ſemet* for *anther*, *pointell*, *ovary* for *germ*, and *knob* or *button* for *ſtigma*: but theſe never made their way into the world, or became of general uſe. It is not neceſſary therefore to diſcuſs the comparative merits of theſe terms with the Linnean; ſince, after all, we muſt ſubmit to the ſupreme law in theſe matters, general conſent *: and when a Greek or Latin term has been once ſanctioned by uſe, there can be no doubt but that it ought to be preferred even to a term originally Engliſh, which is either little known, or is applied to another ſignification.

" It ſeems therefore upon the whole to be a deſirable object, that all who talk or write of botany in Engliſh, ſhould keep as cloſe as poſſible to the Linnean language: nor does it ſeem liable to any material objection, if we proceed with diſcretion and propriety, without violating the rules of common ſenſe or of grammar.

" For inſtance, when there is a ſignificant Engliſh term, which has been in long and general uſe, it ought to be preferred. Thus it would be abſurd to put *ſemen* for *ſeed*, or *poltun* for *leaf*: *cell* is preferable to *loculament*, *partition* to *diſſepiment*, and perhaps *ſeed-veſſel* to *pericarp*. Opinions will differ upon the extent to which this exception to the general principle ſhould be carried: but the original terms of the ſcience in our language are ſo few, that it may very well be confined within a ſmall compaſs.

" There are however caſes, in which it ſeems adviſeable rather to invent a new Engliſh term, than to adopt the Linnean. Thus in the caſe of very long words, ſuch as

* " Si volet uſus,
" Quem penes arbitrium eſt, et jus, et norma loquendi."

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campaniform, *infundibuliform*, *hypocrateriform*, and other ſeſquipedalian terms, which give too great an air of pedantry to the language, it will perhaps be thought better by moſt perſons to uſe *bell-ſhaped*, *funnel-ſhaped*, and *ſalver-ſhaped*; or *bell-form*, *funnel-form*, and *ſalver-form*; our Engliſh tongue admitting compounds with great ſucceſs and facility; eſpecially ſince theſe terms convey immediately to the Engliſh botaniſt a familiar idea of the ſeveral forms of the corolla, which they are intended to expreſs.

"When words alſo have already an appropriate ſenſe in Engliſh, it ſeems better to tranſlate them than to uſe the originals themſelves. Thus, although in Latin we ſay *caulis ſtrictus* or *exaſperatus*, and *folium exaſperatum*; yet it has an abſurd ſound in Engliſh to talk of a *ſtrict* or *exaſperated* ſtalk, and of leaves being *exaſperated*. On the contrary, it is ſtill worſe, although it has not ſo ridiculous a ſound, to drop the original Latin term, in order to adopt an Engliſh one before appropriated to another ſenſe, and therefore only tending to create confuſion. What I mean may be exemplified in the terms *lanceolate* and *ſerrate*, applied to leaves: theſe are become ſufficiently familiar by uſe; but if not, the explanation muſt be referred to; whereas, if we uſe the words *lanced* and *jawed*, a novice might eaſily be miſled; for having been accuſtomed to the ideas of a *lanced gum* and *jawed wood*, he will not readily apply the former to the ſhape of a lance's head; or the latter to the ſharp notching round the edge of a leaf reſembling the teeth of a ſaw.

"There are likewiſe ſome Latin words which do not perfectly aſſimilate to our language, and therefore are better tranſlated. Such are *teres* and *am, lexicaulis*. Now we cannot well ſay in Engliſh *tere* or *amplexicaul*; but the firſt may frequently be tranſlated *round*: this however will ſometimes create a confuſion, and *columnar* gives the idea of *teres* moſt preciſely; for when applied to a ſtem, or any of its ſubdiviſions, it ſignifies, not a cylindric, but a tapering form, like the ſhaft of a column. The ſecond of theſe terms may be rendered, ſignificantly enough, *embracing* or *ſtem-claſping*.

"Theſe and other exceptions, which will readily preſent themſelves to any one who conſiders the ſubject, being admitted; the advantage of the ſcience will be moſt effectually conſulted by retaining the Linnean terms, whenever there is no cogent reaſon to the contrary. It is frequently even dangerous to ſubſtitute equivalent terms; or at leaſt it requires the utmoſt caution, if we would avoid confuſion. Thus, if we tranſlate the two Linnean terms *deciduus* and *caducus* by the ſame Engliſh word *falling*, two diſtinct ideas are confounded *: would it not therefore be better to uſe the two Latin terms, with an Engliſh termination, deciduous and caducous? *Plumoſus* is rendered *feathery*; and *pinnatus*, *feathered*: but is not this confounding ideas totally diſtinct? and are not therefore the terms *plumous* or rather *plumoſe*, and *pinnated* or rather *pinnate*, to be preferred? *Dichotomus* may be tranſlated

* *Caducus* ſignifies a more quick or ſudden falling off than *deciduus*. The calyx of the poppy dropping before the corolla is unfolded, is ſaid to be *caducus*. In *Berberis*, and many plants of the claſs *Tetradynamia*, it falls off, but not till after the corolla is expanded; the calyx in this caſe is ſaid to be *deciduus*".

forked;

forked: but this Engliſh term implying no more than one diviſion into two parts, does by no means fully expreſs the idea of a ſtem continually and regularly dividing in pairs from the bottom to the top. Surely then *dichotomous* † is preferable to *forked*.

"But where ſhall we find Engliſh words to expreſs all the variations of pubeſcence, which Linnæus has deſcriminated with ſo much nicety ‡? Some of them indeed may very well admit of tranſlation *; but many will not. For inſtance, if we render *ſcaber* by the Engliſh word *rough*, how ſhall we diſtinguiſh it from *aſper*, which has the ſame ſignification? We are therefore reduced to the neceſſity of rendering *aſper*, rough ¶; and of retaining moſt of the other Latin terms with Engliſh terminations, as *ſcabrous*, *hirſute*, *hiſpid*, &c. unleſs we would wantonly load the ſcience of botany, and our Engliſh tongue, with terms newly invented or applied, which are not either more ſignificant, or more eaſy to be underſtood, than thoſe which we are already in poſſeſſion of.

"As to the ſecond general principle, namely, that the terminations and plurals of our words, together with their compounds and derivatives, ſhould be adapted to the ſtructure and genius of the Engliſh language; it will not perhaps by many be thought of equal importance with the firſt. There is perhaps no language that is more irregular than ours, or that admits of more licence in many reſpects.

"This however is no reaſon why, in the formation of new terms, we ſhould not follow ſuch fundamental rules as we have, avoid irregularities as much as poſſible, and add no freſh barbariſms to thoſe which already diſgrace us. The well known Horatian rule ‖ muſt be our conſtant guide in the formation of our terminations and plurals; and analogy muſt be attended to in the ſtructure of our compounds and derivatives. Thus *neciary* may be uſed for *nectarium*, *piſtil* for *piſtillum*, *ſtyle* for *ſtylus*, *pericarp* for *pericarpium*, *receptacle* for *receptaculum*, *capſule* for *capſula*, *glume* for *gluma*, *culm* for *culmus*, &c. Some of theſe words as *nectarium*, and *pericarpium*, are become ſo familiar to learned botaniſts, that they will perhaps hardly be perſuaded to give up the Latin termination. The final in *a* may be admitted more readily; and *corella* having uſe on its ſide, will doubtleſs be preferred by many to *coral*, which has not ſo melodious a ſound. Naturaliſts talk familiarly of a butterfly's *antenna*; and *cupola*, which in the laſt century was conſidered as a ſtranger, is in this admitted to be a denizen. I muſt obſerve, however, that by changing the final *a* into *e*, ſome

* "† If the *jus et norma loquendi* would permit, I ſhould be for rendering all Latin adjectives ending in *us*, by the Engliſh termination *ous*: and all ſuch as end in *oſus*, by the termination *oſe*."

"‡ As *ſcabrities*, *lana*, *lanugo*, *villus*, *tomentum*, *pili*, *ſetæ*, *ſtrigæ*, *hami*, *ſtimuli*, *aculei*, *furcæ*, *ſpinæ*, &c. and the adjectives derived from theſe and others; as *lanatus*, *lanuginoſus*, *villoſus*, *tomentoſus*, *piloſus*, *ſetaceus*, *ſtrigoſus*, *hamatus*, *aculeatus*, *furcatus*, *ſpinoſus*, *ſcaber*, *hirtus*, *hirſutus*, *hiſpidus*, *exaſperatus*, &c."

"* As *lana* wool, *pili* hairs, *ſetæ* briſtles, *hami* hooks, *ſtimuli* ſtings, *aculei* prickles *ſpinæ* thorns: *lanatus* may be rendered wooly, *piloſus* hairy, *ſetaceus* briſtly, *hamatus* hooked, *aculeatus* prickly, *ſpinoſus* thorny."

"¶ If ſo, in order to preſerve the analogy, *exaſperatus* may be tranſlated *roughen'd*."

"‖ Et nova factaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, ſi
Græco fonte cadant, parcè detorta."

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confuſion will be avoided, which ariſes from not diſtinguiſhing the Latin feminine ſingular from the neuter plural; and by uſing *ſtipule* for *ſtipula*, we ſhall no longer hear of a leaf-ſtalk or petiole having two *ſtipula*.

"But whatever allowance may be made in ſingular terminations, the plurals muſt certainly follow the analogy of the Engliſh tongue; and if we tolerate *corolla* and *antherа*, *nectarium* and *pericarpium*, we cannot poſſibly allow of *corollæ* and *antheræ*, *nectaria* and *pericarpia*; but we muſt uſe either *corollas* or *cerols*, *antheras* or *anthers*, *nectariums* or *nectaries*, *pericarpiums* or *pericarps*, according as we preſerve the original term entire, or anglicize it.

"All derivatives and compounds ought to follow the analogy of the original words from which they are derived, or of which they are compounded. Thus from *cerol* we regularly form *corolet*, as from *crown*, *coronet*: if we adopt the terms *prickle* and *thorn*, we muſt uſe the adjectives *prickly* and *thorny*, not *aculeate* and *ſpinoſe*: from *glume* we form *glumoſe*; from *ament*, *amentaceous*; from *awn*, *awned* and *awnleſs*; from *axil* or *axilla*, *axillary*; from *pinna*, *pinnate*, *bipinnate*, &c. from *calyx* are formed *calycle*, *calycled*, *calycine*; from *petal*, *antler*, *berry*, we make the compounds *five-petaled*, *anther-bearing*, *berry-bearing*, not *bacciferous*; from *cell*, *two-celled*; from *leaf*, *two-leaved*; from *ſeed*, *two-ſeeded*.

"Without, however, entering too much into the minuteneſſes of this ſubject, ſuffice it to remark, that when we admit terms of art or ſcience to participate in the rights of citizens, they ſhould put on our garb, and adopt our manners. If this rule had always been obſerved, our language would not have been deformed with innumerable barbariſms, which learned and unlearned ignorance have joined to introduce among us; and which nothing but the conſtant habit of ſpeaking or hearing them, can ever reconcile to our ears *.

"It would be eaſy to add many more obſervations, but it is not my deſign to exhauſt the ſubject. I have addreſſed theſe curſory remarks to you, ſir, as being at the head of a ſociety, one of whoſe principal views is to promote Engliſh botany; in hopes that ſome member of the ſociety, who has more leiſure than myſelf, may turn his thoughts to the ſubject, and handle it ſo fully, that all of us who are engaged in the ſame purſuit, may ſpeak the ſame language.

I am,

Weſtminſter, Oct. 5, 1789. Sir, &c.

THO. MARTYN."

* Such are *per cent*, *per-annum*, *per-pound*, and *per-poſt*; *ipſe facto*, *minutiæ*, *dicta*, *errata*, *in vacuo*, *vice verſa*, *plus et minus*, *vis inertiæ*, *in equilibrio*, *jet-d'eau*, *aqua fortis*, *aqua vitæ*, *ignis fatuus*, *cæteris paribus*; *equivoque*, *ex tique*, *je-ne-ſcai-quoi*, *ſcavoir-vivre*, *outré*, *et cetera*, *et cet-ra*, *et cetera*—It ſhould ſeem that the mercantile world, the learned world, and the faſhionable world, had formed a conſpiracy to debaſe our ſterling Engliſh by ill-made terms, affectedly introduced without the leaſt neceſſity."

SKETCH

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SKETCH of the CHARACTER of MICHAEL ANGELO, as a PAINTER.

[From Sir Joſhua Reynold's Diſcourſe, delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Diſtribution of the Prizes, Dec. 10, 1790.]

"THE ſudden maturity to which Michael Angelo brought our art, and the comparative feebleneſs of his followers and imitators might perhaps be reaſonably, at leaſt plauſibly explained, if we had time for ſuch an examination. At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that the ſubordinate parts of our art, and perhaps of other arts, expand themſelves by a ſlow and progreſſive growth, but thoſe which depend on a native vigour of imagination generally burſt forth at once in fullneſs of beauty. Of this Homer probably, and Shakſpear, more aſſuredly are ſignal examples. Michael Angelo poſſeſſed the poetical part to a moſt eminent degree; and the ſame daring ſpirit, which urged him firſt to explore the unknown regions of the imagination, delighted with the novelty, and animated by the ſucceſs of his diſcoveries, could not have failed to ſtimulate and impel him forward in his career beyond thoſe limits which his followers, deſtitute of the ſame incentives, had not ſtrength to paſs.

"To diſtinguiſh between correctneſs of drawing, and that part which reſpects the imagination, we may ſay the one approaches to the mechanical (which in its way too may make juſt pretenſions to genius) and the other to the poetical. To encourage a ſolid and vigorous courſe of ſtudy, it may not be amiſs to ſuggeſt that perhaps a confidence in the mechanic produces boldneſs in the poetic. He that is ſure of the goodneſs of his ſhip and tackle puts out fearleſly from the ſhore; and he who knows, that his hand can execute whatever his fancy can ſuggeſt, ſports with more freedom in embodying the viſionary forms of his own creation. I will not ſay Michael Angelo was eminently poetical, only becauſe he was greatly mechanical; but I am ſure that mechanic excellence invigorated and emboldened his mind to carry painting into the regions of poetry, and to emulate that art in its moſt adventrous flights.

"Michael Angelo equally poſſeſſed both qualifications. Yet of the former there were certainly great examples to be found in ancient ſculpture, and particularly in the fragment known by the name of the Torſo of Michael Angelo; but of that grandeur of character, air, and attitude, which he threw into all his figures, and which ſo well correſponds with the grandeur of his outline, there was no example; they could therefore proceed only from the moſt poetical and ſublime imagination.

"It is impoſſible not to expreſs ſome ſurpriſe, that the race of painters who preceded Michael Angelo, men of acknowledged great abilities, ſhould never have thought of tranſferring a little of that grandeur of outline which they could not but ſee and admire in ancient ſculpture, into their own works; but they appear to have conſidered ſculpture as the later ſchools of artiſts look at the inventions of Michael Angelo, as ſomething to be admired, but with which they have nothing to do.

Quod

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Quod ſuper nos, nihil ad nos.—The artiſts of that age, even Raphael himſelf, ſeemed to be going on very contentedly in the dry manner of Pietro Perugino, and if Michael Angelo had never appeared, the art might ſtill have continued in the ſame ſtile.

"The ſublime in painting, as in poetry, ſo overpowers, and takes ſuch a poſſeſſion of the whole mind, that no room is left for attention to minute criticiſm. The little elegancies of art in the preſence of theſe great ideas thus greatly expreſſed, loſe all their value, and are for the inſtant at leaſt, felt to be unworthy of our notice. The correct judgment, the purity of taſte, which characteriſe Raphael; the exquiſite grace of Correggio and Parmegiano, all diſappear before them.

"That Michael Angelo was capricious in his inventions, cannot be denied; and this may make ſome circumſpection neceſſary in ſtudying his works; for though they appear to become him, an imitation of them is always dangerous, and will prove ſometimes ridiculous. "In that "dread circle none durſt tread but "he." To me, I confeſs, his caprice does not lower the eſtimation of his genius, even though it is ſometimes, I acknowledge, carried to the extreme; and however thoſe eccentric excurſions are conſidered, we muſt at the ſame time recollect, that thoſe faults, if they are faults, are ſuch as never could occur to a mean and vulgar mind; that they flowed from the ſame ſource which produced his greateſt beauties, and were therefore ſuch as none but himſelf was capable of committing; they were the powerful impulſes of a mind unuſed to ſubjection of any kind, and too high to be controled by cold criticiſm.

"Many ſee his daring extravagance, who can ſee nothing elſe. A young artiſt finds the works of Michael Angelo ſo totally different from thoſe of his own maſter, or of thoſe with whom he is ſurrounded, that he may be eaſily perſuaded to abandon and neglect ſtudying a ſtile, which appears to him wild, myſterious, and above his comprehenſion, and which he therefore feels no diſpoſition to admire; a good diſpoſition, which he concludes that he ſhould naturally have, if the ſtile deſerved it. It is neceſſary therefore that ſtudents ſhould be prepared for the diſappointment which they may experience at their firſt ſetting out; and they muſt be cautioned, that probably they will not, at firſt ſight, approve.

"It muſt be remembered, that as this great ſtile itſelf is artificial in the higheſt degree, it preſuppoſes in the Spectator, a cultivated and prepared artificial ſtate of mind. It is an abſurdity therefore to ſuppoſe we are born with this taſte, though we are with the ſeeds of it, which by the heat and kindly influence of his genius, may be ripened in us.

"A late philoſopher and critic has obſerved, ſpeaking of taſte, that *we have on no account to expect that fine things ſhould deſcend to us*,—our taſte, if poſſible, muſt be made to aſcend to them. The ſame learned writer recommends to us *even to feign a reliſh, till we find a reliſh come; and feel, that what began in fiction, terminates in reality.* If there be in our art, any thing of that agreement or compact, ſuch as I apprehend there is in muſic, with which the critic is neceſſarily required previouſly to be acquainted, in order to form a correct judgment; the compariſon with this art will illuſtrate what I have ſaid on theſe points,

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and tend to ſhew the probability, we may ſay the certainty, that men are not born with a reliſh for thoſe arts in their moſt refined ſtate, which as they cannot underſtand, they cannot be impreſſed with their effects. This great ſtile of Michael Angelo is as far removed from the ſimple repreſentation of the common objects of nature, as the moſt refined Italian muſic is, from the inartificial notes of nature, from whence they both profeſs to originate. But without ſuch a ſuppoſed compact, we may be very confident that the higheſt ſtate of refinement in either of thoſe arts will not be reliſhed without a long and induſtrious attention.

"In purſuing this great art, it muſt be acknowledged that we labour under greater difficulties than thoſe who were born in the age of its diſcovery, and whoſe minds from their infancy were habituated to this ſtile, who learnt it as language, as their mother tongue. They had no mean taſte to unlearn; they needed no perſuaſive diſcourſe to allure them to a favourable reception of it, no abſtruſe inveſtigation of its principles, to convince them of the great latent truths on which it is founded. We are conſtrained, in theſe later days, to have recourſe to a ſort of grammar and dictionary, as the only means of recovering a dead language. It was by them learnt by rote, and perhaps better learnt that way than by precept.

"The ſtile of Michael Angelo, which I have compared to language, and which may, poetically ſpeaking, be called the language of the Gods, now no longer exiſts, as it did in the fifteenth century, yet with the aid of diligence, we may in a great meaſure ſupply the deficiency which I mentioned, of not having his works ſo perpetually before our eyes; by having recourſe to caſts from his models and deſigns in ſculpture; to drawings or even copies of thoſe drawings; to prints, which however ill executed, ſtill convey ſomething by which this taſte may be formed; and a reliſh may be fixed and eſtabliſhed in our minds for this grand ſtile of invention."

OBSERVATIONS on CLUMPS and PARK SCENERY, relative chiefly to PICTURESQUE BEAUTY.

[From the firſt Volume of Remarks on Foreſt Scenery and other Woodland Views, &c. By William Gilpin, A. M.]

"WHAT number of trees make a *clump*, no rules of art preſcribe. The term has rather a *relative* meaning.—In ſcenes, brought near the eye, we call three or four trees a clump. But in diſtant and extenſive ſcenery, we ſcruple not to uſe the term for any ſmaller detached part of a wood, though it may conſiſt of ſome hundreds.—But though the term admits not of exact definition, I ſhall endeavour by amplifications, to make the ideas contained under it, as diſtinct as I can.

"We diſtinguiſh then two kinds of clumps; the *ſmaller*, and the *larger*; confining the former chiefly to

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to the *foreground*; and considering the latter as the ornament of a *distance*.

"With regard to the *smaller clump*, the chief beauty we expect here, ariſes from *contraſt in the parts*. We have ſeen that in *ſingle trees*, each muſt have it's characteriſtic beauty. It has nothing elſe to depend on. But in *combination*, the beauty of the *individual* is not required; *the whole clump together* muſt produce the effect.

"To enumerate all the ſources of beautiful contraſt, which contribute to produce this effect, might be difficult. I ſhall curſorily ſuggeſt a few.

"In the firſt place the *relative* ſituation of trees, with regard to *each other*, ſhould be conſidered. Three trees, or more, ſtanding in a line, are formal. In the natural wood you rarely ſee this formality.—And yet even *three trees in a line* will be greatly aſſiſted by the lines of the ſeveral trunks taking different directions; and by the various forms, diſtances, and growth of the trees.

"If three trees do not ſtand in a line, they muſt of courſe ſtand in a triangle; which produces a great variety of pleaſing forms.

"If a fourth tree be added, it ſtands beautifully near the middle of the triangle, of whatever form the triangle may be. If it be equilateral, and the tree placed exactly in the middle, there are three points, as you walk round the triangle, from which it will appear offenſively regular.—Remarks however of this kind affect only young trees, while their ſtems are tall, and ſimilar. As they increaſe, their different modes of growth—the ſwelling of their roots—the habits they contract from wind—their ramification—their lateral branches, and other accidental circumſtances introduce endleſs varieties among them; and blot out many of thoſe little formalities, which attend their youth; though, after all, the *artificial* clump will rarely attain the beauty of the *natural* one.

"If the *clump* conſiſt of ſtill more trees than four, a greater variety among the ſtems will of courſe take place—double triangles, irregular quincunxes, and other pleaſing ſhapes, which may be ſeen exemplified in every wood of natural growth.

"The branches alſo are as much a ſource of contraſt, as the ſtem. To be picturesque they muſt intermingle with each other without heavineſs—they muſt hang looſely, but yet with *varied looſeneſs* on every ſide—and if there be one ſuperior apex, there may be two or three others, that are ſubordinate, according to the ſize of the clump.

"Different kinds of trees alſo, in the ſame clump, occaſion often a beautiful contraſt. There are few trees, which will not harmonize with trees of a different kind: though perhaps the moſt ſimple, and beautiful contraſts ariſe from the various modes of growth in the ſame ſpecies. We often ſee two or three oaks intermingle their branches together in a very pleaſing manner. When the beech is full grown, it is generally, (in a luxuriant ſoil at leaſt,) ſo heavy, that it rarely blends happily either with it's own kind, or with any other. The ſilver-fir too, we have obſerved, is a very unaccommodating tree.—So alſo are other firs; indeed all that taper to a point. Not ſo the pine-race. They are clump-headed; and unite well in compoſition. With theſe alſo the Scotch-fir leagues; from little knots of which we often ſee beautiful contraſts ariſe. When they are young, and luxuriant, eſpecially if any number of them above four, or five, are planted

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planted together, they generally form a heavy murky ſpot: but as they acquire age, this heavineſs goes off, the inner branches decay, the outward branches hang looſely, and negligently; and the whole has often a good effect; unleſs they have been planted too cloſely. I am rather doubtful, how far deciduous trees mix well in a clump with evergreens: and yet we ſometimes ſee a natural good effect of light, and ſhade, from the darkneſs of the fir contraſting agreeably with the ſprightly green of a deciduous tree, juſt coming into leaf. In this however I am clear, that if they are mixed, they ought not to be planted, as they often are, alternately, but each kind together.

"Contraſts again ariſe from the mixture of trees of unequal growth—from a young tree united with an old one—a ſtunted tree, with a luxuriant one—and ſometimes from two or three trees, which in themſelves are ill ſhaped, but when combined, are pleaſing. Inequalities of all theſe kinds are what chiefly give nature's planting a ſuperiority over art.

"The form of the foliage is another ſource of contraſt. In one part, where the branches intermingle, the foliage will be interwoven and cloſe; in another, where the boughs of each tree hang ſeparately, the appearance will be light and eaſy.

"But whatever beauty theſe *contraſts* exhibit, the effect is totally loſt, unleſs the *clump* be *well-balanced*. This is as neceſſary in a *combination of trees*, as in a *ſingle tree*. The clump is conſidered as *one* object: and the ſupport of the *whole* muſt depend on the ſeveral trunks, and leading branches, of which it is compoſed. We do not expect the minutiæ of ſcale and weight: if no ſide preponderate, ſo as to hurt the eye, it is enough. Unleſs however the clump have ſuffered ſome external injury, it is ſeldom deficient in point of balance. Nature always conducts the ſtems and branches in ſuch eaſy forms, wherever there is an opening; and fills up all with ſo much nice contrivance, and at the ſame time, with ſo much pictureſque irregularity; that we rarely wiſh for an amendment in her works. So true indeed this is, that nothing is ſo dangerous as to take away a tree from a clump. You will infallibly deſtroy the balance, which can never be reſtored.

"Thus far we have conſidered a *clump*, as a *ſingle independent* object—as the object of a *foreground*—conſiſting of ſuch a confined number of trees, as the eye can fairly include at once. And when trees ſtrike our fancy, either in the wild ſcenes of nature; or in the improvements of art, they will ever be found in combinations ſimilar to theſe.

"When the *clump* grows *larger*, it becomes qualified only as a *remote object*—combining with vaſt woods; and forming a part of ſome extenſive ſcene, either as a firſt, as a ſecond, or a third diſtance.

"The great uſe of the *larger clump* is to lighten the heavineſs of a *continued diſtant wood*; and connect it gently with the plain: that the tranſition may not be too abrupt. All we wiſhed to find in a clump of this kind, is *proportion*, and *general form*.

"With reſpect to *proportion*, the detached clump muſt not incroach too much on the dignity of the wood, it aids; but muſt obſerve a proper ſubordination. A large tract of country covered with wood, will admit ſeveral of theſe auxiliary clumps of different dimenſions. But if the wood be of a ſmaller ſize, the clumps

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clumps alſo muſt be ſmaller, and fewer.

"With regard to the *general form* of the larger clump, we obſerved that in a *ſingle* tree, we expected elegance in the *parts*. In the *ſmaller clumps* this idea was relinquiſhed, and in it's room we expected a *general contraſt* in trunks, branches, and foliage. But as the clump becomes larger, and recedes in the landſcape, all theſe pleaſing contraſts are loſt, and we are ſatisfied with a *general form*: No *regular* form is pleaſing. A clump on the ſide of a hill, or in any ſituation, where the eye can more eaſily inveſtigate it's ſhape, muſt be circumſcribed by an irregular line; in which it is required that undulations both at the baſe, and ſummit of the clump ſhould be ſtrongly marked; as the eye probably has a diſtinct view of both. But if it be ſeen only on the top of a hill, or along the diſtant horizon, (as in theſe ſituations the baſe is commonly loſt in the varieties of the ground) a little variation in the line, which forms the ſummit, ſo as to break any diſagreeable regularity there, will be ſufficient.

"As a large tract of wood requires a few large clumps to connect it gently with the plain; ſo theſe large clumps themſelves require the ſame ſervice from a ſingle tree, or a few trees, according to their ſize.

"Theſe obſervations reſpect chiefly the vaſt ſcenes of nature, which are but little under the controul of art. While they aſſiſt us however in judging of the natural ſcene, they are in many reſpects applicable to the embelliſhed one. To the painters uſe, they are moſt adapted; whoſe buſineſs is to introduce his trees in the happieſt manner; whether he ſpread them over his canvas in vaſt woods; or break them into *ſmaller*, or *larger combinations*.

"From *clumps* we naturally proceed to *park-ſcenery*, which is generally compoſed of *combinations of clumps*, interſperſed with lawns. It is ſeldom compoſed of any large diſtrict of wood; which is the characteriſtic of foreſt-ſcenery.

"The park, which is a ſpecies of landſcape little known, except in England, is one of the nobleſt appendages of a great houſe. Nothing gives a manſion ſo much dignity as theſe home demeiſns: nor contributes more to mark it's conſequence. A great houſe, in a courſe of years, naturally acquires ſpace around it. A noble park therefore is the natural appendage of an ancient manſion.

"To the ſize, and grandeur of the houſe, the park ſhould be proportioned. *Blenheim-caſtle* with a paddock around it; or a ſmall villa in the middle of Woodſtock-park, would be equally out of place.

"The houſe ſhould ſtand nearly in the centre of the park; that is, it ſhould have ample room about it on every ſide. Petworth-houſe, one of the grandeſt piles in England, loſes much of it's grandeur from being placed at the extremity of the park, where it is elbowed by a church-yard.

"The *exact ſpot* depends intirely on the ground. There are grand ſituations of various kinds. In general, houſes are built firſt; and parks are added afterwards, by the occaſional removal of incloſures. A great houſe ſtands moſt nobly on an elevated knoll, from whence it may overlook the diſtant country; while the woods of the park ſkreen the regularity of the intervening cultivation. Or it ſtands well on the ſide of a valley, which winds along it's front; and is adorned with wood,

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wood, or a natural ſtream hiding, and diſcovering itſelf among the clumps at the bottom of the vale. Or it ſtands with dignity, as Longleat does, in the centre of demeiſns, which ſhelve gently down to it on every ſide.—Even on a dead flat I have ſeen a houſe draw beauties around it. At the ſeat of the late Mr. Bilſon Legge, (now lord Stawel's) in the middle of Holt-foreſt, a lawn unvaried by a ſingle ſwell, is yet varied with clumps of different forms, receding behind each other, in ſo pleaſing a manner, as to make an agreeable ſcene.

"By theſe obſervations I mean only to ſhew, that in whatever part of a park a houſe may have been originally placed, it can hardly have been placed ſo awkwardly, but that, in ſome way or other, the ſcenery may be happily adapted to it. There are ſome ſituations indeed ſo very untoward, that ſcarce any remedy can be applied: as when the front of a houſe immediately urges on a riſing ground. But ſuch awkward ſituations are rare; and in general, the variety of landſcape is ſuch, that it may almoſt always be brought in one form or other, to ſerve the purpoſes of beauty. The many improvements of the ingenious Mr. Brown, in various parts of England, bear witneſs to the truth of theſe obſervations.—The beauty however of park-ſcenery is undoubtedly beſt diſplayed on a varied ſurface—where the ground ſwells, and falls—where hanging lawns, ſkreened with wood, are connected with vallies—and where one part is continually playing in contraſt with another.

"As the park is an appendage of the houſe, it follows, that it ſhould participate of it's neatneſs, and elegance. Nature, in all her great walks of landſcape, obſerves this accommodating rule. She ſeldom paſſes abruptly from one mode of ſcenery to another; but generally connects different ſpecies of landſcape by ſome third ſpecies, which participates of both. A mountainous country rarely ſinks immediately into a level one; the ſwellings and heavings of the earth, grow gradually leſs. Thus as the houſe is connected with the country through the medium of the park; the park ſhould partake of the neatneſs of the one, and of the wildneſs of the other.

"As the park is a ſcene either planted by art, or, if naturally woody, artificially improved, we expect a beauty, and contraſt in it's *clumps*, which we do not look for in the wild ſcenes of nature. We expect to ſee it's lawns, and their appendages, contraſted with each other, in ſhape, ſize, and diſpoſition; from which a variety of artificial ſcenes will ariſe. We expect that when trees are left ſtanding as *individuals*, they ſhould be the moſt beautiful of their kind, elegant and well-balanced. We expect, that all offenſive trumpery, and all the rough luxuriance of undergrowth, ſhould be removed; unleſs where it is neceſſary to thicken, or connect a ſcene; or hide ſome ſtaring boundary. In the wild ſcenes of nature we have grander exhibitions, but greater deformities, than are generally met with in the works of art. As we ſeldom meet with theſe ſublime paſſages in improved landſcape; it would be unpardonable if any thing diſguſting ſhould appear.

"In the park-ſcene we wiſh for no expenſive ornament. Temples, Chineſe-bridges, obeliſks, and all the laboured works of art, ſuggeſt inharmonious ideas. If a bridge be neceſſary, let it be elegantly plain. If a deer-ſhed, or a keeper's lodge be required; let the faſhion of each be

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be as ſimple, as it's uſe. Let nothing appear with oſtentation, or parade.—Within reſtrictions however of this kind we mean not to include piles of *ſuperior grandeur*. Such a palace as Blenheim-caſtle diſtributes it's greatneſs far and wide. There, if the bridge be immenſe, or the obeliſk ſuperb, it is only what we naturally expect. It is the chain of ideas properly carried on, and *gradually loſt*. My remarks regard only ſuch houſes, as may be rich indeed, and elegant; but have nothing in them of a *ſuperior magnificence*.

"One ornament of this kind, I ſhould be inclined to allow; and that is a handſome gate at the entrance of the park: but it ſhould be proportioned in richneſs, and elegance to the houſe; and ſhould alſo correſpond with it in ſtile It ſhould raiſe the firſt impreſſion of what you are to expect. Warwick-caſtle requires a mode of entrance very different from lord Scarſdale's at Kettleſtone; and Burleigh-houſe, very different from both. The park-gate of Sion-houſe is certainly elegant; but it raiſes the idea of a ſtile of architecture, which you muſt drop, when you arrive at the houſe.

"The road alſo through the park ſhould bear the ſame proportion. It ſhould be ſpacious, or moderate, like the houſe it approaches. Let it wind; but let it not take any deviation, which is not well accounted for. To have the convenience of winding along a valley, or paſſing a commodious bridge, or avoiding a wood, or a piece of water, any traveller would naturally wiſh to deviate a little; and obſtacles of this kind, if neceſſary, muſt be interpoſed. Mr. Brown was often very happy in creating theſe artificial obſtructions.

"From every part of the approach, and from the ridings, and favourite walks about the park, let all the boundaries be ſecreted. A view of paling, though in ſome caſes it may be picturesque, is in general diſguſting.

"If there be a *natural* river, or a real ruin in the ſcene, it may be a happy circumſtance: let the beſt uſe be made of it: bnt I ſhould be cautious in adviſing the *creation* of either. At leaſt I have rarely ſeen either ruins, or rivers well manufactured. Mr. Brown, I think, has failed more in river-making than in any of his attempts. An artificial lake has ſometimes a good effect; but neither propriety, nor beauty can ariſe from it, unleſs the heads and extremities of it are perfectly well managed. and concealed: and after all, the ſucceſs is hazardous. You may always ſuppoſe it a portion of a larger piece of water; and it is not eaſy to carry on the impoſition. If the houſe be magnificent, it ſeldom receives much benefit from an artificial production of this kind. Grandeur is rarely produced.

——————Seldom art
Can emulate that magnitude ſublime,
Which ſpreads the native lake; and
failing there,
Her works betray their character, and
name;
And dwindle into pools ——————

"The moſt natural inhabitants of parks are fallow deer; and very beautiful they are; but flocks of ſheep, and herds of cattle are more uſeful; and, in my opinion, more beautiful. Sheep particularly are very ornamental in a park. Their colour is juſt that dingy hue, which contraſts with the verdure of the ground; and the flakineſs of their wool is rich, and picturesque. I ſhould wiſh them however to wear their natural

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rural livery; and not to be patched with letters, and daubed over with red ochre. To see the side of a hill spread with groups of sheep—or to see them through openings among the boles of trees, at a little distance, with a gleam of light falling upon them, is very picturesque.

"As the garden, or *pleasure-ground*, as it is commonly called, approaches nearer to the house, than the park, it takes of course a higher polish. Here the lawns are shorn, instead of being grazed. The roughness of the road is changed into an elegant gravel walk; and knots of flowers, and flowering shrubs, are introduced, yet blended with clumps of forest-trees, which connect it with the park. Single trees also take their station here with great propriety. The spreading oak, or elm, are no disgrace to the most ornamented scene. It is the property of these noble plants to harmonize with every species of landscape. They equally become the forest, and the lawn: only here they should be beautiful in their kind; and luxuriant in their growth. Neither the scathed, nor the unbalanced oak would suit a polished situation.

"Here too, if the situation suits it, the elegant temple may find a place. But it is an expensive, a hazardous, and often a useless decoration. If more than one however be introduced in the same view, they croud the scene, unless it be very extensive. More than two should in no case be admitted. In the most polished landscape, unless nature, and simplicity lead the way, the whole will be deformed."

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PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

Dr. HERSCHEL'S OBSERVATIONS on NEBULOUS STARS, properly ſo called.

[From the Eighty-firſt Volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.]

"IN one of my late examinations of a ſpace in the heavens, which I had not reviewed before, I diſcovered a ſtar of about the 8th magnitude, ſurrounded with a faintly luminous atmoſphere, of a conſiderable extent. The phænomenon was ſo ſtriking, that I could not help reflecting upon the circumſtances that attended it, which appeared to me to be of a very inſtructive nature, and ſuch as may lead to inferences which will throw a conſiderable light on ſome points relating to the conſtruction of the heavens.

"Cloudy or nebulous ſtars have been mentioned by ſeveral aſtronomers; but this name ought not to be applied to the objects which they have pointed out as ſuch; for, on examination, they proved to be either mere cluſters of ſtars, plainly to be diſtinguiſhed with my large inſtruments, or ſuch nebulous appearances as might be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by a multitude of ſtars at a vaſt diſtance. The milky way itſelf, as I have ſhewn in ſome former papers, conſiſts intirely of ſtars, and by imperceptible degrees I have been led on from the moſt evident congeries of ſtars, to other groups in which the lucid points were ſmaller, but ſtill very plainly to be ſeen; and from them to ſuch wherein they could but barely be ſuſpected, till I arrived at laſt to ſpots in which no trace of a ſtar was to be diſcerned. But then the gradations to theſe latter were by ſuch well-connected ſteps as left no room for doubt, but that all theſe phænomena were equally occaſioned by ſtars, variouſly diſperſed in the immenſe expanſe of the univerſe.

"When I purſued theſe reſearches, I was in the ſituation of a natural philoſopher who follows the various ſpecies of animals and inſects from the height of their perfection down to the loweſt ebb of life; when, arriving at the vegetable kingdom, he can ſcarcely point out to us the preciſe boundary where the animal ceaſes and the plant begins; and may even go ſo far as to ſuſpect them not to be eſſentially different.

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different. But recollecting himſelf, he compares, for inſtance, one of the human ſpecies to a tree, and all doubt on the ſubject vaniſhes before him. In the ſame manner we paſs through gentle ſteps from a coarſe cluſter of ſtars, ſuch as the Pleiades, the Præſepe, the milky way, the cluſter in the Crab, the nebula in Hercules, that near the preceding hip of Bootes, the 17th, 38th, 41ſt of the 7th claſs of my catalogues, the 10th, 20th, 35th of the 6th claſs, the 32d, 48th, 213th of the 1ſt, the 12th, 150th, 756th of the 2d, and the 18th, 140th, 725th, of the 3d, without any heſitation, till we find ourſelves brought to an object ſuch as the nebula in Orion, where we are ſtill inclined to remain in the once adopted idea, of ſtars exceedingly remote, and inconceivably crowded, as being the occaſion of that remarkable appearance. It ſeems, therefore, to require a more diſſimilar object to ſet us right again. A glance like that of the naturaliſt, who caſts his eye from the perfect animal to the perfect vegetable, is wanting to remove the veil from the mind of the aſtronomer. The object I have mentioned above, is the phænomenon that was wanting for this purpoſe. View, for inſtance, the 19th cluſter of my 6th claſs, and afterwards caſt your eye on this cloudy ſtar, and the reſult will be no leſs deciſive than that of the naturaliſt we have alluded to. Our judgment, I may venture to ſay, will be that the nebuloſity about the ſtar is not of a ſtarry nature.

"But, that we may not be too precipitate in theſe new deciſions, let us enter more at large into the various grounds which induced us to ſurmiſe, that every viſible object, in the extended and diſtant heavens, was of the ſtarry kind, and collate them with thoſe which now offer themſelves for the contrary opinion.

"It has been obſerved, on a former occaſion, that all the ſmaller parts of other great ſyſtems, ſuch as the planes, their rings and ſatellites, the comets, and ſuch other bodies of the like nature as may belong to them, can never be perceived by us, on account of the faintneſs of light reflected from ſmall, opaque objects; in my preſent remarks, therefore, all theſe are to be entirely ſet aſide.

"A well-connected ſeries of objects, ſuch as we have mentioned above, has led us to infer, that all nebulæ conſiſt of ſtars. This being admitted, we were authoriſed to extend our analogical way of reaſoning a little farther. Many of the nebulæ had no other appearance than that whitiſh cloudineſs, on the blue ground upon which they ſeemed to be projected; and why the ſame cauſe ſhould not be aſſigned to explain the moſt extenſive nebuloſities, as well as thoſe that amounted only to a few minutes of a degree in ſize, did not appear. It could not be inconſiſtent to call up a teleſcopic milky way, at an immenſe diſtance, to account for ſuch phænomena; and if any part of the nebuloſity ſeemed detached from the reſt, or contained a viſible ſtar or two, the probability of ſeeing a few near ſtars, apparently ſcattered over the far diſtant regions of myriads of ſidereal collections, rendered nebulous by their diſtance, would alſo clear up theſe ſingularities.

"In order to be more eaſily underſtood in my remarks on the comparative diſpoſition of the heavenly bodies, I ſhall mention ſome of the particulars which introduced the ideas of connection and disjunction: for theſe, being properly founded upon an examination of objects that may be reviewed at any time, will

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be of considerable importance to the validity of what we may advance with regard to my lately discovered nebulous stars.

"On June the 27th, 1786, I saw a beautiful cluster of very small stars of various sizes, about 15′ in diameter, and very rich of stars. On viewing this object, it is impossible to withhold our assent to the idea which occurs, that these stars are connected so far one with another, as to be gathered together within a certain space, of little extent, when compared to the vast expanse of the heavens. As this phænomenon has been repeatedly seen in a thousand cases, I may justly lay great stress on the idea of such stars being connected.

"In the year 1779, the 9th of September, I discovered a very small star near ε Bootis. The question here occurring, whether it had any connection with ε or not, was determined in the negative; for considering the number of stars scattered in a variety of places, it is far from being uncommon, that a star at a great distance should happen to be nearly in a line drawn from the sun through ε, and thus constitute the observed double star.

"The 7th of September, 1782, when I first saw the planetary nebula near γ Aquarii, I pronounced it to be a system whose parts were connected together. Without entering into any kind of calculation, it is evident, that a certain equal degree of light within a very small space, joined to the particular shape this object presents to us, which is nearly round, and even in its deviation consistent with regularity, being a little elliptical, ought naturally to give us the idea of a conjunction in the things that produce it. And a considerable addition to this argument may be derived from a repetition of the same phænomenon, in nine or ten more of a similar construction.

"When I examined the cluster of stars, following the head of the great dog, I found on the 19th of March, 1786, that there was within this cluster a round, resolvable nebula, of about two minutes in diameter, and nearly of an equal degree of light throughout. Here, considering that the cluster was free from nebulosity in other parts, and that many such clusters, as well as many such nebulæ, exist in divers parts of the heavens, it appeared to me very probable, that the nebula was unconnected with the cluster; and that a similar reason would as easily account for this appearance as it had resolved the phænomenon of the double star near ε Bootis; that is a casual situation of our sun and the two other objects nearly in a line. And though it may be rather more remarkable, that this should happen with two compound systems, which, are not by far so numerous as single stars, we have, to make up for this singularity, a much larger space in which it may take place, the cluster being of a very considerable extent.

"On the 15th of February, 1786, I discovered that one of my planetary nebulæ, had a spot in the centre, which was more luminous than the rest, and with long attention, a very bright, round, well defined centre became visible. I remained not a single moment in doubt, but that the bright centre was connected with the rest of the apparent disk.

"In the year 1785, the 6th of October, I found a very bright, round nebula, of about 1¼ minute in diameter. It has a large, bright nucleus in the middle, which is undoubtedly connected with the luminous parts about it. And though we

must

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must confess, that if this phænomenon, and many more of the same nature, recorded in my catalogues of nebulæ, consist of clustering stars, we find ourselves involved in some difficulty to account for the extraordinary condensation of them about the centre; yet the idea of a connection between the outward parts and these very condensed ones within is by no means lessened on that account.

"There is a telescopic milky way, which I have traced out in the heavens in many sweeps made from the year 1783 to 1789. It takes up a space of more than 60 square degrees of the heavens, and there are thousands of stars scattered over it: among others, four that form a trapezium, and are situated in the well known nebula of Orion, which is included in the above extent. All these stars, as well as the four I have mentioned, I take to be entirely unconnected with the nebulosity which involves them in appearance. Among them is also *d* Orionis, a cloudy star, improperly so called by former astronomers; but it does not seem to be connected with the milkiness any more than the rest.

"I come now to some other phænomena, that, from their singularity, merit undoubtedly a very full discussion. Among the reasons which induced us to embrace the opinion, that all very faint milky nebulosity ought to be ascribed to an assemblage of stars is, that we could not easily assign any other cause of sufficient importance for such luminous appearances, to reach us at the immense distance we must suppose ourselves to be from them. But if an argument of considerable force should now be brought forward, to shew the existence of a luminous matter, in a state of modification very different from the construction of a sun or star, all objections, drawn from our incapacity of accounting for new phænomena upon old principles, will lose their validity.

"Hitherto I have been shewing, by various instances in objects whose places are given, in what manner we may form the ideas of connection and its contrary by an attentive inspection of them only: I will now relate a series of observations, with remarks upon them as they are delivered, from which I shall afterwards draw a few simple conclusions, that seem to be of considerable importance.

"To distinguish the observations from the remarks, the former are given in italics, and the date annexed is that on which the objects were discovered; but the descriptions are extracted from all the observations that have been made upon them.

"October 16, 1784. *A star of about the 9th magnitude surrounded by a milky nebulosity, or chevelure, of about 3 minutes in diameter. The nebulosity is very faint, and a little extended or elliptical, the extent being not far from the meridian, or a little from north preceding to south following. The chevelure involves a small star, which is about ½ minute north of the cloudy star: other stars of equal magnitude are perfectly free from this appearance.*

"My present judgment concerning this remarkable object is, that the nebulosity belongs to the star which is situated in its center. The small one, on the contrary, which is mentioned as involved, being one of many that are profusely scattered over this rich neighbourhood, I suppose to be quite unconnected with this phænomenon. A circle of

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three minutes in diameter is ſufficiently large to admit another ſmall ſtar, without any bias to the judgment I form concerning the one in queſtion.

"It muſt appear ſingular, that ſuch an object ſhould not have immediately ſuggeſted all the remarks contained in this paper; but about things that appear new we ought not to form opinions too haſtily, and my obſervations on the conſtruction of the heavens were then but entered upon. In this caſe, therefore, it was the ſafeſt way to lay down a rule not to reaſon upon the phænomena that might offer themſelves, till I ſhould be in poſſeſſion of a ſufficient ſtock of materials to guide my reſearches.

"October 16, 1784. *A ſmall ſtar of about the 11th or 12th magnitude, very faintly affected with milky nebuloſity; other ſtars of the ſame magnitude are perfectly free from this appearance.* Another obſervation mentions 5 *or* 6 *ſmall ſtars within the ſpace of* 3 *or* 4′, *all very faintly affected in the ſame manner, and the nebuloſity ſuſpected to be a little ſtronger about each ſtar.* But a third obſervation rather oppoſes this increaſe of the faintly luminous appearance.

"Here the connection between the ſtars and the nebuloſity is not ſo evident as to amount to conviction; for which reaſon we ſhall paſs on to the next.

"January the 6th, 1785. *A bright ſtar with a conſiderable milky chevelure; a little extended,* 4 *or* 5′ *in length, and near* 4′ *broad; it loſes itſelf inſenſibly. Other ſtars of equal magnitude are perfectly free from this chevelure.*

"The connection between the ſtar and the chevelure cannot be doubted, from the inſenſible gradation of its luminous appearance, decreaſing as it receded from the center.

"January 31, 1785. *A pretty conſiderable ſtar, with a very faint and very ſmall, irregular, milky chevelure; other ſtars of the ſame ſize are perfectly free from ſuch appearance.*

"I can have no doubt of the connection between the ſtar and its chevelure.

"October 5, 1785. *A ſtar with a ſtrong bur all around.* A ſecond obſervation calls it *a very bright nucleus, with a milky nebuloſity, of no great extent.* A third ſuſpects *the milkineſs to belong to more of the ſame, which is diffuſed over the whole ſweep in that place*; but a fourth ſays, that *the milky nebuloſity is much ſtronger than what the nebulous ground, on which the ſtar is placed, intitles it to.*

"The connection, therefore, between the nebuloſity and the ſtar is evident.

"January 1, 1786. *A ſtar ſurrounded with milky chevelure; the ſtar is not central.* A ſecond obſervation calls it affected with a very faint, and extenſive, *milky chevelure.* A third only mentions *a ſtar affected with milky chevelure.*

"As by the word chevelure I always denoted ſomething relating to a center, the connection cannot be doubted.

"February 24, 1786. *A conſiderable ſtar, very faintly affected with milky chevelure.* A ſecond obſervation, much the ſame.

"November 2⁸, 1786. *A ſtar involved in milky chevelure.*

"January 17, 1787. *A ſtar with a pretty ſtrong milky nebuloſity, equally diſperſed all around: the ſtar is of about the 9th magnitude.* A memorandum to the obſervation ſays, that, having but juſt begun, *I ſuſ-*

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suspected the glass to be covered with damp, or the eye out of order: but yet a star of the 10th or 11th magnitude, just north of it, was free from the same appearance. A second observation calls it *one of the most remarkable phænomena I ever have seen, and like my northern planetary nebula in its growing state.*

"The connection between the star and the milky nebulosity is without all doubt.

"November 3, 1787. *A bright star with faint nebulosity.* A second observation mentions *the star to be of the 9th magnitude, and the faint nebulosity of very little extent.*

"June 11, 1787. *Suspected, stellar.* By a second observation it is verified, *and called a very small star involved in extremely faint nebulosity.*

"November 25, 1788. *A star of about the 9th magnitude, surrounded with very faint milky nebulosity; other stars of the same size are perfectly free from that appearance. Less than 1′ in diameter. The star is either not round or double.*

"March 23, 1789. *A bright, considerably well defined nucleus, with a very faint, small, round chevelure.*

"The connection admits of no doubt; but the object is not perhaps of the same nature with those which I call cloudy stars.

"April 14, 1789. *A considerable, bright, round nebula; having a large place in the middle of nearly an equal brightness, but less bright towards the margin.*

"This seems rather to approach to the planetary sort.

"March 5, 1790. *A pretty considerable star of the 9th or 10th magnitude, visibly affected with very faint nebulosity of little extent, all around. A power of 300 showed the nebulosity of greater extent.*

"The connection is not to be doubted.

"March 19, 1790. *A very bright nucleus, with a small, very faint chevelure, exactly round. In a low situation, where the chevelure could hardly be seen, this object would put on the appearance of an ill-defined, planetary nebula, of 6, 8, or 10″ diameter.*

"November 13, 1790. *A most singular phenomenon: a star of about the 8th magnitude, with a faint luminous atmosphere, of a circular form, and of about 3′ in diameter. The star is perfectly in the center, and the atmosphere is so diluted, faint, and equal throughout, that there can be no surmise of its consisting of stars; nor can there be a doubt of the evident connection between the atmosphere and the star. Another star, not much less in brightness, and in the same field with the above, was perfectly free from any such appearance.*

"This last object is so decisive in every particular, that we need not hesitate to admit it as a pattern, from which we are authorized to draw the following important consequences.

"Supposing the connection between the star and its surrounding nebulosity to be allowed, we argue, that one of the two following cases must necessarily be admitted. In the first place, if the nebulosity consist of stars that are very remote, which appear nebulous on account of the small angles their mutual distances subtend at the eye, whereby they will not only, as it were, run into one another, but also appear extremely faint and diluted; then, what must be the enormous size of the central point, which outshines all the rest in so superlative a degree as to admit of no comparison? In the next place, if the star be no bigger than common, how very

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ſmall and compreſſed muſt be thoſe other luminous points that are the occaſion of the nebuloſity which ſurrounds the central one? As, by the former ſuppoſition, the luminous central point muſt far exceed the ſtandard of what we call a ſtar, ſo, in the latter, the ſhining matter about the center will be much too ſmall to come under the ſame denomination; we therefore either have a central body which is not a ſtar, or have a ſtar which is involved in a ſhining fluid, of a nature totally unknown to us.

I can adopt no other ſentiment than the latter, ſince the probability is certainly not for the exiſtence of ſo enormous a body as would be required to ſhine like a ſtar of the 8th magnitude, at a diſtance ſufficiently great to cauſe a vaſt ſyſtem of ſtars to put on the appearance of a very diluted, milky nebuloſity.

"But what a field of novelty is here opened to our conceptions; a ſhining fluid, of a brightneſs ſufficient to reach us from the remote regions of a ſtar of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th magnitude, and of an extent ſo conſiderable as to take up 3, 4, 5, or 6 minutes in diameter! can we compare it to the coruſcations of the electrical fluid in the aurora borealis? or to the more magnificent cone of the zodiacal light, as we ſee it in ſpring or autumn? the latter, notwithſtanding I have obſerved it to reach at leaſt 90 degrees from the ſun, is yet of ſo little extent and brightneſs as probably not to be perceived even by the inhabitants of Saturn or the Georgian planet, and muſt be utterly inviſible at the remoteneſs of the neareſt fixed ſtar.

"More extenſive views may be derived from this proof of the exiſtence of a ſhining matter. Perhaps it has been too haſtily ſurmiſed that all milky nebuloſity, of which there is ſo much in the heavens, is owing to ſtarlight only. Theſe nebulous ſtars may ſerve as a clue to unravel other myſterious phænomena. If the ſhining fluid that ſurrounds them is not ſo eſſentially connected with theſe nebulous ſtars but that it can alſo exiſt without them, which ſeems to be ſufficiently probable, and will be examined hereafter, we may with great facility explain that very extenſive, teleſcopic nebuloſity, which, as I mentioned before, is expanded over more than ſixty degrees of the heavens, about the conſtellation of Orion, a luminous matter accounting much better for it than cluſtering ſtars at a diſtance. In this caſe we may alſo pretty nearly gueſs at its ſituation, which muſt commence ſomewhere about the range of the ſtars of the 9th magnitude, or a little farther from us, and extend equally in ſome places perhaps to the regions of thoſe of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th. The foundation for this ſurmiſe is, that, not unlikely, ſome of the ſtars that happen to be ſituated in a more condenſed part of it, or that perhaps by their own attraction draw together ſome quantity of this fluid greater than what they are entitled to by their ſituation in it, will, of courſe, aſſume the appearance of cloudy ſtars; and many of thoſe I have named are either in this ſtratum of luminous matter, or very near it.

"We have ſaid above, that in nebulous ſtars the exiſtence of the ſhining fluid does not ſeem to be ſo eſſentially connected with the central points, that it might not alſo exiſt without them. For this opinion we may aſſign ſeveral reaſons. One of them is the great reſemblance between the chevelure of theſe ſtars and

and the diffused extensive nebulosity mentioned before, which renders it highly probable that they are of the same nature. Now, if this be admitted, the separate existence of the luminous matter, or its independance on a central star, is fully proved. We may also judge, very confidently, that the light of this shining fluid is no kind of reflection from the star in the center; for, as we have already observed, reflected light could never reach us at the great distances we are from such objects. Besides, how impenetrable would be an atmosphere of a sufficient density to reflect so great a quantity of light; and yet we observe, that the outward parts of the chevelure are nearly as bright as those that are close to the star; so that this supposed atmosphere ought to give no obstruction to the passage of the central rays. If, therefore, this matter is self-luminous, it seems more fit to produce a star by its condensation than to depend on the star for its existence.

"Many other diffused nebulosities, besides that about the constellation of Orion, have been observed or suspected; but some of them are probably very distant, and run out far into space. For instance, about 5 minutes in time preceding ζ Cygni, I suspect as much of it, as covers near four square degrees; and much about the same quantity 14′ preceding the 125 Tauri. A space of almost 8 square degrees, 6° preceding α Trianguli, seems to be tinged with milky nebulosity. Three minutes preceding the 46 Eridani, strong, milky nebulosity is expanded over more than two square degrees, 54′ preceding the 13th Canum venaticorum, and again 48′ preceding the same star, I found the field of view affected with whitish nebulosity throughout the whole breadth of the sweep, which was 2° 39′ 4′ following the 57 Cygni, a considerable space is filled with faint, milky nebulosity, which is pretty bright in some places, and contains the 37th nebula of my Vth class, in the brightest part of it. In the neighbourhood of the 44th Piscium, very faint nebulosity appears to be diffused over more than 9 square degrees of the heavens. Now, all these phænomena, as we have already seen, will admit of a much easier explanation by a luminous fluid than by stars at an immense distance.

"The nature of planetary nebulæ, which has hitherto been involved in much darkness, may now be explained with some degree of satisfaction, since the uniform and very considerable brightness of their apparent disk accords remarkably well with a much condensed, luminous fluid; whereas to suppose them to consist of clustering stars will not so completely account for the milkiness or soft tint of their light, to produce which it would be required that the condensation of the stars should be carried to an almost inconceivable degree of accumulation. The surmise of the regeneration of stars, by means of planetary nebulæ, expressed in a former paper, will become more probable, as all the luminous matter contained in one of them, when gathered together into a body of the size of a star, would have nearly such a quantity of light as we find the planetary nebulæ to give. To prove this experimentally, we may view them with a telescope that does not magnify sufficiently to shew their extent, by which means we shall gather all their light together into a point, when they will be found to assume the appearance of small stars; that is, of

stars

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ſtars at the diſtance of thoſe which we call of the 8th, 9th, or 10th magnitude. Indeed this idea is greatly ſupported by the diſcovery of a well defined, lucid point, reſembling a ſtar, in the centre of one of them; for the argument which has been uſed, in the caſe of nebulous ſtars, to ſhew the probability of the exiſtence of a luminous matter, which reſted upon the diſparity between a bright point and its ſurrounding ſhining fluid, may here be alledged with equal juſtice. If the point be a generating ſtar, the further accumulation of the already much condenſed, luminous matter, may complete it in time.

"How far the light that is perpetually emitted from millions of ſuns may be concerned in this ſhining fluid, it might be preſumptuous to attempt to detetermine; but, notwithſtanding the unconceivable ſubtilty of the particles of light, when the number of the emitting bodies is almoſt infinitely great, and the time of the continual emiſſion indefinitely long, the quantity of emitted particles may well become adequate to the conſtitution of a ſhining fluid, or luminous matter, provided a cauſe can be found that may retain them from flying off, or reunite them. But ſuch a cauſe cannot be difficult to gueſs at, when we know that light is ſo eaſily reflected, refracted, inflected, and deflected; and that, in the immenſe range of its courſe, it muſt paſs through innumerable ſyſtems, where it cannot but frequently meet with many obſtacles to its rectilinear progreſſion Not to mention the great counteraction of the united attractive force of whole ſidereal ſyſtems, which muſt be continually exerting their power upon the particles while they are endeavouring to fly off. However, we ſhall lay no ſtreſs upon a ſurmiſe of this kind, as the means of verifying it are wanting: nor is it of any immediate conſequence to us to know the origin of the luminous matter. Let it ſuffice that its exiſtence is rendered evident, by means of nebulous ſtars.

"I hope it will be found, that in what has been ſaid I have not launched out into hypothetical reaſonings; and that facts have all along been kept ſufficiently in view. But, in order to give every one a fair opportunity to follow me in the reflections I have been led into, the place of every object from which I have argued has been purpoſely added*, that the validity of what I have advanced might be put to the proof by thoſe who are inclined, and furniſhed, with the neceſſary inſtruments to undertake an attentive and repeated inſpection of the ſame phænomena.

W. HERSCHEL."

Slough, Jan. 1, 1791.

* For theſe places we muſt refer our readers to the eighty-firſt volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

COMMU-

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COMMUNICATION from the COMMITTEE of COUNCIL appointed for the CONSIDERATION of all MATTERS relating to TRADE and FOREIGN PLANTATIONS, to the ROYAL SOCIETY, relative to the NATURAL HISTORY of AMBERGRIS.

[From the ſame work.]

"SIR,

"LORD Hawkeſbury, preſident of the committee of privy council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, having received a letter from Mr. Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern Whale Fiſhery, informing him, that a ſhip belonging to him had lately arrived from the ſaid fiſhery, which had brought home 362 ounces of ambergris, found by Mr. Coffin, captain of the ſaid ſhip, in the body of a female ſpermaceti whale, taken on the coaſt of Guinea; his lordſhip thought fit to deſire captain Coffin, as well as Mr. Champion, to attend the lords of the committee, that they might be examined concerning all the circumſtances of the fact before mentioned; and I am directed by their lordſhips to tranſmit to you a copy of the examination of theſe two gentlemen, that you may communicate the ſame to the Royal Society, if you ſhould think that any of the circumſtances, ſtated in this examination, will contribute to remove the doubts hitherto entertained concerning the natural hiſtory and production of this valuable drug. I ſend you alſo a piece of the ambergris ſo taken out of the whale, and ſome of the bills of the fiſh called Squids (which are ſuppoſed to be the food of ſpermaceti whales), and which were found partly in the ambergris taken from this female whale, and partly on the outſide of it, and adhering to it.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. FAWKENER."

"At the council chamber, Whitehall, the 12th January, 1791.

"By the right honourable the lords of the committee of council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

"READ—Letter from Mr. Alexander Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern Whale Fiſhery, to lord Hawkeſbury, dated the 2d inſtant, acquainting his lordſhip, that captain Joſhua Coffin, of the ſhip the Lord Hawkeſbury, is lately arrived from the Southern Whale Fiſhery; and that the ſaid ſhip, beſides a cargo of 76 tons of ſpermaceti oil and head-matter, has brought home about 360 ounces of ambergris, which the ſaid captain took out of the body of a female ſpermaceti whale on the coaſt of Guinea.

"Meſſ. Champion and Coffin attending, were then called in, and the following queſtions were put to Mr. Coffin, viz.

"Q. Have any of the whales, taken

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taken before by the ſhips ſailing from Great-Britain, to your knowledge, contained any ambergris?

A. None, that ever I heard of. The American ſhips have, at times, found ſome.

Q. Was the ambergris, found by you, in a bull or cow fiſh?

A. It was found in a cow fiſh.

Q. Is it uſual to look for ambergris in whales that are killed?

A. It has not hitherto been much the practice to do ſo.

Q. How happened it that you diſcovered this?

A. We ſaw it come out of the fundament of the whale; as we were cutting the blubber, a piece of it ſwam upon the ſurface of the ſea.

Q. In what part of the whale did you find the remainder?

A. Some more was in the ſame paſſage, and the reſt was contained in a bag a little below the paſſage, and communicating with it.

Q. Did the whale appear to be in health?

A. No; ſhe did not. She ſeemed ſickly, had no fleſh upon her bones, and was very old, as appears by the teeth, two of which I have. Though ſhe was about thirty-five feet long, ſhe did not produce above one ton and a half of oil. A fiſh of the ſame ſize, in good health, would have produced two tons and a half.

Q. Have you obſerved the food that whales generally feed upon?

A. The ſpermaceti whale feeds, as I believe, almoſt wholly upon a fiſh called Squids. I have often ſeen a whale, when dying, bring up a quantity of ſquid, ſometimes whole, and ſometimes pieces of it. The bills of the ſquid (ſome of which Mr. Coffin produced) were found, ſome in the inſide, and ſome on the outſide of the ambergris, ſticking to it.

Q. Did you ever find any ambergris floating on the ſea?

A. I never did, but others frequently have.

Q. How long have you been engaged in the whale fiſhery?

A. It is about ſixteen years ſince I firſt entered into it.

Q. What is the general proportion of bull and cow whales you have met with?

A. I believe the proportion to be nearly equal. In my laſt voyage, however, I found only four bulls out of thirty-five whales. I fiſhed upon the coaſt of Africa between five north and ſeven ſouth degrees of latitude. I am inclined to think, that the cow whale goes to calve in the low latitudes, which accounts for more cows being found in thoſe latitudes.

Q. Is there any particular ſeaſon when the cow whales calve?

A. I do not know that there is.

Q. Does the bull or cow whale, in proportion to their ſize, produce moſt oil?

A. The cow whale, when big with calf, produces more oil than a bull whale, of the ſame ſize; when ſuckling, ſhe produces leſs.

Q. Are the whales uſually found ſingly, or in pairs? or in larger numbers?

A. Uſually in large numbers, which we call ſcools, and particularly in the low latitudes. I have ſeen from fifteen to perhaps a thouſand together.

Q. Have you any further information on this ſubject to give the committee?

A. We have generally obſerved, that the ſpermaceti whale, when ſtruck, voids her excrement; if ſhe does not, we conjecture that ſhe has ambergris in her. I think ambergris moſt likely to be found

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in a ſickly fiſh; for I conſider it to be the cauſe or the effect of ſome diſorder."

"Queſtions put to Mr. Champion.

"Q. At what price does ambergris uſually ſell; and at what price did that, taken by your ſhip, ſell?

A. A ſmall quantity had lately ſold at 25*s.* *per* ounce; but it was then very ſcarce. Mine ſold for 19*s.* 6*d.* *per* ounce. The whole quantity, found in this whale, was 362 ounces troy. The people who bought it told me, this was a larger quantity than was ever before brought at once to market. It has been generally ſold at about 4 or 5 pounds at a time.

Q. For the uſe of what country was this ambergris bought?

A. I do not exactly know. It was bought by a broker, who told me, that his principal, who purchaſed about one half, bought it for exportation to Turkey, Germany, and France. The other half was purchaſed by the druggiſts in town."

PROCESS of converting the SMOKE of STEAM-ENGINES, &c. into TAR; deſcribed in a Letter from Mr. William Pitt, of Pendeford, near Wolverhampton, to Mr. More.

[From the ninth Volume of the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

"HAVING had occaſion to ſpend a good deal of time upon buſineſs, in the coal and iron works of this country; my ſituation amidſt the ſmoke of thoſe great works put me upon the idea hinted at in the 153d premium of the eighth volume of the Society's Tranſactions; namely, that of deſtroying ſmoke, in order to prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood.

"That the object is not only attainable, will be demonſtrated in the following narrative; but alſo that valuable articles of commerce may be produced in large quantities, whenever the proprietors of ſuch works ſhall adopt the mode of conſtructing their buildings proper for ſuch production.

"The articles of commerce I allude to, are mineral tar, pitch, and varniſh: there are already three conſiderable works erected on the banks of the canal in this county, for the purpoſe of converting the ſmoke of pitcoal into the above articles; the one at Mr. Wilkinſon's great works at Bradley, another at Tipton, and a third at the Level Colliery and iron works upon Dudley-wood. they were erected by lord Dundonald and Co. and the buſineſs is carried on with ſucceſs.

"Theſe tar-works are erected in the vicinity of large iron and coal works: the iron maſters furniſh the tar-works with raw coal, *gratis*, and receive in return the cokes produced by ſuch coal, and the proprietors of the tar-works have the ſmoke only for their labour, and intereſt of capital.

"The proceſs is conducted in the following manner: a range of eighteen or twenty ſtoves is erected, and ſupplied

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ſupplied with coal kept burning at the bottom; the ſmoke is conducted, by proper horizontal tunnels, into a capacious and cloſe funnel, of one hundred yards or more in length; this funnel is built with brick, ſupported by brick arches, and covered on the top by a ſhallow pond of water, which pond is ſupplied with water, when wanted, by a ſteam-engine belonging to the coal or iron-works; the chill of the water gradually condenſing the ſmoke, it falls upon the floor of the funnel in the form of tar, and is conveyed by proper pipes into a receiver, from whence it is pumped into a large boiler, and boiled to a proper conſiſtence, or otherwiſe inſpiſſated into pitch: when the latter is the caſe, the volatile particles which ariſe during the inſpiſſation are again condenſed into an oil uſed for varniſh.

"In this proceſs the ſmoke is decompoſed and deſtroyed, nothing ariſing from the work but a white vapour from ſome ſmall funnels (kept open to give draught to the fires), and a ſmall evaporation of water from the pond, occaſioned by the warmth of the ſmoke within the funnel.

"The proceſs requires but little attendance, the principal labour being that of ſupplying the fuel. In any one of the tar works the quantity of coal uſed is about twenty tons per day; three labourers, with a foreman, are ſufficient for the whole buſineſs: the quantity of tar produced will be about twenty-eight barrels, of two hundred weight and an half, in ſix days, worth ten ſhillings per hundred, or twenty-one barrels of pitch, of the ſame weight, worth fifteen ſhillings per hundred; though I was aſſured, upon the ſpot, by a very intelligent perſon, that ſome coal is of ſo bituminous a quality, as to give one-eighth its weight, of tar: but the quantity above ſtated is about the average produce.

"In order to bring the above practice within the ſociety's intentions, an alteration in the erection of ſteam-engines, furnaces, &c. muſt take place; the alteration will be no more than that of erecting them below ground, inſtead of above: and when raiſing water is the main object, an adoption of the forcing or lifting pump inſtead of the ſucking pump, or the ſucking pump may be ſtill employed, wherever the fall of ground gives an opportunity of letting off the water raiſed, by an aqueduct; in which caſe, the lift being ſhortened, and leſs power neceſſary, ample amends will be thereby made for the expence of ſuch aqueduct.

"Such kind of buildings, from a low ſituation, within the earth's ſurface, will certainly acquire additional ſtability: and to thoſe who are acquainted with the trifling expence of removing ſoil to only ſmall diſtances, the additional charge will appear trifling, and will be more than recompenſed by ſuch acquired ſtability. In ſome local ſituations, in hilly countries, the ſmoking works being erected at the foot, and the tar-funnel higher up the hill, a communication may be effected without ſuch alteration. Perhaps it may be right for the ſociety to offer a premium to the firſt perſon who ſhall erect a ſteam engine, or other ſimilar work, upon this plan.

"To prove the above idea is not ill-founded, I beg leave to report, that about three weeks ago, I particularly examined the tar-work on Dudley wood; and found the foreman of the work intelligent and communicative; and walking with him on the top of the tar-funnel, obſerved a prodigious ſmoke ariſe from a ſteam-engine, about thirty yards

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yards diſtant, freſh fuel having juſt been added. When I put this queſtion, would that ſmoke make tar, if it paſſed into your funnel? he anſwered, moſt certainly. Would your confining it there, prevent the fire burning below, ſufficient to do its office of working the ſteam-engines? anſwer, certainly not; as our ſmall funnels allow ſufficient draught to keep the fire burning, which draught we can increaſe or diminiſh at pleaſure.

"I find by reports from other quarters, that ſucceſsful attempts have been made to make cokes of the coal employed in working ſteam-engines: the additional improvement of making tar from the ſmoke, would not only prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood, but alſo apply to the beſt advantage every particle of that valuable and comfortable article, coal; prodigious quantities of which are at preſent waſted by being burned in one place for heat only, in another for cokes only; when, by due attention, both purpoſes may in many caſes be effected at the ſame time.

"I was informed upon the ſpot, from undoubted authority, that the conſumption of coal in Mr. Wilkinſon's great works, at Bradley, is one hundred tons per day: about one fifth of the ſmoke is actually employed in making of tar; and the remainder, or the ſmoke of eighty tons per day, flies away. This, if collected, would yield upwards of eighteen barrels of tar, of two hundred and an half each: and if the ſmoke of the great works of the kingdom was in general collected for the ſame uſe, what a prodigious addition would it be, to the production of a commercial and neceſſary article, which always finds a ready market, and will in many inſtances ſupply the place of the vegetable tar, at preſent imported from abroad!

"That ſome idea may be formed of the conſumption of coal in ſteam-engines for raiſing water, I beg leave to report the following, of which I had certain information upon the ſpot; namely, that ſome ſuch engines individually conſume one hundred tons per week of coal; that others, though powerful, with the improvements of Meſſrs. Boulton and Watt, are kept on with about twenty-five tons per week; and that the weekly conſumption varies between thoſe two quantities, viz. from twenty-five to one hundred tons."

CONJECTURES reſpecting the FORMATION of NITRE.

[From the third Volume of Townſend's Journey through Spain, in the years 1786 and 1787.]

"THIS ſcorching ſun is highly beneficial to the production of nitre, at the ſalt-works near Granada; where, with about one hundred men, employed during the ſummer, and twenty-ſix in winter, government obtains three thouſand quintals annually. But then the lixiviating water is not carried by men, as in Madrid, but conducted by pipes to every filter.

"To procure the proper kind of earth, they obſerve the ſpots which, early in the morning, appear black, and

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and towards noon become white round the edges; this they collect, and find that land, on which has been laid much dung, is the moſt productive. Once collected, it will endure for ages; and, having been expoſed to the influence of the ſun, and of the air, yields the ſame quantity as at firſt on every ſubſequent filtration. In the places where they find this earth, there is neither limeſtone, chalk, nor gypſum; and aſhes being extremely ſcarce, none are uſed at the bottom of the filters.

"I have already conſidered this wonderful production as a merchant; and happy ſhould I be, were I qualified to diſcuſs it with any ſatisfaction as a chemiſt.

"Here a thouſand queſtions crowd in upon the mind. From whence does this earth collect the vegetable alkali, whence the nitrous acid? ſuppoſing the former to be originally the reſult of putrefaction, yet, after the earth has been lixiviated, and all the vegetable alkali has been carried off by water, how is it impregnated afreſh, merely by expoſure to the ſun and air; and where does it obtain this inexhauſtible ſupply both of the alkali and its combining acid? but, if we reflect, that, with the nitrous ſalt, there is conſtantly found muria, or ſea-ſalt, in conſiderable quantities; whence does it derive the foſſil alkali, and whence the muriatic acid, not once, but upon every ſubſequent expoſure?

"It is well known that old mortar produces ſix kinds of ſalt: for, beſide the two juſt mentioned, both the nitrous and the muriatic acid are found combined with magneſia and with calcareous earth. But, if we recollect, at Anover and Aranjuez we ſaw Epſom and Glauber's ſalt, with the muria and the nitre, and both thoſe ſalts contain vitriolic acid.

"Here, then, new queſtions will ariſe. What is the relation between theſe various ſubſtances, of chalk, magneſia, the foſſil, and the vegetable alkalis? what connection can we trace between the muriatic, nitrous, and vitriolic acids? and, is there one common principle of acidity?

"This queſtion will be both more natural and more intereſting, when we conſider, as far as relates to England, France, and Spain, the only countries which have come under my obſervation, that, in proportion to the quantity of ſun, the chalk is found impregnated with vitriolic acid, and forms ſelenite or gypſum. At leaſt it may be obſerved, that in our iſland, we have much chalk, and little gypſum; that in France both theſe ſubſtances abound; whilſt in Spain, there is very little chalk, and a profuſion of gypſum, more eſpecially in Arragon, and in the ſouthern provinces. Indeed a learned naturaliſt, who reſided many years in Spain, and traverſed it in all directions, with a view to minerals, aſſures us, that he had never diſcovered there the leaſt veſtige of chalk. (v. Bowles, p. 13.) But I have already noticed it in one place; and in the neighbourhood of Granada it is likewiſe found, although I was not able to identify the ſpot.

"His obſervation is however ingenious, and worthy of attention. He never met with it; I ſaw it only at Cervera, here, and at Picacente.

"The connection between chalk and gypſum became evident to me from the moment that I diſcovered flinty gravel in the latter, preciſely ſuch as we always meet with in the former. Hence it ſeems to be plain, either

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either that chalk was gypsum, and has lost its vitriolic acid, or that gypsum was once chalk, and has made this acquisition. I am inclined to adopt the latter hypothesis: and, if this be the true one, we must inquire whence has it derived the acid? was the chalk impregnated with the vitriolic acid, whilst it remained covered by the waters of the ocean? or is the acquisition subsequent to that grand revolution to which I have frequently referred? Should we suppose the latter, and should we be inclined to seek the principle of acidity in the solar ray, we may perhaps be confirmed in this idea by the consideration, that, by means of green vegetables and water exposed to its meridian influence, all modern chemists have produced *vital*, that is, *dephlogisticated* air, in great abundance, always in proportion to the quantity of light, or, in other words, to the greater or lesser influence of the solar rays: and that saltpetre, by distillation, produces the same kind of air, in the proportion of twelve thousand inches to a pound, leaving behind the vegetable alkali uncombined with acid.

"Should we be inclined to grant, agreeable to the experiments of Dr. Ingenhousz, that vegetables by day emit vital, and by night mephitic air; considering that Mr. Cavendish produced nitrous acid by the combination of *vital air* with atmospheric *mephitis*, in the proportion of seven to three, we should not be at a loss for a never-failing source, from whence this acid may arise.

"These speculations might be pursued, and, observing that one pound of nitrous acid, distilled on mercury, yields one thousand eight hundred and eight cubic inches of *nitrous*, and one thousand nine hundred and four of *vital* air, we should be confirmed in our opinion that we have discovered the origin of the sought-for acid.

"*Nitrous air* is obtained from animal substances simply by putrefaction, or it may be had by the combination of *inflammable* and vital air: for, as Dr. Priestley has remarked in the Philosophical Transactions of the 27th of November, 1788, "When either inflammable or dephlogisticated air is extracted from any substance in contact with the other kind of air, so that the one is made to unite with the other in what may be called its nascent state; the result will be *fixed air*; but, if both of them be completely formed before their union, the result will be *nitrous air*."

"Thus, in the various facts and observations above related, we may see the intimate relation and connection between inflammable, fixed or mephitic, and nitrous air; that the two latter result from the combination of the former with vital air in given quantities; whilst, with a greater proportion of vital air, we obtain *nitrous acid*; and that, of these its constituent principles, in warm climates, animal substances are, by their putrefaction, constantly producing one, whilst vegetables, by day, are as constantly pouring forth the other."

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NATURAL HISTORY of the GRANA KERMES.

[From the ſame Volume.]

"I HAD here an opportunity to examine the natural hiſtory of the *grana kermes*. It is found on the coſcoja, or *quercus coccifera* of Linnæus, here growing to the height of from twelve inches to two feet. The grana appear on the ſtems or ſmall branches, ſome near the bottom of the plant, but moſtly on the upper branches, yet always protected by the leaves, and fixed to the ſtem by a gluten, which both to the ſight and to the touch reſembles thin white leather, ſpread over the ſtem, and covering, like the cup or calix of the acorn, a ſegment of the grana. Upon a more minute inveſtigation, I traced the agglutinating coat through a ſmall foramen into the grana, from whence it had proceeded, and where it ſpread, like the placenta, on the internal ſurface.

"The grana were of various ſizes, from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in diameter, perfectly ſpherical, and covered with a white powder, which being rubbed off, the ſurface appeared red, ſmooth, and poliſhed. Upon the ſame ſtem I found the grana in three ſtages. In the firſt I diſcovered only tough membranes filled with a red juice reſembling blood, but on paper leaving a ſtain as bright and beautiful as the beſt carmine. In the ſecond ſtage there appeared, under the firſt coat or pellicle, a thin tough membrane incloſing the eggs, now moſt minute, and ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed without the aſſiſtance of a convex lens. Between this membrane and the pellicle was the ſame red liquor, but leſs in quantity than was contained in the former ſtage. By a careful diſſection I took off the pellicle which was evidently ſeparated from the inner membrane by what ſeemed to be the viſcera and blood-veſſels, but near to the foramen theſe two coats adhered cloſely together.

"The interior membrane is thin, white, and tough, with a lunar ſeptum, forming the ovary, which at firſt is very ſmall, and ſcarcely diſcernible, but progreſſively enlarges, till in the third ſtage it occupies the whole ſpace, when the tinCturing juice diſappears, and only eggs are to be ſeen, to the number of fifteen hundred or two thouſand.

"It is clear to me that the grana derives no kind of nouriſhment from the plant on which it is fixed; and from its poſition I am inclined to think, that the little animal chooſes the quercus coccifera, which in its prickly leaf reſembles the holly, only for the ſake of ſhelter and protection from birds.

"I put ſome of the grana into a coffee-cup on the thirty-firſt of May, and, June the twelfth, I diſcovered a multitude of animalculæ, of a bright red colour, exceedingly minute, running about the cup with aſtoniſhing rapidity, but for ſhort intervals. A friend put ſome grana into a ſnuff-box, where he ſoon forgot them; but when, at the diſtance of a few weeks, he had occaſion to reſume his box, he found the top covered internally with dew, and a multitude of winged inſects, all dead, adhering to it.

"Before my excurſion to Buzot, ſome peaſants of Las Aguas had ſpread themſelves on the adjacent mountains, where they collected more than four arrobas, or one hundred weight of grana, which they had ſold in Alicant for fifteen reals, or about three ſhillings a pound."

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ACCOUNT of the BAYA, or INDIAN GROSS-BEAK. By ATHAR ALI KHAN of DEHLI.

[From the ſecond Volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches.]

THE little bird, called Baya in Hindu, Berbera in Sanſcrit, Babui in the dialect of Bengal, Cibu in Perſian, and Tenawwit in Arabick, from his remarkably pendent neſt, is rather larger than a ſparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowiſh head and feet, a light-coloured breaſt, and a conic beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in Hindoſtan: he is aſtoniſhingly ſenſible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deſerting the place where his young were hatched, but not averſe, like moſt other birds, to the ſociety of mankind, and eaſily taught to perch on the hand of his maſter. In a ſtate of nature he generally builds his neſt on the higheſt tree, that he can find, eſpecially on the palmyra, or on the Indian fig-tree, and he prefers that, which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of graſs, which he weaves like cloth, and ſhapes like a large bottle, ſuſpending it firmly on the branches, but ſo as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to ſecure it from birds of prey. His neſt uſually conſiſts of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire flies, which he catches alive at night and confines with moiſt clay, or with cow-dung: that ſuch flies are often found in his neſt, where pieces of cow-dung are alſo ſtuck, is indubitable; but, as their light would be of little uſe to him, it ſeems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with eaſe to fetch a piece of paper, or any ſmall thing, that his maſter points out to him; it is an atteſted fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a ſignal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his maſter with apparent exultation; and it is confidently aſſerted, that, if a houſe or any other place be ſhown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper ſignal being made. One inſtance of his docility I can myſelf mention with confidence, having often been an eye witneſs of it: the young Hindu women at Benares and in other places wear very thin plates of gold, called tica's, ſlightly fixed by way of ornament between their eye brows; and, when they paſs through the ſtreets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuſe themſelves with training Baya's, to give them a ſign which they underſtand, and ſend them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their miſtreſſes, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The Baya feeds naturally on graſs-hoppers and other inſects, but will ſubſiſt, when tame, on pulſe macerated in water: his fleſh is warm and drying, of eaſy digeſtion, and recommended, in medical books, as a ſolvent of ſtone in the bladder or kidneys; but of that virtue there is no ſufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful eggs reſembling large pearls: the white of them, when they are boiled, is tranſparent, and the flavour of them is exquiſitely delicate. When many Baya's are aſſembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than ſinging; their

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want of muſical talents is, however, amply ſupplied by their wonderful ſagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the foreſt."

ORIENTAL METHOD of curing the ELEPHANTIASIS, and other DISORDERS of the BLOOD.

[From the ſame Work.]

"IN the year of the Meſſiah 1783, when the worthy and reſpectable Maulavi Mir Muhammed Huſain, who excels in every branch of uſeful knowledge, accompanied Mr. Richard Johnſon from *Lac'hnau* to *Calcutta*, he viſited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with ſincere affection; and, in the courſe of their converſation, 'One of the fruits of 'my late excurſion, ſaid he, is a pre-'ſent for you, which ſuits your pro-'feſſion, and will be generally uſeful 'to our ſpecies: conceiving you to be 'worthy of it by reaſon of your aſſi-'duity in medical inquiries, I have 'brought you a preſcription, the in-'gredients of which are eaſily found, 'but not eaſily equalled as a power-'ful remedy againſt all corruptions 'of the blood, the judham, and the 'Perſian fire, the remains of which 'are a ſource of infinite maladies. It 'is an old ſecret of the Hindu phy-'ſicians; who applied it alſo to the 'cure of cold and moiſt diſtempers, 'as the palſy, diſtortions of the face, 'relaxations of the nerves, and ſi-'milar diſeaſes: its efficacy too has 'been proved by long experience; 'and this is the method of prepar-'ing it.

'Take of white arſenick, fine 'and freſh, one *tólá* *; of picked 'black pepper ſix times as much: let 'both be well beaten at intervals for 'four days ſucceſſively in an iron 'mortar, and then reduced to an im-'palpable powder in one of ſtone 'with a ſtone peſtle, and thus com-'pletely levigated, a little water 'being mixed with them. Make 'pills of them as large as tares or 'ſmall pulſe, and keep them dry in 'a ſhady place.

'One of thoſe pills muſt be ſwal-'lowed morning and evening with 'ſome betel-leaf, or, in countries 'where betel is not at hand, with 'cold water: if the body be cleanſed 'from foulneſs and obſtructions by 'gentle catharticks and bleeding, 'before the medicine is adminiſter-'ed, the remedy will be ſpeedier.'

"The principal ingredient of this medicine is the arſenick, which the Arabs call ſhuce, the Perſians mergi muſh, or mouſe-bane, and the Indians, ſanc'hayá; a mineral ſubſtance ponderous and cryſtalline: the orpiment or yellow arſenick, is the weaker ſort. It is a deadly poiſon, and ſo ſubtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very ſmell of the dead will deſtroy the living of that ſpecies: after it has been kept about ſeven years, it loſes much of its force; its colour becomes turbid; and its weight is diminiſhed. This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth degree: it cauſes ſuppuration, diſſolves or unites, according to the quantity given; and is very uſeful in cloſing the lips of wounds, when the pain is too intenſe to be borne.

* i. e. 105 grains.

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An ungent made of it with oils of any ſort is an effectual remedy for ſome cutaneous diſorders, and, mixed with roſe-water, it is good for cold tumours and for the dropſy; but it muſt never be adminiſtered without the greateſt caution; for ſuch is its power, that the ſmalleſt quantity of it in powder, drawn, like *álcohol*, between the eyelaſhes, would in a ſingle day entirely corrode the coats and humours of the eye; and fourteen reti's of it would in the ſame time deſtroy life. The beſt antidote againſt its effects are the ſcrapings of leather reduced to aſhes: if the quantity of arſenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of thoſe aſhes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will ſheath and counteract the poiſon.

"The writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine; and, in the ſame year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diſeaſes abovementioned to the point of death: God is his witneſs, that they grew better from day to day, were at laſt completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of other diſorders) to atteſt the truth of this aſſertion. One of his firſt patients was a *Párſi*, named Menuchehr, who had come from Surat to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's houſe: he was ſo cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called the Perſian fire, that his hands and feet were entirely ulcerated, and almoſt corroded, ſo that he became an object of diſguſt and abhorrence. This man conſulted the writer on his caſe, the ſtate of which he diſcloſed without reſerve. Some blood was taken from him on the ſame day, and a cathartick adminiſtered on the next. On the third day he began to take the arſenick-pills, and, by the bleſſing of God, the virulence of his diſorder abated by degrees, until ſigns of returning health appeared; in a fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our phyſicians: he ſeemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been ſince perceived by him.

"But the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the juzam, as the word is pronounced in India; a diſorder infecting the whole maſs of blood, and thence called by ſome *ſ.ſ.ea kruu*. The former name is derived from an Arabic root ſignifying in general, amputation, maiming, exciſion, and, particularly, the truncation or eroſion of the fingers, which happens in the laſt ſtage of the diſeaſe. It is extremely contagious, and, for that reaſon, the Prophet ſaid: *furrú mina'lmejáúmi kama teferrú mina'l áſad*, or, "Flee from a perſon afflicted with the juzham, as you would flee from a lion." The author of the Bahhru'ljawahir, or Sea of Pearls, ranks it as an infectious malady with the meaſles, the ſmall-pox, and the plague. It is alſo hereditary, and, in that reſpect, claſſed by medical writers with the gout, the conſumption, and the white leproſy.

"A common cauſe of this diſtemper is the unwholeſome diet of the natives, many of whom are accuſtomed, after eating a quantity of fiſh, to ſwallow copious draughts of milk, which fail not to cauſe an accumulation of yellow and black bile, which mingles itſelf with the blood and corrupts it: but it has other cauſes; for a Brahman, who had never taſted fiſh in his life, applied lately to the compoſer of this eſſay, and appeared in the higheſt degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Thoſe,

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whoſe religion permits them to eat beef, are often expoſed to the danger of heating their blood intenſely through the knavery of the butchers in the Bazar, who fatten their calves with Balawer: and thoſe, who are ſo ill-adviſed as to take provocatives, a folly extremely common in India, at firſt are inſenſible of the miſchief, but as ſoon as the increaſed moiſture is diſperſed, find their whole maſs of blood inflamed, and, as it were, a duſt; whence ariſes the diſorder, of which we now are treating. The Perſian, or venereal fire generally ends in this malady: as one Devi Praſad, lately in the ſervice of Mr. Vanſittart, and ſome others, have convinced me by an unreſerved account of their ſeveral caſes.

"It may here be worth while to report a remarkable caſe, which was related to me by a man, who had been afflicted with the juzam near four years; before which time he had been diſordered with the Perſian fire, and, having cloſed an ulcer by the means of a ſtrong healing plaiſter, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a Cabiraja, or Hindu phyſician, who gave him ſome pills, with a poſitive aſſurance, that the uſe of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but, a very ſhort time after, the ſymptoms of the juzam appeared, which continually encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards diſcovered, that the pills, which he had taken, were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the Hindus; the heat of which had firſt fired the humours, which, on ſtopping the external diſcharge, had fallen on the joints, and then had occaſioned a quantity of aduſt bile to mix itſelf with the blood and infect the whole maſs.

"Of this dreadful complaint, however cauſed, the firſt ſymptoms are a numbneſs and redneſs of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarſe voice, thin hair and even baldneſs, offenſive perſpiration and breath, and whitlows on the nails. The cure is beſt begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, ſuch as a decoction of the *nîlûfer or Nymphea*, and of violets, with ſome doſes of manna: after which ſtronger catharticks muſt be adminiſtered. But no remedy has proved ſo efficacious as the pills compoſed of arſenick and pepper: one inſtance of their effect may here be mentioned, and many more may be added, if required.

"In the month of February in the year juſt mentioned, one Shaikh Kamazani, who then was an upper-ſervant to the Board of Revenue, had ſo corrupt a maſs of blood, that a black leproſy of his joints was approaching; and moſt of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requeſted immediate aſſiſtance. Though the diſordered ſtate of his blood was evident on inſpection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many queſtions were put to him, and it was clear from his anſwers, that he had a confirmed juzam: he then loſt a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arſenick pills. After the firſt week his malady ſeemed alleviated; in the ſecond it was conſiderably diminiſhed, and, in the third, ſo entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token that he no longer needed a phyſician."

ANTIQUITES.

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ANTIQUITIES.

OBSERVATIONS on the PROGRESS of the ANCIENT INHABITANTS of INDIA, in the CULTIVATION of the elegant and uſeful ARTS.

[From the Appendix to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtorical Diſquiſition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India.]

"THE ancients, from their ſlender acquaintance with the interior ſtate of India, have been able to communicate little information with reſpect to the arts cultivated there; and though the moderns, during their continued intercourſe with India for three centuries, have had acceſs to obſerve them with greater attention, it is of late only, that by ſtudying the languages now and formerly ſpoken in India, and by conſulting and tranſlating their moſt eminent authors, they have begun to enter into that path of enquiry which leads with certainty to a thorough knowledge of the ſtate of arts cultivated in that country.

"One of the firſt arts which human ingenuity aimed at improving, beyond what mere neceſſity requires, was that of building. In the brief remarks which the ſubject of my inquiries leads me to make on the progreſs of this art in India, I ſhall confine my attention wholly to thoſe of higheſt antiquity. The moſt durable monuments of human induſtry are public buildings. The productions of art, formed for the common purpoſes of life, waſte and periſh in uſing them; but works deſtined for the benefit of poſterity ſubſiſt through ages, and it is according to the manner in which theſe are executed, that we form a judgment with reſpect to the degree of power, ſkill, and improvement to which the people by whom they were erected had attained. In every part of India monuments of high antiquity are found. Theſe are of two kinds, ſuch as were conſecrated to the offices of religion, or fortreſſes built for the ſecurity of the country. In the former of theſe, to which Europeans, whatever their ſtructure may be, give the general name of *Pagodas*, we may obſerve a diverſity of ſtile, which both marks the gradual progreſs of architecture, and throws light on the general ſtate of arts and manners in different periods. The moſt early Pagodas appear to have been nothing

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more than excavations in mountainous parts of the country, formed probably in imitation of the natural caverns to which the firſt inhabitants of the earth retired for ſafety during the night, and where they found ſhelter from the inclemency of the ſeaſons. The moſt celebrated, and, as there is reaſon to believe, the moſt ancient of all theſe, is the Pagoda in the iſland Elephanta, at no great diſtance from Bombay. It has been hewn by the hands of man out of a ſolid rock, about half way up a high mountain, and formed into a ſpacious area, nearly 120 feet ſquare. In order to ſupport the roof, and the weight of the mountain that lies above it, a number of maſſy pillars, and of a form not inelegant, have been cut out of the ſame rock, at ſuch regular diſtances, as on the firſt entrance preſents to the eye of the ſpectator an appearance both of beauty and of ſtrength, Great part of the inſide is covered with human figures in high relief, of gigantic ſize as well as ſingular forms, and diſtinguiſhed by a variety of ſymbols, repreſenting, it is probable, the attributes of the deities whom they worſhipped, or the actions of the heroes whom they admired. In the iſle of Salſette, ſtill nearer to Bombay, are excavations in a ſimilar ſtile, hardly inferior in magnificence, and deſtined for the ſame religious purpoſes.

"Theſe ſtupendous works are of ſuch high antiquity, that as the natives cannot either from hiſtory or tradition give any information concerning the time in which they were executed, they univerſally aſcribe the formation of them to the power of ſuperior beings. From the extent and grandeur of theſe [illegible] aneous manſions, which intelligent travellers compare to the moſt celebrated monuments of human power and art in any part of the earth, it is manifeſt that they could not have been formed in that ſtage of ſocial life where men continue divided into ſmall tribes, unaccuſtomed to the efforts of perſevering induſtry. It is only in ſtates of conſiderable extent, and among people long habituated to ſubordination, and to act with concert, that the idea of ſuch magnificent works is conceived, or the power of accompliſhing them can be found.

"That ſome ſuch powerful ſtate was eſtabliſhed in India at the time when the excavations in the iſlands of Elephanta and Salſette were formed, is not the only concluſion to be drawn from a ſurvey of them; the ſtile in which the ſculptures with which they are adorned is executed, indicates a conſiderable improvement in art at that early period. Sculpture is the imitative art in which man ſeems to have made the firſt trial of his own talents. But even in thoſe countries where it has attained to the higheſt degree of perfection, its progreſs has been extremely ſlow. Whoever has attended to the hiſtory of this art in Greece, knows how far removed the firſt rude eſſay to repreſent the human form was from any complete delineation of it. But the different groupes of figures which ſtill remain entire in the Pagoda of Elephanta, however low they muſt rank if they be compared with the more elegant works of Grecian or even Etruſcan artiſts, are finiſhed in a ſtile conſiderably ſuperior to the hard inexpreſſive manner of the Egyptians, or the figures in the celebrated palace of Perſepolis. In this light they have appeared to perſons abundantly qualified to appreciate their merit, and from different draw-

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drawings, particularly those of Niebuhr, a traveller equally accurate in observing, and faithful in describing, we must form a favourable opinion of the state of arts in India at that period.

"It is worthy of notice, that although several of the figures in the caverns at Elephanta be so different from those now exhibited in the Pagodas as objects of veneration, that some learned Europeans have imagined they represent the rites of a religion more ancient than that now established in Indostan, yet by the Hindoos themselves the caverns are considered as hallowed places of their own worship, and they still resort thither to perform their devotions, and honour the figures there in the same manner with those in their own Pagodas. In confirmation of this, I have been informed by an intelligent person, who visited this subterraneous sanctuary in the year 1782, that he was accompanied by a sagacious Brahmin, a native of Benares, who, though he had never been in it before that time, was well acquainted with the parentage, education, and life of every deity or human figure there represented, and explained with fluency the meaning of the various symbols by which the images were distinguished. This may be considered as a clear proof that the system of mythology now prevalent in Benares, is not different from that delineated in the caverns of Elephanta. Mr. Hunter, who visited Elephanta in the year 1784, seems to consider the figures there as representing deities who are still objects of worship among the Hindoos. One circumstance serves to confirm the justness of this opinion. Several of the most conspicuous personages in the groupes at Elephanta are decorated with the *Zennar*, the sacred string or cord peculiar to the order of Brahmins, an authentic evidence of the distinction of casts having been established in India at the time when these works were finished.

"2. Instead of caverns, the original places of worship, which could be formed only in particular situations, the devotion of the people soon began to raise temples in honour of their deities in other parts of India. The structure of these was at first extremely simple. They were pyramids of large dimension, and had no light within but what came from a small door. After having been long accustomed to perform all the rites of religion in the gloom of caverns, the Indians were naturally led to consider the solemn darkness of such a mansion as sacred. Some Pagodas in this first style of building still remain in Indostan. Drawings of two of these at Deogur, and of a third near Tanjore in the Carnatic, all fabricks of great antiquity, have been published by Mr. Hodges, and though they are rude structures, they are of such magnitude as must have required the power of some considerable state to rear them.

"3. In proportion to the progress of the different countries of India in opulence and refinement, the structure of their temples gradually improved. From plain buildings they became highly ornamented fabrics, and, both by their extent and magnificence, are monuments of the power and taste of the people by whom they were erected. In this highly finished style there are Pagodas of great antiquity in different parts of Indostan, particularly in the southern provinces, which were not exposed to the destructive violence of Mahomedan zeal. In order to assist my readers

in

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in forming such an idea of these buildings as may enable them to judge with respect to the early state of arts in India, I shall briefly describe two, of which we have the most accurate accounts. The entry to the Pagoda of Chillambrum, near Porto Novo, on the Coromandel coast, held in high veneration on account of its antiquity, is by a stately gate under a pyramid an hundred and twenty-two feet in height, built with large stones above forty feet long, and more than five feet square, and all covered with plates of copper, adorned with an immense variety of figures neatly executed. The whole structure extends one thousand three hundred and thirty-two feet in one direction, and nine hundred and thirty-six in another. Some of the ornamental parts are finished with an elegance intitled to the admiration of the most ingenious artists. The Pagoda Seringham, superior in sanctity to that of Chillambrum, surpasses it as much in grandeur; and, fortunately, I can convey a more perfect idea of it by adopting the words of an elegant and accurate historian. This Pagoda is situated about a mile from the western extremity of the island of Seringham, formed by the division of the great river Caveri into two channels. "It is "composed of seven square inclosures "one within the other, the walls of "which are twenty-five feet high, "and four thick. These inclosures "are three hundred and fifty feet "distant from one another, and "each has four large gates with a "high tower; which are placed, "one in the middle of each side of "the inclosure, and opposite to the "four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in "circumference, and its gateway "to the south is ornamented with "pillars, several of which are single "stones thirty-three feet long, and "nearly five in diameter; and "those which form the roof are "still larger: in the inmost in-"closures are the chapels. About "half a mile to the east of Sering-"ham, and nearer to the Caveri "than the Coleroon, is another "large Pagoda, called Jembikisma; "but this has only one inclosure. "The extreme veneration in which "Seringham is held, arises from a "belief that it contains that identi-"cal image of the god Wistchnu, "which used to be worshipped by "the god Brahma. Pilgrims from "all parts of the peninsula come "here to obtain absolution, and "none come without an offering "of money; and a large part of "the revenue of the island is allot-"ted for the maintenance of the "Brahmins who inhabit the Pago-"da; and these, with their fami-"lies, formerly composed a multi-"tude not less than forty thousand "souls, maintained, without labour, "by the liberality of superstition. "Here, as in all the other great "Pagodas of India, the Brahmins "live in a subordination which "knows no resistance, and slumber "in a voluptuousness which knows "no wants."

"The other species of public buildings which I mentioned, were those erected for the defence of the country. From the immense plains of of Indostan there arise, in different parts, eminences and rocks formed by nature to be places of strength. Of these the natives early took possession, and fortifying them with works of various kinds, rendered them almost impregnable stations. There seems to have been in some distant age, a period of general turbulence and danger in India, when such retreats were deemed essentially

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ly neceſſary to public ſafety; for among the duties of magiſtrates preſcribed by the Pundits, one is, "that he ſhall erect a ſtrong fort "in the place where he chuſes to "reſide; and ſhall build a wall on "all the four ſides of it, with tow-"ers and battlements, and ſhall "make a full ditch around it." Of theſe fortreſſes ſeveral remain, which, both from the appearance of the buildings, and from the tradition of the natives, muſt have been conſtructed in very remote times. Mr. Hodges has publiſhed views of three of theſe, one of Chunar Gur, ſituated upon the river Ganges, about ſixteen miles above the city of Benares; the ſecond, of Gwallior, about eighty miles to the ſouth of Agra; the third of Bidjegur, in the territory of Benares. They are all, particularly Gwallior, works of conſiderable magnitude and ſtrength. The fortreſſes in Bengal, however, are not to be compared with ſeveral in the Deccan. Aſſeergur, Burhampour, and Dowlatabad, are deemed by the natives to be impregnable; and I am aſſured, by a good judge, that Aſſeergur is indeed a moſt ſtupendous work, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated that it would be extremely difficult to reduce it by force.

"Nor is it only from ſurveying their public works that we are juſtified in aſſerting the early proficiency of the Indians in elegant and uſeful arts: we are led to form the ſame concluſion by a view of thoſe productions of their ingenuity, which were the chief articles of their trade with foreign nations. Of theſe the labours of the Indian loom and needle have, in every age, been the moſt celebrated; and fine linen is conjectured, with ſome probability, to have been called by the ancients *Sindon*, from the name of the river Indus or Sindus, near which it was wrought in the higheſt perfection. The cotton manufactures of India ſeem anciently to have been as much admired as they are at preſent, not only for their delicate texture, but, for the elegance with which ſome of them are embroidered, and the beautiful colour of the flowers with which others are adorned. From the earlieſt period of European intercourſe with India, that country has been diſtinguiſhed for the number and excellence of the ſubſtances for dying various colours, with which it abounded. The dye of the deep blue colour in higheſt eſtimation among the Romans bore the name of *Indicum*. From India too, the ſubſtance uſed in dying a bright red colour, ſeems to have been imported; and it is well known that both in the cotton and ſilk ſtuffs which we now receive from India, the blue and the red are the colours of moſt conſpicuous luſtre and beauty. But however much the ancients may have admired theſe productions of Indian art, ſome circumſtances, which I have already mentioned, rendered their demand for the cotton manufactures of India, far inferior to that of modern times; and this has occaſioned the information concerning them which we receive from the Greek and Roman writers to be very imperfect. We may conclude, however, from the wonderful reſemblance of the ancient ſtate of India to the modern, that, in every period, the productions of their looms were as various as beautiful. The ingenuity of the Indians in other kinds of workmanſhip, particularly in metals and in ivory, is mentioned with praiſe by ancient authors, but without any particular deſcription of their nature. Of theſe early

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early productions of Indian artiſts, there are now ſome ſpecimens in Europe, from which it appears that they were acquainted with the method of engraving upon the hardeſt ſtones and gems; and, both in the elegance of their deſigns and in neatneſs of execution, had arrived at a conſiderable degree of excellence. An ingenious writer maintains, that the art of engraving on gems was probably an Indian invention, and certainly was early improved there, and he ſupports this opinion by ſeveral plauſible arguments. The Indian engraved gems, of which he has publiſhed deſcriptions, appear to be the workmanſhip of a very remote period, as the legends on them are in the Sanſkreet language.

"But it is not only from the improved ſtate of mechanic arts in India that we conclude its inhabitants to have been highly civilized; a proof of this, ſtill more convincing, may be deduced from the early and extraordinary productions of their genius in the fine arts. This evidence is rendered more intereſting, by being derived from a ſource of knowledge which the laudable curioſity of our countrymen has opened to the people of Europe within theſe few years. That all the ſcience and literature poſſeſſed by the Brahmins, were contained in books written in a language, underſtood by a few only of the moſt learned among them, is a fact which has long been known; and all the Europeans ſettled in India during three centuries, have complained that the Brahmins obſtinately refuſed to inſtruct any perſon in this language. But at length, by addreſs, mild treatment, and a perſuaſion, that the eagerneſs with which inſtruction was ſolicited, proceeded not from any intention of turning their religion into deriſion, but from a deſire of acquiring a perfect knowledge of their ſciences and literature, their ſcruples have been overcome. Several Britiſh gentlemen are now completely maſters of the Sanſkreet language. The myſterious veil, formerly deemed impenetrable, is removed; and, in the courſe of five years, the curioſity of the public has been gratified by two publications as ſingular as they were unexpected. The one is a tranſlation, by Mr. Wilkins, of an Epiſode from the Mahabarat, an Epic poem, in high eſtimation among the Hindoos, compoſed, according to their account, by Kreeſhna Dwypayen Veias, the moſt eminent of all their Brahmins, above three thouſand years before the Chriſtian æra. The other is Sacontala, a dramatic poem, written about a century before the birth of Chriſt, tranſlated by ſir William Jones."

SIR

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SIR WILLIAM JONES's DISCOURSE on the ORIGIN of the CHINESE.

[From the Second Volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches.]

"THE word *China*, concerning which I ſhall offer ſome new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the *Chineſe*; but they never apply it (I ſpeak of the learned among them) to themſelves or to their country: themſelves, according to Father Viſdelou, they deſcribe as the *people of* Han, or of ſome other illuſtrious family, by the memory of whoſe actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *chúm cuë*, or the *central kingdom*, repreſenting it in their ſymbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly biſſected: at other times they diſtinguiſh it by the words *tien-hia*, or *what is under heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on earth*. Since they never name themſelves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that *European* authors have ever ſpoken of them in the extremes of applauſe or of cenſure: by ſome they have been extolled as the oldeſt and the wiſeſt, as the moſt learned and moſt ingenious, of nations; whilſt others have derided their pretenſions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of ſcience, or a ſingle art, for which they have not been indebted to ſome more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we uſually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my deſign to accuſe or to defend the Chineſe, to depreſs or to aggrandize them: I ſhall confine myſelf to the diſcuſſion of a queſtion connected with my former diſcourſes, and far leſs eaſy to be ſolved than any hitherto ſtarted. "Whence came the "ſingular people, who long had "governed China, before they were "conquered by the Tartars?" On this problem, the ſolution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial intereſts, but a very material connection, if I miſtake not, with intereſts of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily aſſerted, than ſupported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the Chineſe are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now poſſeſs; by others, and chiefly by the miſſionaries, it is inſiſted, that they ſprang from the ſame ſtock with the Hebrews and Arabs; a third aſſertion is that of the Arabs themſelves and of M. Pauw, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally Tartars deſcending in wild clans from the ſteeps of Imaus; and a fourth, at leaſt as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the Brahmens, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their deciſion, that the Chinas (for ſo they are named in Sanſcrit) were Hindus of the Cſhatriya, or military claſs, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-eaſt of Bengal; and, forgetting by degrees the rites

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and religion of their anceſtors, eſtabliſhed ſeparate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now poſſeſſed by them. If any one of the three laſt opinions be juſt, the firſt of them muſt neceſſarily be relinquiſhed: but of thoſe three, the firſt cannot poſſibly be ſuſtained; becauſe it reſts on no firmer ſupport than a fooliſh remark, whether true or falſe, that *ſem* in Chineſe means *life* and *procreation*; and becauſe a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a Chineſe from an Arab: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human ſagacity could not, I believe, diſcover any other trace of reſemblance between them. One of the Arabs, indeed, an account of whoſe voyage to India and China has been tranſlated by Renaudot, thought the Chineſe not only handſomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the Hindus, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriage, manners, and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual reſemblance between the Chineſe and Arabs, except in dreſs and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the Brâhmens, than M. Pauw, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expreſsly, that by Scythians he meant the Turks or Tartars; yet the dragon on the ſtandard, and ſome other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old Tartars and the Chineſe, belonged indubitably to thoſe Scythians, who are known to have been Goths; and the Goths had manifeſtly a common lineage with the Hindus, if his own argument, in the preface to his reſearches, on the ſimilarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefragable. That the Chineſe were anciently of a Tartarian ſtock, is a propoſition, which I cannot otherwiſe diſprove for the preſent, than by inſiſting on the total diſſimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the Tartars, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we ſhow ſtrong grounds for believing, that the firſt Chineſe were actually of an Indian race, it will follow that M. Pauw, and the Arabs are miſtaken: it is to the diſcuſſion of this new and, in my opinion, very intereſting point, that I ſhall confine the remainder of my diſcourſe.

"In the Sanſcrit inſtitutes of civil and religious duties, revealed, as the Hindus believe, by Menu, the ſon of Brahmá, we find the following curious paſſage: "Many families of the military claſs, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Véda, and the company of Brâhmens, lived in a ſtate of degradation; as the people of Pundraca and Odra, thoſe of Dravira and Cambóſa, the Yavanas and Sacas, the Pâradas and Pahlavas, the Chînas and ſome other nations." A full comment on this text would here be ſuperfluous: but, ſince the teſtimony of the Indian author, who, though certainly not a divine perſonage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moraliſt, and hiſtorian, is direct and poſitive, diſintereſted and unſuſpected, it would, I think, decide the queſtion before us, if we could be ſure, that the word Chîna ſignified a Chineſe, as all the Pandits, whom I have ſeparately conſulted, aſſert with one voice: they aſſure me, that the Chînas of Menu ſettled in a fine country to the north-eaſt of Gaur, and to the eaſt of Câmarûp and Nepál; that they have long been, and

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ſtill are, famed as ingenious artificers; and they had themſelves ſeen old Chineſe idols, which bore a manifeſt relation to the primitive religion of India before Buddha's appearance in it. A well-informed Pandit ſhowed me a Sanſcrit book in Caſhmirian letters, which, he ſaid, was revealed by Siva himſelf, and entitled Sactiſangama: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the Chinas, who were divided, ſays the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of Aſia; and, when I pointed to Caſhmír, his own country, he inſtantly placed his finger on the north-weſtern provinces of China, where the Chinas, he ſaid, firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves; but he added, that Mahàchína, which was alſo mentioned in his book, extended to the eaſtern and ſouthern oceans. I believe, nevertheleſs, that the Chineſe empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of Menu were collected; and for this belief, ſo repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my reaſons. If the outline of hiſtory and chronology for the laſt two thouſand years be correctly traced, (and we muſt be hardy ſcepticks to doubt it) the poems of Cálidá's were compoſed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and and external evidence, that the Rà-máyan and Mahàbhárat were conſiderably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the ſtyle and metre of the Dherma Sástra revealed by Menu, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of Válmic or Vyáſa, the ſecond of whom names it with applauſe: we ſhall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of thoſe laws between a thouſand and fifteen hundred years before Chriſt; eſpecially as Buddha, whoſe age is pretty well aſcertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the Chineſe empire was at leaſt in its cradle. This fact it is neceſſary to prove; and my firſt witneſs is Confucius himſelf. I know to what keen ſatire I ſhall expoſe myſelf by citing that philoſopher, after the bitter ſarcaſms of M. Pauw againſt him and againſt the tranſlators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote without ſcruple the book entitled Lè Yù, of which I poſſeſs the original with a verbal tranſlation, and which I know to be ſufficiently authentick for my preſent purpoſe: in the ſecond part of which Con-fut-ſu declares, that "Although he, like other men, "could relate, as mere leſſons of "morality, the hiſtories of the firſt "and ſecond imperial houſes, yet, "for want of evidence, he could "give no certain account of them." Now, if the Chineſe themſelves do not even pretend, that any hiſtorical monument exiſted, in the age of Confucius, preceding the riſe of their third dynaſty, about eleven hundred years before the Chriſtian epoch we may juſtly conclude, that the reign of Vûvam was in the infancy of their empire, which hardly grew to maturity till ſome ages after that prince; and it has been aſſerted by the learned Europeans, that even of the third dynaſty, which he has the fame of having raiſed, no unſuſpected memorial can now be produced. It was not till the eighth century before the birth of our Saviour, that a ſmall kingdom was erected in the province of Shen-ſi, the capital of which ſtood nearly in the thirty-fifth degree of northern latitude, and about five degrees to the weſt of Si-gan; both the country and its metropolis were

were called Chìn; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of Chín, who makes a figure in the Shâhnámah among the allies of Afrásiyáb, was I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of Chín, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the Yellow river, which the Chinese introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I should be tempted to expatiate on so curious a subject; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that the Mangukhán died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of Chín, which was afterwards taken by Kublai, and that the poets of Irán perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate with Chegil and Khoten, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of Chín, so called by the old Hindus, by the Persians, and by the Chinese (while the Greeks and Arabs were obliged by their defective articulation to miscall it Sín) gave its name to a race of emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of China hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation descended from the Chínas of Menu, and, mixing with the Tartars, by whom the plains of Honan and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in Asia.

"In support of an opinion, which I offer as the result of long and anxious inquiries, I shall regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the present Chinese, and subjoin some remarks on their ancient monuments, on their sciences, and on their arts both liberal and mechanical: but their spoken language, not having been preserved by the usual symbols of articulate sounds, must have been for many ages in a continual flux; their letters, if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their popular religion was imported from India in an age comparatively modern; and their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjecture; their sciences are wholly exotick; and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristick of a particular family; nothing, which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have indeed, both national music and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, sculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they seem (like other Asiaticks) to have no idea. Instead therefore, of enlarging separately on each of those heads, I shall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of China confirm or oppose the proposition, which I have advanced.

"The declared and fixed opinion of M. de Guignes, on the subject before us is nearly connected with that of the Brâhmens; he maintains, that the Chinese were emigrants from Egypt; and the Egyptians, or Ethiopians, (for they were clearly the same people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of India, as the affinity of

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f their languages, and of their institutions, both religious and political, fully evinces: but that China was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the Nile, though neither Persians nor Arabs, Tartars nor Hindus, ever heard of such an emigration, s a paradox, which the bare authority of even of so learned a man cannot support; and, since reason grounded on facts can alone decide uch a question, we have a right to emand clearer evidence and stronger arguments, than any that he has dduced. The hieroglyphicks of gypt bear, indeed, a strong resemblance to the mythological sculptures nd paintings of India, but seem holly dissimilar to the symbolical ystem of the Chinese, which might asily have been invented (as they ssert) by an individual, and might ery naturally have been contrived y the first Chinas or out-cast Hindus, who either never knew, or had orgotten, the alphabetical characers of their wiser ancestors. As to he table and bust of Isis, they seem o be given up as modern forgeries; ut, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the urpose; for the letters on the bust ppear to have been designed as alphabetical; and the fabricator of hem (if they really were fabricated n Europe) was uncommonly happy, ince two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal illar yet standing in the north of ndia. In Egypt, if we can rely on he testimony of the Greeks, who tudied no language but their own, here were two sets of alphabetical haracters; the one popular, like he various letters used in our Indian rovinces; and the other sacerdotal, ike the Dévanágarí, especially that orm of it, which we see in the Vé-a; besides which they had two sorts of sacred sculpture; the one simple, like the figures of Buddha and the three Rámas; and the other, allegorical, like the images of Ganésa, or divine wisdom, and Ssaní, or nature, with all their emblematical accompaniments; but the real character of the Chinese appears wholly distinct from any Egyptian writing, either mysterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of M. de Guignes, that the complicated symbols of China were at first no more than Phenician monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned so wild a conceit, which he started probably with no other view than to display his ingenuity and learning.

"We have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the Chinese were originally (like our astronomical and chymical symbols) the pictures or out-lines of visible objects, or figurative signs for simple ideas, which they have multiplied by the most ingenious combinations and the liveliest metaphors; but, as the system is peculiar, I believe, to themselves and the Japanese, it would be idly ostentatious to enlarge on it at present; and, for the reasons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to support. The same may as truly be said of their spoken language; for, independently of its constant fluctuation during a series of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five sounds, which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monosyllables, even when the ideas expressed by them, and the written symbols for those ideas, are very complex. This has arisen, I suppose, from the singular habits of the people; for, though their common tongue be so musically accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants those gram-

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gnatical accents, without which all human tongues would appear monosyllabick: thus Amita, with an accent on the first syllable, means, in the Sanscrit language, immeasurable; and the natives of Bengal pronounce it Omito; but, when the religion of Buddha, the son of Máyá, was carried hence into China, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, call him Foe, the son of Mo-ye, and divided his epithet Amita into three syllables O-mi-to, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expressing them in writing by three distinct symbols. We may judge from this instance, whether a comparison of their spoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclusion as to their origin; yet the instance, which I have given, supplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plausible, the oftener I consider it. The Buddha of the Hindus is unquestionably the Foe of China; but the great progenitor of the Chinese is also named by them Fo-hi, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a victim: now the ancestor of that military tribe, whom the Hindus call the Chandravansa, or children of the Moon, was, according to their Puránas or legends, Buddha, or the genius of the planet Mercury, from whom, in the fifth degree, descended a prince named Druhya; whom his father Yayáti sent in exile to the east of Hindustán, with this imprecation, "may the progeny be ignorant of "the Veda." The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern Chinese; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into Yao, I may nevertheless observe that Yao was the fifth in descent from Fo-hi, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty; that all Chinese history before him is considered by the Chinese themselves as poetical or fabulous; that his father Ti-co, like the Indian king Yayáti, was the first prince who married several women; and that Fo-hi, the head of their race, appeared, say the Chinese, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory of Chin, where the rovers, mentioned by the Indian legislator, are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to father De Premare, in his tract on Chinese mythology, the mother of Fo-hi was the *Daughter of Heaven*, surnamed *Flower-bowing*; and as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a river with a similar name, she found herself on a sudden encircled by a rain-bow: soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who among other titles, had that of Súi, or *Star of the Year*. Now in the mythological system of the Hindus, the nymph Róhini, who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of Sóma, or the moon, among whose numerous epithets we find Cumudanáyaca, or delighting in a species of water-flower, that blossoms at night; and their offspring was Budha, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, Rauhinéya or Saumya: it is true, that the learned missionary explains the word Súi by Jupiter; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected; and it is sufficient for my purpose, that they seem to have a family likeness. The God Budha, say the Indians, married Ilá, whose father was

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preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the rain-bow in the Chinese fable alludes to the Mosaick narrative of the flood; nor build any solid argument on the divine personage Nuwa, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of China speak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full inquiry and consideration, that the Chinese, like the Hindus, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as flowing abundantly, then subsiding and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind; that the division of time, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded the appearance Fo-hi on the mountains of Chin, but that the great inundation in the reign of Yao was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any allusion to the flood of Noah, has been ignorantly misplaced by the Chinese annalists.

"The importation of a new religion into China, in the first century of our era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administred without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions, entertained by Confucius and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by Couplet: they professed a firm belief in the supreme God, and gave a demonstration of his being and of his providence from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of ethicks, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the Lun yu: "he," says Confucius, "who "shall be fully persuaded, that the "lord of heaven governs the universe, who shall in all things chuse "moderation, who shall perfectly "know his own species, and so act "among them, that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be "truly said to discharge all the duties of a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of "the human race." But such a religion and such morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of China had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the oldest Indian worship: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the Hindus, they reckoned five) and particularly over fire, the most brilliant of them: to those deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the Shi-cin, or Book of Odes, is very much in the style of the Brahmans: "even they, who perform a sacrifice with due reverence, cannot "perfectly assure themselves, that "the divine spirits accept their obla-

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"tions; and far leſs can they, who "adore the Gods with languor and "oſcitancy, clearly perceive their ſa"cred illapſes." Theſe are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces, of an affinity between the religion of Menu and that of the Chinas, whom he names among the apoſtates from it: M. le Gentil obſerved, he ſays, a ſtrong reſemblance between the funeral rites of the Chineſe and the Sraddha of the Hindus; and M. Bailly, after a learned inveſtigation, concludes, that "even "the puerile and abſurd ſtories of "the Chineſe fabuliſts contain a rem"nant of ancient Indian hiſtory, "with a faint ſketch of the firſt Hin"du ages." As the Bauddhas, indeed, were Hindus, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into China many ceremonies practiſed in their own country; but the Bauddhas poſitively forbad the immolation of cattle: yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently ſacrificed by the Chineſe; beſides which we diſcover many ſingular marks of relation between them and the old Hindus: as in the remarkable period of four hundred and thirty-two thouſand, and the cycle of ſixty, years; in the predilection for the myſtical number nine: in many ſimilar faſts and great feſtivals, eſpecially at the ſolſtices and equinoxes; in the juſt-mentioned obſequies conſiſting of rice and fruits offered to the manes of their anceſtors; in the dread of dying childleſs, leſt ſuch offerings ſhould be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of red objects, which the Indians carried ſo far, that Menu himſelf, where he allows a Brahmen to trade, if he cannot otherwiſe ſupport life, abſolutely forbids "his trafficking in "any ſort of red cloths, whether "linen or woollen, or made of wo"ven bark." All the circumſtances, which have been mentioned under the two heads of literature and religion, ſeem collectively to prove (as far as ſuch a queſtion admits proof) that the Chineſe and Hindus were originally the ſame people, but having been ſeparated near four thouſand years, have retained few ſtrong features of their ancient conſanguinity, eſpecially as the Hindus have preſerved their old language and ritual, while the Chineſe very ſoon loſt both, and the Hindus have conſtantly intermarried among themſelves, while the Chineſe, by a mixture of Tartarian blood from the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, have at length formed a race diſtinct in appearance both from Indians and Tartars."

On the LABYRINTH of CRETE, and its USE.

[From the Sixth Volume of the Travels of Anacharſis the Younger in Greece.]

"I Have ſaid but a word on the famous labyrinth of Crete; but the little I have ſaid it is incumbent on me to juſtify.

"Herodotus has left us a deſcription of that which he had ſeen in Egypt, near the lake Mœris. It conſiſted of twelve large contiguous palaces, containing three thouſand chambres, fifteen hundred of which were

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were underground. Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Mela ſpeak of this monument with the ſame admiration as Herodotus: but not one of them tells us that it was conſtructed to bewilder thoſe who attempted to go over it; though it is manifeſt that, without a guide, they would be in danger of loſing their way.

"It was this danger, no doubt, which introduced a new term into the Greek language. The word labyrinth, taken in the literal ſenſe, ſignifies a circumſcribed ſpace, interſected by a number of paſſages, ſome of which croſs each other in every direction, like thoſe in quarries and mines, and others make larger or ſmaller circuits round the place from which they depart, like the ſpiral lines we ſee on certain ſhells. In the figurative ſenſe, it was applied to obſcure and captious queſtions, to indirect and ambiguous anſwers, and to thoſe diſcuſſions which, after long digreſſions, bring us back to the point from which we ſet out.

"Of what nature was the labyrinth of Crete?

"Diodorous Siculus relates as a conjecture, and Pliny as a certain fact, that Dædalus conſtructed this labyrinth on the model of that of Egypt, though on a leſs ſcale. They add, that it was formed by the command of Minos, who kept the Minotaur ſhut up in it; and that in their time it no longer exiſted, having been either deſtroyed by time or purpoſely demoliſhed. Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, therefore, conſidered this labyrinth as a large edifice; while other writers repreſent it ſimply as a cavern hollowed in the rock, and full of winding paſſages. The two former authors, and the writers laſt mentioned, have tranſmitted to us two different traditions; it remains for us to chooſe that which is moſt probable.

"If the labyrinth of Crete had been conſtructed by Dædalus under Minos, whence is it that we find no mention of it, neither in Homer, who more than once ſpeaks of that prince and of Crete; nor in Herodotus, who deſcribes that of Egypt, after having ſaid that the monuments of the Egyptians are much ſuperior to thoſe of the Greeks; nor in the more ancient geographers; nor in any of the writers of the ages when Greece flouriſhed?

"This work was attributed to Dædalus, whoſe name is alone ſufficient to deſcredit a tradition. In fact, his name, like that of Hercules, had become the reſource of ignorance, whenever it turned its eyes on the early ages. All great labours, all works, which required more ſtrength than ingenuity, were attributed to Hercules; and all thoſe which had a relation to the arts, and required a certain degree of intelligence in the execution, were aſcribed to Dædalus.

"The opinion of Diodorus and Pliny ſuppoſes that, in their time, no traces of the labyrinth exiſted in Crete, and that even the date of its deſtruction had been forgotten. Yet it is ſaid to have been viſited by the diſciples of Apollonius of Tyana, who was contemporary with thoſe two authors. The Cretans, therefore, then believed they poſſeſſed the labyrinth.

"I would requeſt the reader to attend to the following paſſage in Strabo. "At Nauplia, near the ancient Argos," ſays that judicious writer, "are ſtill to be ſeen vaſt caverns, in which are conſtructed labyrinths that are believed to be the work of the Cyclops: the meaning of which is, that the labours of men had opened in the rock paſſes which

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croſſed and returned upon themſelves, as is done in quarries. Such, if I am not miſtaken, is the idea we ought to form of the labyrinth of Crete.

"Were there ſeveral labyrinths in that iſland? Ancient authors ſpeak only of one, which the greater part place at Cnoſſus; and ſome, though the number is but ſmall, at Gortyna.

"Belon and Tournefort have given us the deſcription of a cavern ſituated at the foot of Mount Ida, on the ſouth ſide of the mountain, at a ſmall diſtance from Gortyna. This was only a quarry, according to the former, and the ancient labyrinth according to the latter; whoſe opinion I have followed, and abridged the account he has given in my text. Thoſe who have added critical notes to his work, beſides this labyrinth, admit a ſecond at Cnoſſus, and adduce, as the principal ſupport of this opinion, the coins of that city, which repreſent the plan of it, according as the artiſts conceived it. For on ſome of theſe it appears of a ſquare form; on others round: on ſome it is only ſketched out; on others it has, in the middle of it, the head of the Minotaur. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, I have given an engraving of one which appears to me to be of about the fifth century before Chriſt; and on which we ſee, on one ſide, the figure of the Minotaur, and on the other a rude plan of the labyrinth. It is therefore certain that, at that time, the Cnoſſians believed they were in poſſeſſion of that celebrated cavern; and it alſo appears that the Gortynians did not pretend to conteſt their claim, ſince they have never given the figure of it on their money.

"The place where I ſuppoſe the labyrinth of Crete to have been ſituated, according to Tournefort, is but one league diſtant from Gortyna; and, according to Strabo, it was diſtant from Cnoſſus ſix or ſeven leagues. All we can conclude from this is, that the territory of the latter city extended to very near the former.

"What was the uſe of the caverns to which the name of labyrinth was given? I imagine that they were firſt excavated in part by nature; that in ſome places ſtones were extracted from them for building cities; and that, in more ancient times, they ſerved for a habitation or aſylum to the inhabitants of a diſtrict expoſed to frequent incurſions. In the journey of Anacharſis through Phocis, I have ſpoken of two great caverns of Parnaſſus in which the neighbouring people took refuge; in the one at the time of the deluge of Deucalion, and in the other at the invaſion of Xerxes. I here add that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the moſt ancient Cretans dwelt in the caves of Mount Ida. The people, when enquiries were made on the ſpot, ſaid that their labyrinth was originally only a priſon. It may have been put to this uſe; but it is difficult to believe that, to prevent the eſcape of a few unhappy wretches, ſuch immenſe labours would have been undertaken."

CURIOUS

CURIOUS LETTER from the EARL of SUSSEX to SIR WILLIAM CECIL, relating to the unfortunate MARY QUEEN of SCOTLAND.

[From the ſecond Volume of Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James. By Edmund Lodge, Eſq. Purſuivant of Arms, and F. S. A.]

"UPON yor requeſte and promyſe, made in yor lre of the xvi^th, I wyll wryte to you fully what by eny meanes I conceyve in this grete matr; althowghe the gretenes of the cauſe, in reſpecte of the p̃ſone whoſe it is, the ynconſtancy & ſotteliness of the pepell with whom we deale, and the lyttell accompte made allwayes of my ſymple jugement, geve me good occaſyon: And, therfor (excepte it be to the Quene's Ma^t^, from whom I wowld not wyshe eny thowght of my harte to be hydden) I looke for p̃formance of yor promyſe.

"This matter muſte at lengthe take end, ether by fyndyng the S. Quene gyltye of the crymes that be objected ageynſt her, or by ſome manner of compoſytyon wth a ſhewe of ſavyng her honor. The fyrſte I thynke wyll hardely be attempted for 11 causes: The one, for that yf her adverſe p̃tee accuſe her of the murther by producyng of her l^res^, ſhe wyll deny them, and accuſe the moſte of them of manyfeſte ſo ſent to the murther, hardely to be denyed; ſo as, upon the tryall on bothe ſydes, her proofes wyll judycyally falle beſte owte, as it is thowght: The other, for that ther yonge Kynge is of tender and weake yeres and ſtate of bodye; and yf God ſhowld calle hym, and ther Quene were judycyally defaced & dyſhonoured, and her ſonne, in reſpecte of her wyckednes, admytted to the Crowne, Hambleton, upon his deathe, ſhowld ſuccede; wch as Murrey's factyon utterly deteſte, ſo, after her publyke defamatyon, they dare not (to avoyde Hambleton) receyve her ageyne for fere of revenge: And, therefore, to avoyde theſe grete perells they ſuerly entend (ſo ferre as by eny meanes I can diſcover) to labor a co̅poſytyon; wherein Lydyngton was a dealer here; hathe by meanes delte wth the Scottyſhe Quene; and wyll alſo, I thynk, deale ther; and to that end I beleve you ſhall ſhortely here of Melvyn * there, who I thynk be the inſtrument betwene Murrey, Lydyngton, & ther Quene, to worke this co̅poſytyon; wherunto I thynk ſuerely bothe p̃tyes to enclyne, althowghe dyverſly affected for pryvate reſpects.

"Th' Erle of Murrey, and his factyon, work that ther Quene wowld nowe wyllyngly ſurrender to her ſonne, after the example of Naverre; and procure the confyrmyng of the regency in Murrey; and therw^th^ admytt Hambleton, and his factyon, to place of councell accordyng to ther ſtats; and to remayne in England herſelf, wth her dowry of Fraunce, wherunto I thynk they wowld alſo adde a portyon owt of Scotland: And yf ſhe wowld agree to this, I thynk they wowld not only forbere to toche her in honor,

* Sir Robert Melvil, brother to the author of the Memoirs. He was much truſted by Mary at this time, and is ſuſpected, perhaps unfairly, of having betrayed her."

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but also delyver to her all mattrs that they have to charge her, and denownce her clere by p'lament.; and therw^t put her in hope, not only to receyve her ageyne to her royall estate yf her sonne dye, but, also, upon some proofe of the forgettyng of her displesuer, to procure in shorte tyme that she may be restored in her sonne's life, and he to gyve place to her lyfe; and yf she wyll not surrender, it is thowght Murrey wylle allowe of her restytution, and abode in England, so as he maye co^tynewe Regent. The Hambletons seeke that the yonge Kyng's auctorytè should be disanulled; the hurts don on ether syde teco^pensed; and the Quene restored to her crowne, and to remayne in Scotland: And yet, in respecte of her mysgov^nment, they be contented that she showld be gov^ned by a councell of the nobylyte of that realme, to be appointed here; in wch councell ther showld be no superior in auctoryté or place appointed, but that every noble man showld hold his place accordyng to his state; and that the Quene's Ma^te showld compone all dyfferences from tyme to tyme, amongste them. And, to avoyde dyfference and perell, there Quene showld have certen howses of no force; and a porcyon to maynteyne her estate: And the castells of Edenboroughe, Sterlyng, & Dunbarre, and other pryncypall forts of the realme, to be delyvered into the hands of upryght noble men, that lened to no factyon; to be sworne to hold in sorte to be prescrybed; and that the hole noblyté of Scotland showld swere amyté, and showld testyfye the same under ther hands & seales: And that the Quene's Ma^e showld take assurance for p^formance; and have the bryngyng up of the yonge Prynce in England, by nobylyté of England or Scotland, at her appoyntment: And, so as this might take effecte, I thynk they myght easyly be induced to consent ther Quene showld also remayne in England, & have her dowrye of Fraunce, and a portyon ewte of Scotland, to mayntene her state and her sonne's, in places to be appoynted by the Quene's Ma^te.

"Thus do you see howe these 11 factyons for their private cauſes tosse betwene them the crowne and publyke affayers of Scotland, & howe nere they be to agree yf ther pryvate causes were not; & care nether for the mother nor the chyld (as I thynk before God) but to serve ther owne turnes. Nether wyll Murrey lyke of eny order wherby he showld not be Regent styled; nor Hambleton of eny order wherby he showld not be as grete, or gretter, in gov^nment then Murrey: So as the gov^nment is presently the matter, what so ever they say was heretofore the cause; and, therefore, it wylbe good we forgett not our p^te in this tragedye.

"The opynyon for the tytell to the Crowne, after the death of ther Quene and her sonne, is dyversly carryed, as the p^tyes be affected to these two factyons. The Hambletons affiyrme the Duke of Chatylerowe to be the nexte ayer by the lawes: The other factyon saye that the yonge Kynge, by his coronatyon, & mother's surrender, is ryghtfully invested of the Crowne of Scotland; whereby his nexte ayer in bloodd is, by the lawes, nexte ayer also to the Crowne; and therby the Duke avoyded. The fere of this devyce maketh Hambleton to withstand the Kyng's tytell for the suerty of his owne, & the Regency of Murrey in respecte of his chyme to be Gov^nor, as nexte ayer to the Crowne; for wch causes it is lykely Hambleton wyll hardely yeld to the on or the other; and yet

Jeames

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Jeames Macgylle *, an assured man to Morton, talks w^t me secretly of this matter; and (defendyng the ryght of the Erle of Lenoyse' sonne, as nexte ayer in bloodd to the younge Kynge) confessed to me that he thowght bycase it came by the mother it muste retorne by the lawe to the mother's syde, wch was Hambleton; but it wowld put many men on horsback before it were p̃formed; wherby you may see what leadethe in Scotland. Ther is some secret envye betwene Lydyngton and Macgylle; and, as I thynke, yf they agree not by the way, ye shall fynd Lydyngton holly bent to co̅posytyon, & Macgylle, of himselfe, otherwayes enclyned: Yf the Quene's Ma^te wowld assure ther defence ye maye deale w^t bothe as you see cause.

"Thus ferre of that I have gathered by them; wherin, yf they do not alter, I am sure I do not erre. And now, tochyng my opynyon of the mattr (not by waye of advyse, but as impartyng to you what I conceyve) I thynke suerly no ende can be made good for England excepte the p̃son of the S. Quene be deteyned, by on meanes or other, in England. Of the two ends before wrytten I thynke the fyrste to be beste in all respects for the Quene's Ma^te, yf Murrey wyll produce such mattr as the Quene's Ma^te maye, by vertue of her superyoryté over Scotland, fynd judycyally the S. Quene gylty of the murther of her husband, and therw^t deteyne her in England at the charges of Scotland, and allow of the crownyng of the yonge Kynge, and Regency of Murrey: Wherunto yf Hambleton wyll submytt himselfe, it were well don, for avoydyng of his dependancy upon Fraunce, to receyve him, w^t provysyon for indemnitye of his tytell; and yf he wyll not, then to assyste Murrey to p̃secute him and his adherets, by co̅fyscatyon, &c. Yf this wyll not falle owt suffycyently (as I dowte it wyll not) to determyne judycyally, yf she denye her l^re; then suerly I thynk it beste to procede by co̅posytyon, w^t owte shew of eny meanyng to procede to tryall; and heryn, as it shalbe the surest waye for the Q. Ma^te to procure the S. Quene to surrender, &c. yf that maye be browght to passe, so, yf she wyll by no meanes be induced to surrender, and wyll not end excepte she may be in some degree restored, then I thynk it fete to co̅syder theryn these mattrs followyng.

"Fyrste, to provyde for her, and her sonne, to remayne in England at the charges of Scotland.

"Secondly, to maynteyne in strengthe and auctorité Murrey's factyon, as much as may be, so as they oppresse not unjustly Hambleton.

"Thyrdely, to compone the causes betwene Murrey and Hambleton, & ther adherents; and to provyde for Hambleton's indemnyté in the matter of the tytell, to avoyde his dependency of Fraunce.

"Forthely, that the Quene's Ma^te order all dyfferences that shall aryse in Scotland; &, to that end, have securyté of bothe sydes.

"Fyftely, yf Hambleton wyll wyllfully dyscent from order, it is better to assyste Murrey in the p̃secutyng of Hambleton by co̅fyscaty-

"* James Macgill, Clerk of the Rolls (*Clericus Rotulorum Registri*). He was sent to to London soon after, accompanied by Lethington, to sure for Elizabeth's sanction to certain conditions which Murray had proposed for his own indemnification, in case he should proceed to the formal accusation of the Queen of Scots. It is well known that Elizabeth's refusal prevented any further proceedings."

on,

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on, althoughe he fly therfore to Fraunce, then to put Murrey eny wayes in perell of wekenyng.

"And, lastly, to foreseen that thefs Scotts on bothe sydes packe not together, so as to unwrappe (under coller of this co posytyon) ther mystres owte of all present slaunders, purge her openly, shew themselfes satysfyed w^t her abode here, and, w in shorte tyme aftr, ether by reconcylement or the dethe of the chyld, joyne together to demaunde of the Quene the delyvtry home of there Quene to governe her awne realme, she also making the like requeste; and then the Quene, having no juste cause to deteyne her, bd bownd in honor to retorne her into her realme, and, for matrre that in this tyme shall passe, have I her a mortall enemy for ever after. And thus, ceassyning to trouble you eny further, I wyshe to you as to myself."

From Yorke, the xxii of October, 1568.

Yo^rs most assured,

T. SUSSEX."

ACCOUNT of an EXCURSION into SCOTLAND in the Sixteenth Century, exhibiting a Picture of the Depredations committed on the Scottish and English Borders before the Union.

[From the same Volume.]

"FOrasmuche as I wolde not be forgettfull of my dewtie to yor Lordship, I have thought good to trouble you with these my letters; advtising yor Honor the hole discourse of o^r enterprises here donn sythens o^r coming into these partis*. First, my Lord Le[illegible]ed with my Lord Hunsdon, and hundreth armed pykes and fow[illegible] from Wark, the xvii^th of Aprill, intred into the realme of Scottlande; and did burne and spoyle all alonge the ryver of Rowle, and the water of Cale, and camped that night at Gedworth. The next

"† It is a conjecture perhaps not entirely romantic, that Elizabeth's future conduct on this great occasion, so nearly according with the Earl's advice, was determined by this identical letter. That consideration alone, not to mention the profound wisdom and policy displayed by the writer, the clear and concise account given of the affairs of Scotland at that remarkable period, or the admirable terms in which the whole is couched, renders it an inestimable curiosity. It may be proper to observe here that Mary had been for some months a prisoner in England, and that the Earl of Sussex was one of the Commissioners now sitting at York for the judicial investigation of the charges brought against her by Murray."

"* This curious ancient gazette contains a journal of the furious inroad made by Sussex, called here the Lord Lieuteuant, and Hunsdon, in 1570. The pretence for this expedition was the chastisement of the clans of Carre, or Ker, and Scot, which had lately committed some depredations on the English borders; but the true motive was to awe the few remaining friends of Mary, and to prevent them from uniting while the regency remained vacant. Elizabeth issued a proclamation upon this occasion, declaring her inviolable friendship to the Scottish nation, but setting forth the necessity of punishing some particular offenders; and this was repeatedly read at the head of an army which was then employed in desolating the east and west borders. The circumstances which attended this invasion have escaped the notice of historians; Even Camden, who lived at the time, makes no mention of so horrible and uncommon a spoil."

morn-

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morning he marched to Fernehurst, and overthrew it; and so burned and spoyled all along the ryver of Tyvyett; and so to Hawick, and burned and spoyled it. The next day he overthrew the strong howse of the Lorde of Burcleughe, called Brencksome; and from thense to Bedrowell, a howse of Sr Andrew Trumble, and overthrew it; with dyvers other notable towers and howses all alonge those ryvers aforenamed: The next night we retired to Gedworth, where we camped againe. The next mornyng we dislodged and burnt all the cuntre alonge the ryver of Bowbanck, and burnt and spoyled the hole cuntre as we marched; and came back that night to Kelsay. The nombr of the townes and villages, by estimacon, was above fyve hundreth; the terhor of the whiche caused the reste of the cuntre to cume and offer their submission to my Lord Leveten^nte, with all the frendshipp and service they cold do to hym and to hys; and so we retyred ourselves back againe for that tyme; so that we rested o^rselves thre or fower daies. The xxvii^th day, my Lord Leveten^nte being at Warke, accompanid withe the hole bandes of fotemen, and one thousande horse, withe thre batterie peces and tow sacris, went to the sege of Home, where he planted his batterie; where, within twelve houres after the batterie was planted, the castle was surrendred to hym symplie, being within yt tow hundreth and fortie souldiours; so the souldiours dep^rted owt of yt in there hose and dobletts: Suerly, my Lorde, yf I^r had the charge withe fyftie souldiours, I wolde have thought me worthie to have bene hanged, drawne, and quartred, yf I had delyvered yt within the moneth sege: My Lorde hath appoynted Mr Wood his bande, and Mr Pykeman his band, tow of the bandes of Barwick, to have the kepyng of yt; and so my Lord retyned back againe to Barwick, to refresh hymselfe and his companye.

"Item, the iiii^th daye of May he sent owte certeine bandes of horsemen, and also certeine fotemen, to marche towardes Fastecastle, whiche, immediatlie uppon the horsemen's cominge, yedled themselves symplie; and ther ys also certeine garrison appoynted there for the kepyng of yt. Assuredlie, my Lorde, all the hole cuntre here submytt themselves to my Lorde

Haddington newes that hathe here happened sythens o^r arryvall here; and, as occasion shall happen, I shall adv^tyse yor Lordship from tyme to tyme as I can gett convenient messengers. Thus, leving to troble yor Lordship ané further, I com^itt you to the Almightie, who ever p^rserve you in helth and long lyfe, withe increase of grett honor." Frome Barwick, this v^th of May.

Yo^r Lordshippe's at com^aund-
ment for ev^r,
ROBT. CONSTABLE.

To the right hon^able and his most especiall good Lorde th' Erle of Shrosbury give this. In hast, hast, hast."

MIS-

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MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

EXPERIMENTS relating to the MANAGEMENT of BEES, in a Letter from Mr. GEO. HUBBARD of Bury St. Edmund's, to Mr. MORE.

[From the Ninth Volume of the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

"AS I am induced to become a candidate for the premium offered for ſtocks of bees, claſs 1c8, I beg leave to communicate to the ſociety the following experiments; the reſult of which, I flatter myſelf, will afford ſome information towards the management of thoſe uſeful inſects. In my early acquaintance with theſe entertaining creatures, my endeavours to increaſe my ſtock were continually diſappointed, particularly in the early months, by ſaving moderate ſtocks; which was a matter of ſurpriſe to me, as my ſtrong ſtocks throve amazingly, whether I kept them for work or ſwarming.

"Now, to aſcertain the matter with ſufficient accuracy, I determined to ſacrifice three hives every year, one ſtrong and two moderate ones. Accordingly, on the firſt of February, I ſuffocated a ſtrong hive, after Thorley's method; and when I took out the combs, it ſurpriſed me much to find an abundance of brood: the eggs and maggots were innumerable, and many were next to emerging from their cells.

"It was then obvious to me, that the queen had begun to lay her eggs in the early part of January; and this appeared the more extraordinary, as the month of January had been very cold, from ſevere froſts and ſnow; and it was evidently too ſharp for a bee to ſtir abroad.

"This circumſtance refutes the general received opinion, that the queen never begins breeding till the weather proves mild, and you ſee bees carrying to their hives, the little balls of farina on their legs: but to inveſtigate the matter more fully, there appeared in the combs, vaſt quantities of farina; and what was very curious, ſome of it ſeemed covered with a kind of varniſh ſubſtance, in order to exclude the air from it; beſides on the top of the hive, there was a conſiderable quantity of water, apparently collected there from the ſame cauſe that it does on a window, where a room is hot, and the external air very cold. The foregoing conſideration clears up a point that has puzzled many authors; I mean, the laying up ſuch quantities of farina: White, and

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ſome others, ſuppoſe it to be real food, mixed with honey, for the old bees.

"The ſecond hive, which had not above three pounds of honey in it, I ſuffocated on the firſt of March; the queen of which ſtock had not produced a ſingle egg: the third ſtock I examined the firſt of April, and there likewiſe found no eggs. In the ſecond year, I repeated the ſame experiments with the ſtrong and weak hives as before, and the reſult was the ſame in every reſpect.

"But the third hive I reſerved till the 20th of April, by which time they begin to gather honey from the gooſeberries: on examining this hive, I found ſome eggs produced. Let it be obſerved, that this hive I was under the neceſſity of feeding, to keep them alive.

"I cannot in this place forbear taking notice of the ſurpriſing foreſight which theſe wonderful inſects ſeem to be endowed with: in the weak hive, not a ſingle egg is produced, till honey gathering commences; but in the ſtrong hive, the increaſe of young bees is there carried on with ſurpriſing avidity at a time when they are generally ſuppoſed to be in a torpid ſtate; and this increaſe is perfectly ſafe in a ſtrong hive, for they are never obſerved to work in the early months, as weak hives do.

"From the above experiments, it is evident you gain almoſt four months between the two ſtocks: beſides, early in May the ſtrong ſtock is almoſt ready to ſwarm; whereas the weak hive, by its prodigious decreaſe, occaſioned from their conſtant working, and no young ones being bred, generally dwindles to nothing. Once, on a hot day in April, I had five of theſe weak hives driven out by plunderers, with their different queens; for the ſtrong ſtocks never let the weak ones reſt, when they find the latter are much reduced.

"Sometimes, if the months of March and April happen to be cold and wet, ſo as to prevent their going out, a little feeding may give them ſufficient ſtrength to defend themſelves; but thoſe ſtocks ſeldom turn to any account: hence the reaſon why keeping bees in colonies have always failed; I mean, in this country; for, if you imprudently reduce your bees, by taking too much honey from them, ſo as to prevent the queens breeding in the early months, they muſt miſcarry in the following ſummer. I cannot help condemning two authors, that have written on this ſubject, viz. Meſſrs. White and Keys, particularly the former: their opinions have given a ſurpriſing check to the cultivation of bees; I mean, their idle notions reſpecting ſituation.

"A popular opinion prevails with us, that no village will ſupport more than eight or ten ſtocks; conſequently, the villages in our country do not contain above ten old ſtocks, one with another; whereas I am confident that twenty times the number might be kept. But let us examine what Mr. White has written on this buſineſs: he directs you to ſwarm your bees, and the ſame year to take part of their honey from them.

"Now it is well underſtood, that it requires a large ſwarm, aided with a fine ſeaſon, to make them produce five and twenty or thirty pounds weight in October; which weight is abſolutely neceſſary for their future welfare: he alſo affirms, that if you leave them eight or ten pounds of honey in Auguſt, it will very well ſupport them through the winter. Further comments on ſuch manage-

ment

ments are needleſs, as the reaſon of his failure is too obvious to require the thought of a bad ſituation, to account for it.

"Keys ſeems to have copied his ſentiments reſpecting ſituation; but from what I have advanced in regard to keeping ſuch a number of ſtocks, it may be neceſſary to examine what the bees collect from. I will firſt mention the tare, that inexhauſtible ſupport to bees, from which they gather the whole ſummer; and it may not be improper here to note, that it is not from the flower, but a ſmall leaf with a black ſpot on it, which in warm weather keeps continually oozing. But from careful inſpection at the time of their gathering, this nectareous juice may be ſeen oozing from every joint of the ſtem. A hundred acres of tares are grown every year within the reach of my bees; yet it was always ſaid to be a bad ſituation, and not able to ſupport more than eight or ten ſtocks: beſides, if the month of June proves hot, the collection from the oak, lime, and ſycamore leaves, is aſtoniſhingly great; as well as from the profuſion of flowers, which nature exhibits in ſucceſſion throughout the whole ſummer.

"From theſe remarks and experiments it is evident, that ſucceſs depends entirely on leaving your bees ſtrong in October; for by this plan they naturally get into a habit of ſwarming early, and, by having the whole ſummer before them, always get rich. Whenever an unkindly ſeaſon happens, to prevent this, it is an invariable practice with me, to give all my ſwarms ſugar and water, or honey, ſufficient to make each ſtock produce thirty or thirty-ſix pounds weight: beſides, I am never diſappointed of a ſwarm in May; and it is more frequent than otherwiſe, that theſe ſtocks will yield three ſwarms each; the old ſtock likewiſe in general will be as rich as the prime ſwarm. On the other hand, if the ſtock is left moderate, though they may have honey enough to get them through the winter, yet ſome check may be given to the queen's breeding; of courſe it may be the middle of June, before they are ready for ſwarming; and if the weather turns out fine and hot, there is ſuch a profuſion of honey in the fields, and they are ſo intent after it, that no art can make them ſwarm: in that caſe, they will lie out the remainder of the ſummer, to the great loſs of the owner. However, whenever this happens, I would adviſe all ſuch ſtocks, after laying out a week, to be ſet on empty hives.

"I will now preſume to offer a ſimple and eaſy mode of managing theſe admirable inſects, the profits from which will far ſurpaſs that in common uſe. The owner muſt patiently wait till he has acquired twenty ſtocks, which may be ſoon accompliſhed by attending to the foregoing hints. In the month of April following, he muſt ſeparate ten of the ſtrongeſt hives for ſwarming; the other ten muſt be raiſed on large empty hives, the tops of which ſhould be firſt taken off, and the joinings of the two hives ſecured with a little clay, which plan keeps the bees from ſwarming. In the month of September following, being the time I would recommend them to be burnt, each ſtock will ſeldom be found to have produced leſs than fifty pounds weight, provided it has been a kind ſeaſon.

"The prime ſwarms from the other ſtocks, I would recommend to be put into three-peck hives, at leaſt; for when they ſwarm ſo early, they are very likely to ſwarm again in a few weeks, which ſhould always be prevented: and all the after-ſwarms ſhould

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ſhould be united, two or three into one; for the great advantage ariſes from the large quantity of bees being kept together, ſince by that mode ten ſtocks will generally yield fifteen good ones. But the greateſt check to the cultivation of bees happens from inclement ſeaſons: I have experienced ſome ſummers, when it has rained, almoſt all the months of June and July, that not above one prime ſwarm in ten have been able to get a ſufficiency; this is really diſtreſſing; and on theſe occaſions, I have ſeen the ſtocks of villagers wholly ſwept off.

"This is another reaſon why double hives are ſo neceſſary; for, beſides the great profit ariſing from them in fine ſeaſons, it would prevent the decreaſe of ſtocks, which muſt unavoidably happen in bad ſeaſons. In the moſt unkindly ſummers, they are ſure to get enough to ſupport them through the winter: whenever it happens ſo, they ſhould ſtand till winter; and in a froſty day, the clay ſhould be removed, and a wire drawn between the hives, to ſeparate them; for by this time they will be all in the upper hive; and theſe ſtocks ſhould be reſerved for ſwarming the following ſummer.

"From a review of the above experiments, the reaſons are obvious, why people are ſo frequently diſappointed in the management of bees, eſpecially in the modern way; but, on the other hand, it ſhews what a ſurpriſing ſtate of cultivation they might be carried to: and ſuppoſing they could be brought to a ſtate of cultivation, that ten poor families in a village could keep twenty old ſtocks, beſides their own profit, it might become a national concern. Great pains have been taken, and ſtill greater encouragement offered, for a plan to preſerve the lives of theſe uſeful and ſagacious inſects; which may be done by the intelligent, but cannot be expected from the cottager.

"My ſtock conſiſts of forty hives and boxes. The method I purſue in the management of bees is, to reſerve part of my ſtocks for working; for, by giving them room, they ſeldom ſwarm: and I always work them upwards; for, by that means, the queen is kept in the under hive, or box; and the honey ſo collected is of the pureſt quality.

"But is no eaſy thing to make them aſcend, to work through holes or bars ſo recommended by authors, as I have frequently known them ſwarm before ſo doing. My way is: if it is a hive, I take a piece out of the top, with a knife and chiſſel, ten inches diameter: thus, by laying a large ſurface of their comb bare, I am never diſappointed.

"But they will be induced to riſe ſooner, by placing a piece of empty comb, ſo as to reach from their own to the top of the box or glaſs globe that is intended to be uſed: whenever it ſo happens, in wet ſummers, that each ſtock cannot get more than thirty pounds of honey, I always uſe Mr. Thorley's method, with the fungus; and I cannot help being ſupriſed that this ſimple method ſhould not be uſed, to ſave the lives of theſe uſeful inſects.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

GEORGE HUBBARD."

Bury St. Edmunds,
October 29, 1790.

CURIOUS

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CURIOUS METHOD of MANAGING HOGS in the NEW FOREST, in HAMPSHIRE, during the AUTUMN SEASON.

[From the Second Volume of Gilpin's Remarks on Foreſt Scenery, &c.]

"THE method of treating hogs at this ſeaſon of migration, and of reducing a large herd of theſe unmanageable brutes to perfect obedience, and to good government, is curious.

"The firſt ſtep the ſwine-herd takes, is to inveſtigate ſome cloſe ſheltered part of the foreſt, where there is a conveniency of water: and plenty of oak, or beech-maſt, the former of which he prefers, when he can have it in ſufficient abundance. He fixes next on ſome ſpreading tree, round the bole of which he wattles a ſlight, circular fence of the dimenſions he wants; and covering it roughly with boughs, and ſods, he fills it plentifully with ſtraw, or fern.

"Having made this preparation, he collects his colony among the farmers, with whom he commonly agrees for a ſhilling a head, and will get together perhaps a herd of five or ſix hundred hogs. Having driven them to their deſtined habitation, he gives them a plentiful ſupper of acorns, or beech-maſt, which he had already provided, ſounding his horn, during the repaſt. He then turns them into the litter, where, after a long journey, and a hearty meal, they ſleep deliciouſly.

"The next morning he lets them look a little around them—ſhews them the pool, or ſtream, where they may occaſionally drink—leaves them to pick up the offals of the laſt night's meal; and as the evening draws on, gives them another plentiful repaſt under the neighbouring trees, which rains acorns upon them for hours together, at the ſound of his horn. He then ſends them again to ſleep.

"The following day he is perhaps at the pains of procuring them another meal, with muſic playing as uſual. He then leaves them a little more to themſelves, having an eye however on their evening-hours. But as their bellies are full, they ſeldom wander far from home, retiring commonly very orderly, and early to bed.

"After this, he throws his ſty open, and leaves them to cater for themſelves; and from hence-forward has little more trouble with them, during the whole time of their migration. Now and then, in calm weather, when maſt falls ſparingly, he calls them perhaps together by the muſic of his horn to a gratuitous meal; but in general, they need little attention, returning regularly home at night, though they often wander in the day two or three miles from their ſty. There are experienced leaders in all herds, which have ſpent this roving life before; and can inſtruct their juniors in the method of it. By this management the herd is carried home to their reſpective owners in ſuch condition, that a little dry meat will ſoon fatten them.

"I would not however have it ſuppoſed, that all the ſwine-herds in the foreſt manage their colonies with this exactneſs. Bad governments, and bad governors will every where exiſt; but I mention this as an example of ſound policy—not as a mere Platonic, or Eutopian ſcheme; but ſuch as hath been often realized, and hath as often been found productive

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tive of good order, and public utility. The hog is commonly ſuppoſed to be an obſtinate, head-ſtrong, unmanageable brute: and he may perhaps have a degree of poſitiveneſs in his temper. In general, however, if he be properly managed, he is an orderly, docile animal. The only difficulty is, to make your meanings, when they are fair, and friendly, intelligible to him. Effect this, and you may lead him with a ſtraw.

"Nor is he without his ſocial feelings, when he is at liberty to indulge them. In theſe foreſt-migrations, it is commonly obſerved, that of whatever number the herd conſiſts, they generally ſeparate, in their daily excurſions, into ſuch little knots, and ſocieties, as have formerly had habits of intimacy together; and in theſe friendly groups they range the foreſt; returning home at night, in different parties, ſome earlier, and ſome later, as they have been more or leſs fortunate in the purſuits of the day.

"It ſounds oddly to affirm the life of a hog to been viable; and yet there is ſomething uncommonly pleaſing in the lives of theſe emigrants – ſomething at leaſt more deſirable than is to be found in the life of a hog, *Epicuri de grege*. They ſeem themſelves alſo to enjoy their mode of life. You ſee them perfectly happy, going about at their eaſe, and converſing with each other in ſhort, pithy, interrupted ſentences, which are no doubt, expreſſive of their own enjoyments, and of ſocial feelings."

OBSERVATIONS intended to expoſe the PRACTICE of DOCKING, NICKING, and CROPPING HORSES.

[From the ſame Volume.]

"WITHIN this century, I believe, the barbarous cuſtom of docking horſes came in uſe; and hath paſſed through various modifications like all other cuſtoms, which are not founded in nature and truth. A few years ago the ſhort dock was the only tail (if it may be called ſuch) in faſhion, both in the army, and in carriages. The abſurdity however of this total amputation began to appear. The gentlemen of the army led the way. They acknowledged the beauty, and uſe of the tail, as nature made it. The ſhort dock every where diſappeared; and all dragoon-horſes paraded with long tails.

"The nag-tail however ſtill continued in uſe. Of this there are ſeveral ſpecies, all more or leſs mutilated. The moſt deformed one is nicked-tail; ſo named from a cruel operation uſed in forming it. The under ſinews of the dock being divided, the tail ſtarts upwards, directly contrary to the poſition, which nature intended. The nag-tail is ſtill ſeen in all genteel carriages. Nor will any perſon of faſhion ride a horſe without one. Even the gentlemen of the army, who have ſhewn the moſt ſenſe in the affair of horſe-tails, have been ſo miſled, as to introduce the nag-tail into the light-horſe; though it would be as difficult to give a reaſon now for the nag-tail, as formerly for the ſhort-dock.

"Two things are urged in defence of this cruel mutilation—the utility and the beauty of it. Let us briefly as poſſible, examine both.

"To make an animal uſeful is,

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no doubt, the firſt conſideration: and to make a horſe ſo, we muſt neceſſarily make him ſuffer ſome things, which are unnatural, becauſe we take him out of a ſtate of nature. He muſt be fed with hay, and corn in the winter, which he cannot get in his open paſtures: for if he have exerciſe beyond nature, he muſt have ſuch food, as will enable him to bear it. As it is neceſſary likewiſe to make our roads hard, and durable, it is neceſſary alſo to give the horſe an iron hoof, that he may travel over them without injuring his feet.—But all this has nothing to do with his tail, from which no incumbrance ariſes.

"Yes, ſays the advocate for docking; as it is neceſſary for the horſe to travel, to hunt, and to race, it is uſeful to lighten him of every incumbrance. And as it is neceſſary for him to travel through dirty roads; it is uſeful to rid him of an inſtrument, which is continally collecting dirt and laſhing it over himſelf, and his rider.

"To eaſe your horſe of every incumbrance in travelling, is certainly right. You ſhould ſee that his bridle, and ſaddle, (which are his great incumbrances) are as eaſy as poſſible: and that the weight he carries, or draws, be proportioned to his ſtrength. But depend upon it, he receives no incumbrance from nature. It is a maxim among all true philoſophers, that nature has given nothing in vain: and there can be no reaſonable doubt, but that nature has given the horſe his tail to balance, and aſſiſt his motions. That this is the caſe, ſeems plain from the uſe he makes of it. When the animal is at reſt, his tail is pendent: but when he is in violent action; he raiſes, and ſpreads it, as a bird does in the ſame ſituation. Would the ſwallow, or the dove be aſſiſted in their flight by the loſs of their tails? or the greyhound in his ſpeed by docking him? For myſelf, I have no doubt, but if the experiment were tried at Newmarket, which I ſuppoſe it never was, the horſe with his long tail, however the literati there might laugh at him, would not be in the leaſt injured in his ſpeed; and would certainly anſwer better, in all his ſudden turns, to the intention of his rider. He would extend, and ſpread his helm: it would ſteer his way; and we ſhould ſeldom hear of his running out of his courſe, or on the wrong ſide of the poſt.

"Beſides, his tail probably aſſiſts him even in his common exertions; and balances his body, when he trots, and prevents his ſtumbling. I have heard a gentleman, who had travelled much in the eaſt, remark, that the Turkiſh, and Arabian horſes rarely ſtumble; which he attributed, and with much appearance of truth, to their long tails.

"But whatever uſe the tail may be to the horſe in action, it is acknowledged on all hands to be of infinite uſe to him, at reſt. Whoever ſees the horſe grazing in ſummer, and obſerves the conſtant uſe he makes of his long tail in laſhing the flies from his ſides, muſt be perſuaded, that it is a moſt uſeful inſtrument: and muſt be hurt to ſee him fidget a ſhort dock, back and forward, with ineffectual attempts to rid himſelf of ſome plague, which he cannot reach.

"As to the objection againſt the tail, as an inſtrument, which is continually gathering dirt, and laſhing it around, if there be any truth in what I have already obſerved, this little objection diſſolves itſelf; eſpecially as the inconvenience may with great eaſe be remedied, when the road is dirty, either by knotting

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up the tail, or by tying it with a leathern-ſtrap.

"But whatever becomes of utility, the horſe is certainly more beautiful, we are told, without his dangling tail. What a handſome figure he makes, when he carries both his ends well! This is the conſtant language of horſe-dealers, ſtable-keepers, and grooms; and ſuch language, though originating in taſteleſs ignorance, and mere prejudice, has drawn over men of ſenſe, and underſtanding.—It is inconceivable, how deluſively the eye ſees, as well as the derſtanding, when it is faſcinated, and led aſide by faſhion, and cuſtom. Aſſociated ideas of various kinds give truth a different air. When we ſee a game-cock with all his ſprightly actions, and gorgeous plumes about him, we acknowledge one of the moſt beautiful birds in nature. But when we ſee him armed with ſteel, and prepared for battle; we cry, what a ſcare-crow! But a cock-fighter, with all the ideas of the pit about him, will conceive, that in this latter ſtate, he is in his greateſt beauty: and if his picture be drawn, it muſt be drawn in this ridiculous manner. I have often ſeen it.

"Let jockies, and ſtable-boys, and cock-fighters keep their own abſurd ideas: but let not men, who pretend to ſee, and think for themſelves, adopt ſuch ridiculous conceits.—In arts, we judge by the rules of art. In nature, we have no criterion but the forms of nature. We criticiſe a building by the rules of architecture: but in judging of a tree, or a mountain; we judge by the moſt beautiful forms of each, which nature hath given us. It is thus in other things. From nature alone we have the form of a horſe. Should we then ſeek for beauty in that object, in our own wild conceptions; or recur to the great original, from whence we had it? We may be aſſured, that nature's forms are always the moſt beautiful; and therefore we ſhould endeavour to correct our ideas by hers.—If however we cannot give up the point, let us at leaſt be conſiſtent. If we admire a horſe without a tail, or a cock without feathers, let us not laugh at the Chineſe for admiring the diſproportioned foot of his miſtreſs; nor at the Indian, for doting on her black teeth, and tattooed cheeks. For myſelf, I cannot conceive, why it ſhould make a horſe more beautiful to take his tail from him, than it would make a man to clap a tail to him.—With regard indeed to the natural beauty of a horſe's tail, we want little reaſoning on the ſubject. In conjunction with his mane it gives him dignity.—It hides his ſtraddling buttocks; which is a decency in nature, we ſhould admire, rather than deſtroy.—It forms a contraſt among the legs. The four equal legs of every animal are it's greateſt deformity; and their ſameneſs of courſe gives the painter the moſt trouble in the management of them. In many of her forms indeed, where nature does not ſeem to aim at beauty, ſhe neglects this economy: but as if ſhe meant the horſe for one of her moſt elegant productions, ſhe has provided for him in this reſpect alſo by giving him a graceful flow of hair, which hiding ſometimes one leg and ſometimes another, introduces a pleaſing contraſt among them all.—The accidental motion alſo of the tail gives it peculiar beauty; both when the horſe moves it himſelf; and when it waves in the wind. The beauty of it indeed to an unprejudiced eye is conſpicuous at once; and in all parade, and ſtate-horſes it is acknowledged: though even here

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there is an attempt made to improve nature by art: the hair muſt be adorned with ribbons; and the bottom of the tail clipped ſquare, which adds heavineſs, and is certainly ſo far a deformity.

"The captain of an Engliſh man of war gave me an account ſome time ago, of his landing in one of the piratical ſtates of Barbary, while his ſhip anchored in the bay. He was received by the Dey (I think, of Tripoli) with great civility; and among other things, ſaw his ſtables. They were lined with a very long double row of the moſt beautiful Barb, and Arabian horſes. He was ſtruck with their beauty, to which their grand flowing tails, combed, and oiled in the niceſt manner, were no little addition. As he continued his walk through the ſtud, he came to a couple of horſes with nag-tails. On enquiring into their hiſtory, he found they were Engliſh horſes, which had been preſented to the Dey. The horſes themſelves were fit to appear any where; but the contraſt of their tails, he thought, in ſuch company, made ſo very ſtrange, and diſgraceful an appearance, that he was aſhamed of his countrymen. The caſe was, his eye having been thus accuſtomed to the beautiful forms of nature, had gotten rid of it's prejudices; and being a rational man, ſaw the matter in it's proper light.

"I ſhall conclude my remarks on this cruel mutilation with an epigram by Voltaire.—That celebrated wit was in England about the time, when the barbarous cuſtom of docking horſes was in high faſhion. He was ſo ſhocked at it, that he wrote the following verſes, which, it is ſaid, he gave to lord Lyttelton.

Vous, fiers Anglois, et barbares que vous êtes,
Coupent les tates a vos rois, et les queues a vos bêtes.
Mais les François plus polis, et aimant les loix,
Laiſſent les queues a leurs bêtes, et les tates a leurs rois.

"There is more indignation, than wit, I think, in theſe verſes. Voltaire ſeems to conſider docking a horſe, and killing a king, as equal crimes; which however is carrying the matter ſomewhat farther, than the picturesque eye wiſhes to carry it.

"The ſame abſurd notions, which have led men to cut off the tails of horſes, have led them alſo to cut off their ears. I ſpeak not of low grooms, and jockies; we have lately ſeen the ſtuds of men of the firſt faſhion, miſled probably by grooms, and jockies, producing only cropt-horſes.

"When a fine horſe has wide, lopping ears, as he ſometimes has, without ſpring, or motion in them; a man may be tempted to remove the deformity. But to cut a pair of fine ears out of the head of a horſe, is, if poſſible, a ſtill greater abſurdity, than to cut off his tail. Nothing can be alledged in it's defence. The ear neither retards motion; nor flings dirt.

"Much of the ſame ground may be gone over on this ſubject, which we went over on the laſt. With regard to the utility of the ear, it is not improbable, that cropping it may injure the horſe's hearing: there is certainly leſs concave ſurface to receive the vibrations of the air. I have heard it alſo aſſerted with great confidence, that this mutilation injures his health: for when a horſe has loſt that pent houſe, which nature has given him over his ear, it is reaſonable to believe the wind and rain may get in, and give him cold.

"But if theſe injuries are not eaſily proved, the injury he receives in point of beauty may ſtrenuouſly be

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be insisted on. Few of the minuter parts of animal nature are more beautiful than the ear of a horse, when it is neatly formed, and well set on.—The contrast of the lines is pleasing; the concavity, and the convexity, being generally seen together in the natural turn of the ear.—Nor is the proportion of the ear less pleasing. It is contracted at the insertion, swells in the middle, and tapers to a point. The ear of no animal is so beautifully proportioned. That of some beasts, especially of the savage kinds, as the lion, and pard, is naturally rounded, and has little form. The ears of other animals, as the fox, and cat, are pointed, short, and thick. Those of the cow are round, and heavy. The hare's, and ass's ears are long, and nearly of the same thickness. The dog, and swine have flapping ears. The sheep, alone has ears, that can compare with the horse.—The ear of the horse receives great beauty also from it's colour, as well as form. The ears of bay, and grey horses are generally tipped with black, which melts into the colour of the head.—But the ear of the horse receives it's greatest beauty from motion. The ear of no animal has that vibrating power. The ears of a spirited horse are continually in motion; quivering, and darting their sharp points towards every object that presents: and the action is still more beautiful, when the ears are so well set on, that the points are drawn nearly together. Virgil, who was among the most accurate observers of nature, takes notice of this quivering motion in the ears of a horse.

> ——Si qua sonum procul arma dedere,
> Stare loco nescit; *micat* auribus——

The same word, which he uses here to express the motion of a horse's ears, he uses elsewhere to express the gleaming of arms; the glittering of a gem; and the vibrating motion of a serpent's tongue.—But it is not only the quivering motion of the horse's ears, that we admire; we admire them also as the interpreters of his passions, particularly of fear, which some denominate courage; and of anger, or malice. The former he expresses by darting them forward: the latter, by laying them back.

"This digression hath carried me much farther than I intended; but the mutilation of the tail, and ears of this noble animal is so offensive to reason, and common sense, that I have been imperceptibly led on by my indignation. Though nothing I can say on the subject, I am well persuaded, can weigh against the authority of grooms, and jockies, so as to make a general reform; yet, if, here and there, a small party could be raised in opposition to this strange custom, it might in time perhaps obtain fashion on it's side.—We commonly suppose, that when mankind in general agree in a point, there is truth. I believe no nation upon earth, except the English, have the custom among them, of docking, nicking, and cropping their horses.—The wisdom too of all antiquity decides fully against the practice. Instances perhaps might be found in the bas-reliefs of the Antonine column, and other remains of Roman antiquity, both of the crop ear, and of the hogged-mane, (which I take for granted were never practised, except in cases of defect,) but I am persuaded, no one instance can be found, in all the remains of Grecian, or Roman antiquity, of a short-dock, or a nag-tail."

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HUMOROUS LETTER from HABAKKUK ANGLE to GEOFFRY GAMBADO, Esq.

[From the Annals of Horsemanship, &c. Published by the Editor of the Academy for grown Gentlemen.]

"SIR,

"HAVING long been earnestly engaged in the study of mathematical science, and being fond of riding, two pursuits usually thought incompatible, I have been enabled, by means of this singular union, to strike out some important discoveries in both branches. The mathematical improvements in riding will, I hope, deserve a place in the Annals of Horsemanship: my equestrian discoveries in mathematics you must permit me to reserve for the Ladies Diary.

"My love for equestrian agitation is, I believe, no more general than that of any other person: for whatever satisfaction may be usually experienced by riders while they continue on the backs of their horses, I have never yet met with or been informed of one, who received any sensible delight from the circumstance of being violently projected from the saddle. But here, Sir, from my passionate fondness for the mathematics, I enjoy a manifest advantage. From the concussions, repercussions, and every other kind of compound motion which can be generated consistently with the due support of the centre of gravity, I enjoy, I will venture to say, at least as much satisfaction as any other rider: and at the time of being thrown off, or, in more proper language, projected from the horse, I experience a peculiar delight in recollecting, that, by the universal laws of projectiles, I must in my flight through the air describe that beautiful conic section, a parabola.

"After some accidents of this nature, I have been fortunate enough, notwithstanding the violent re-action of the ground in consequence of the strong action of my skull against it, to preserve my sense sufficiently to be able to ascertain the curve so generated by my body to describe it on paper, and demonstrate its peculiar properties: and am not without hope, if I can meet with horses not too sure-footed, by frequent experiments, to determine what kind of parabola it is safest to describe; which problem will, I apprehend, be found very serviceable in practice, at the city hunt in Easter week, and during the celebration of Epsom races.

"Not long ago, by a particular convulsion of the animal from which I was so fortunate as to fall, I was very irregularly thrown to the earth, but had the satisfaction afterwards to discover that the curve described in my fall was a segment of a very eccentric ellipse, of which the saddle was one focus; and that it was nearly, if not exactly, the same with the path of the comet now expected to return. And once, by a succession still more anomalous, I was happy to describe a new curve, which I found to possess some very amazing properties; and I hope effectually to immortalize my own name, by calling it *Lemuel's first Hippopiptic curve.**

"* *Hippopiptic* expresses the mode of the curve's generation in falling from a horse:—from *Hippos*, a horse, and *pipto*, to fall. I call it *first*, because I hope by the same means to discover more hereafter."

The

"The first equestrian problem that I ever set myself to discover was this; "When by pulling the reins you prevent a horse from falling, where is the fulcrum or prop?—and how is the horse's centre of gravity prevented from being thrown beyond the base of his legs?" I will not trouble you now with the particulars of this difficult investigation; but shall only say, that it turned out greatly to the honour of demipique saddles; which accordingly, in the Mathematical Elements of Riding, that I mean hereafter to publish, I shall recommend very strongly in a corollary.

"A learned student in mathematics has long published his ability and desire to construct breeches upon geometrical principles*.

"Mr. Nunn is certainly ingenious, and his breeches, a few salient angles excepted, admirable; but the artist who should make bridles, saddles, and other equestrian paraphernalia, by the rules of pure mathematics, would render a much more praise-worthy service to the public. For if the flimsy leather of breeches require geometrical cutting, how much more necessary must it be to the tough hide which forms the bridle? And to what purpose will be geometry in the breeches operate, if the saddle, by which they are to be supported, and whose surfaces they are to touch in as many points as possible, be formed ungeometrically? But I forbear to expatiate on a matter as plain as any lemma of Euclid; trusting that whoever can perceive the utility of geometrical breeches, will readily argue, *a fortiori*, to the absolute necessity of geometrical saddles and bridles.

"Pursuing my principles, I have demonstrated what is the right line to be drawn by the mathematical rider in every difficult situation. In ascending a horse's back, at what angle to extend the moveable leg, while the fixed one is rested in the stirrup: in leaping, how to regulate the oscillation of balancing of the body, by attending carefully to that fundamental point which is your center of motion: in starting, how to dispose of the superfluous momentum, and thereby to preserve in full force the attraction of cohesion between rump and saddle: in resting, at what angle, formed by the horse's back with the plane of the horizon, it is most advisable to slide down over his tail; which, I maintain, is the only expedient that can be practised with a mathematical certainty of being safe: these and many other important secrets, I am ready, at any time when called upon, to communicate. One I cannot even now withhold, which is this: that there is no good or truly geometrical riding, unless the legs be extended perfectly in straight lines, so as to form tangents to the cylindrical surface of the horse's body: in a word, to resemble, as much as possible, a pair of compasses set astride upon a telescope; which I conceive to be the perfect model of mathematical riding.

"But besides this application of pure geometry, it has often struck me, that too little use is made, in riding, of the principles of mixed mathematics. Consider, Mr. Gam-

* Mr. Nunn's advertisement is as follows:

"BREECHES-MAKING improved by GEOMETRY."

"Thomas Nunn, Breeches maker, N°. 29, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square, has invented a system on a mathematical principle, by which difficulties are solved, and errors corrected: its usefulness for ease and neatness in fitting, is incomparable, and is the only perfect rule for that work ever discovered. Several hundreds (noblemen, gentlemen, and others) who have had proof of its utility, allow it to excel all they ever made trial of."

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bado, the six mechanical powers! the *lever*, the *wheel* and *axle*, the *pulley*, the *inclined plane*, the *wedge* and the *screw*; and reflect with what advantage all these may be applied to the uses of horsemanship. By means of a *lever*, having an elevated fulcrum raised on the pommel of the saddle, an entire stop might be put to the practice of falling; except where the practitioner should voluntarily take a tumble for the express purpose of studying the parabola, or hippopictic curve. The *wheel* and *axle* is already applied in the use of horses, though not in any branch of horsemanship, except the driving of post-chaises; but is also found so efficacious in preventing falls, that where a horse has been used to that assistance, it is not reckoned safe to ride him without. The application of the *wedge* might, undoubtedly, very materially improve the art of figging. The *screw* might, with advantage, be applied to the direction of the horses head with more exactness, and consequently enable the rider to guide his course with mathematical accuracy. The *inclined plane* might happily be introduced to facilitate the backward slide of the rider at the time of rearing, as above mentioned. And a system of *pullies*, in the nature of Mr. Smeaton's, by giving the rider a force equal to the action for many thousand pounds weight, might for ever put an end to the dangerous vice of running away.

"By the use of the principles of astronomy, I have invented a mode of taking the exact altitude of any horse, at two observations, and am at present at work on a * hippodromometer, to ascertain the velocity of his course in the very act of riding.

"But while I boast, and, I trust, with reason, of these discoveries, I must candidly confess that a rigorous attention to the theory has sometimes betrayed me into practical errors. When my horse has been pulling earnestly one way, my own intention being at the same time to go another, I have pulled strongly at right angles to the line of his course; expecting, from the laws of compound motion, that we should then proceed, neither in the line of his effort nor of my pull, but in an intermediate one, which would be the diagonal of the parallelogram, of which our forces were as the sides; but have always found that this method produced a rotatory instead of a rectilinear motion. When a horse has run away, I have to avoid the waste of force in my own arms, calculated the necessary diminution of it in his legs; but unfortunately, estimating it as the squares of the distances multiplied into the times, I was frequently dashed against walls, pitched over gates, and plunged into ponds, before I discovered that it is not as the squares of the times, but merely as the times. I mention these circumstances by way of caution to other theorists; not being at all discouraged myself by such trifling failures, and hoping, by your assistance, to convince the world that no man can ever become a perfect rider, unless he has first made mathematics his hobby-horse. You will pardon this innocent play of words on a subject so serious and believe me to be, Sir, with great esteem,

"Yours, &c.

"HABAKKUK ANGLE."

"* From *Hippos* a horse, *dromos* a course, and *metrein* to measure."

POETRY.

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POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

WHEN from the bosom of the mine
The magnet first to light was thrown,
Fair Commerce hail'd the gift divine,
And, smiling, claim'd it for her own.
"My bark (she said) this gem shall guide
"Thro' paths of ocean yet untried,
"While, as my daring sons explore
"Each, rude, inhospitable shore,
"'Mid desart sands, and ruthless skies,
"New seats of industry shall rise,
"And culture wide extend its genial reign,
"Free as the ambient gale, and boundless as the main.

But Tyranny soon learn'd to seize
The art improving Science taught;
The white sail courts the distant breeze,
With Horror and Destruction fraught;
From the tall mast fell War unfurl'd
His banners to a new-found world;
Oppression, arm'd with giant pride,
And bigot Fury by her side;
Dire Desolation, bath'd in blood,
Pale Av'rice, and her harpy brood,
To each affrighted shore in thunder spoke,
And bow'd the wretched race to Slavery's iron yoke.

Not such the gentler views that urge
Britannia's sons to dare the surge;
Not such the gifts her Drake, her Raleigh bore,
To the wild inmates of th' Atlantic shore,
Teaching each drear wood's pathless scene
The glories of their Virgin Queen.—
Nor such her later Chiefs who try,
Impell'd by soft Humanity,

The

The boiſt'rous wave, the rugged coaſt,
The burning zone, the polar froſt,
That climes remote, and regions yet unknown,
May ſhare a George's ſway, and bleſs his patriot throne.

Warm Fancy, kindling with delight,
Anticipates the lapſe of age,
And, as ſhe throws her eagle's ſight
O'er Time's yet undiſcover'd page,
Vaſt continents, now dark with ſhade,
She ſees in verdure's robe array'd,
Sees o'er each iſland's fertile ſteep,
That frequent ſtuds the Southern deep,
His fleecy charge the ſhepherd lead,
The harveſt wave, the vintage bleed:
Sees Commerce ſprings of guiltleſs wealth explore,
Where frowns the Weſtern world on Aſia's neighbouring ſhore.

But, lo! acroſs the blackening ſkies,
What ſwarthy Demon wings his flight
At once the ſmiling landſcape flies,
The ſplendid viſion ſets in night.—
And ſee Britannia's awful form,
With breaſt undaunted, brave the ſtorm!
Aweful, as when her angry tide
Overwhelm'd the wreck'd Armada's pride!
Aweful, as when th' avenging blow,
Suſpending o'er a proſtrate foe,
She ſnatch'd, in vict'ry's moment prompt to ſave,
Iberia's ſinking ſons from Calpe's glowing wave.

Ere yet the tempeſt's mingled ſound
Burſt dreadful o'er the nations round,
What Angel-ſhape, in beaming radiance dight
Pours thro' the ſevering clouds celeſtial light?
'Tis Peace!—before her ſeraph eye
The fiends of Deveſtation fly;
Auſpicious round our Monarch's brow
She twines her olive's ſacred bough:
"This victory (ſhe cries) is mine,
"Not torn from War's terrific ſhrine;
"Mine, the pure trophies of the wiſe and good,
Unbought by ſcenes of woe, and undeil'd with blood."

VERSES

VERSES written in the ISLAND of STAFFA, August 6, 1772. Addreſſed to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, by WILLIAM PARSONS, Eſq. F. R. S.

[Communicated by a Friend.]

WHAT ſounds harmonious mingle with the ſtorm?
The ſtars dim gleaming through his miſty form,
Does Cona's * voice renew the thrilling rhimes,
The ſtreamy Morven's tales of other times?
Or to reviſit yon deſerted fane †,
Does bleſt Columba leave the ſainted train,
Tuning in golden clouds the ſolemn lyre,
Whoſe loud notes join the full celeſtial choir?
Vain fictions theſe, which youthful Bards delight,
When ſome new wonder ſtrikes th' aſtoniſh'd ſight!
No ſounds are heard, except th' Atlantic wave,
That deeply murmurs in the twilight cave!
Awe-ſtruck I enter!—This ſtupendous roof,
Theſe adamantine walls of maſſy proof,
Theſe groups of columns that in Ocean ſtand,
What hands have rais'd? what architect hath plann'd?
Did the bold Giant race, the Northern boaſt,
With vaſt Typhœan ſtrength, each man a hoſt,
Rear mid the raging deep a pillar'd floor ‡,
And link the Hebrides to dread Bengore?
Or, am I borne to that tremendous hall
Where Odin ſat, and at his mighty call
The Runic Demi-gods in ſtern repoſe
Quaff'd their ſweet beverage from the ſculls of foes.
Illuſions all!——Of art no traces near,
Nor Giant race nor Runic Chiefs were here:
His nobler work, proud ‖ Nevis' towering head
Who rais'd, and ſunk the Sea's capacious bed;
Who taught the enormous *whale*, while Ocean boils,
To ſtem the wave, and thrid the numerous iſles;
Who bade the *Arctic eagle* in his flight
Drink the ſtrait beam, and ſcorn the languid light!
O ſacred Truth! O Energy divine!
Too long at ſpecious Fancy's, gaudy ſhrine
Deluded loitering, mid Italian ſhades
In day-dreams wild I woo'd th' Aonian maids,

* Oſſian calls himſelf "the voice of Cona," "The ghoſt of Crugal came from his cave, the ſtars dim twinkled through his form." Macpherſon's Oſſian.

† The ruins of the church of Iona or Icolmkill, founded by St. Columba in the fifth century, are viſible from Staffa.

‡ It has long been a popular ſuperſtition, that the columns of Staffa and thoſe of the Giants Cauſeway in Ireland, were the work of Giants, and once united the two coaſts. The Headland of Bengore is one of the moſt ſtriking features of the baſaltic coaſt, of which the Giants Cauſeway is a part. See Hamilton's Letters on the Coaſt of Antrim.

‖ Ben Nevis is the higheſt mountain in Scotland; it is about 100 miles from Staffa, and its height more than 4000 feet above the ſea.

Who

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Who bade full oft their air-built viſions riſe
In glittering hues, to fix the dazzled eyes,
Prone to forſake thy philoſophic ſtore
For fabled regions, and romantic lore;
Such thoughts the lovely ſtrangers there inſpire,
Rous'd by the Mantuan trump, or Sabine lyre;
Such mad Orlando's ſtrange adventures move,
And Godfrey's pious arms, and Petrarch's hapleſs love!
At length, ſo reaſon wills, theſe raptures fail,
And riper judgment muſt with tears bewail
Thoſe hours devoted to the "thankleſs Muſe."
More *wiſe*, more *bleſt* §, whoſe curious ſearch purſues
Of *real wonders* each efficient cauſe,
Nature's prolific reign, and hidden laws;
Tracing each change of earth's all-paſſive frame,
Subdued by air, by water, and by flame,
While oft the faireſt ſymmetry of things
From jarring powers and dire conſuſion ſprings.
Were I *thus* gifted, I might now unfold
To yon poor ſeamen, ignorant as bold,
While from the dancing wave their lifted eyes
Gaze on this iſland with uncouth ſurpriſe,
And, widely erring, they aſcribe each part
To manual labour or to magic art,
By what nice proceſs powerful nature gave
Theſe rocks their pillars, and their ſhadowy cave,
Which awe with grandeur, or with beauty pleaſe—
* By *fire ejected*, or *depoſed by ſeas!*
Such objects, Banks, provok'd thy gen'rous toils,
Scorning alike Ambition's gorgeous ſpoils,
The ſports of pleaſure, and the couch of reſt,
To ſail adventurous with undaunted breaſt
Through ſeas unknown, where fiercer billows roll,
And "curl their monſtrous heads" round either pole;
From *ſouthern* Iſles, where ſavage forms advance,
Raiſe the wild yell, and ſhake the hoſtile lance.
Then, fierce and reeking from the horrid meal,
† Their mangled foes to ſhuddering eyes reveal;
To *northern* Hecla, whoſe ice-crown'd head
Proudly uprears, while round his ſides are ſpread

§ Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas. Virg. Geo. lib. 2.

* The volcanic theory of the Staffa Baſaltes has been generally adopted, though the character of the neighbouring iſlands, where the columnar appearance is nearly as perfect, is widely different from the uſual one of a volcanic country, they being moſtly formed of natural terraces, one above another, and all lying in exact horizontal directions, which confirms ſome obſervers in the opinion, that they were originally formed by depoſition of water.

† See in Hawkeſworth's Account of Cook's Voyage deciſive proofs of the New Zealanders eating the fleſh of their enemies.

Tor-

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Torrents of flame, and at his feet arile
‡ The watry Geyſers, glittering in the ſkies!
Great is the *merchant's* praiſe, whoſe active mind
In diſtant climes can ſome new *commerce* find,
And bring exulting to a grateful ſhore
Sources of wealth, and arts, unknown before:
And *great* the *hero's*, who on foreign plains,
'Mid toil and peril, his high talk maintains,
O'er conquer'd nations, with ſupreme command
To bear the ſceptre of his native land:
But *greater his*, whom Science tempts to roam,
And bring the ſpoils of rich diſcovery *home*;
Whoſe better aim, and labours more refin'd,
Add to the *general knowledge* of mankind.
For *this* Britannia's ſtudious ſons decree
That ſacred chair which Newton fill'd to thee;
For *this*, where'er her welcome flags unfurl'd,
Thy praiſe ſhall ſpread, and charm the liſtning world;
E'en theſe lone ſcenes thy keen reſearch proclaim;
Fix'd on baſaltic columns ſtands thy Fame!

To WILLIAM LOCKE, Eſq. Junior, on his PICTURE of the DEATH of CARDINAL WOLSEY. By the ſame Gentleman.

[Communicated by a Friend.]

Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aures,
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus. HOR.

PAINTING! ſweet injur'd nymph, whoſe matchleſs ſkill
Futile and vain yon cloyſter'd pedant deems!
To move the paſſions and correct the will,
Great is thy force, if Genius chuſe thy themes.
What boaſt ſo high can Bards or Sages raiſe,
Who win by ſlow degrees the liſtning ear?
Thy moral lightning through the eye conveys
Both tale and precept, ſudden, ſtrong, and clear.
In deep Contrition's pangs proud Wolſey dies,
Ye proud, behold his portrait and be wiſe;
The ſpeaking record Hiſtory approves,
And eloquence, ſtruck dumb, with ſhame departs;
While Virtue from her ſtarry threſhold moves,
To hail thee nobleſt of the liberal Arts! W. PARSONS.

‡ The Geyſers are the moſt conſiderable of the boiling-water ſprings in Iceland, which have been ſaid to riſe as high as 60 fathoms.—See Von Troil's Letters on Iceland.

DUNCAN'S

DUNCAN'S WARNING.

[From Poems by J. Aikin, M. D.]

As o'er the heath, amid his steel-clad Thanes,
The royal Duncan rode in martial pride,
Where, full to view, high-topp'd with glittering vanes,
Macbeth's strong towers o'erhung the mountain's side;

In dusky mantle wrapp'd, a grisly form,
Rush'd with a giant's stride across his way;
And thus, while howl'd around the rising storm,
In hollow thundering accents pour'd dismay.

Stop, O King! thy destin'd course,
Furl thy standard, turn thy horse,
Death besets this onward track,
Come no further,—quickly, back.

Hear'st thou not the raven's croak?
See'st thou not the blasted oak?
Feel'st thou not the loaded sky?
Read thy danger, King, and fly.

Lo, yon' castle banners glare
Bloody through the troubled air;
Lo, what spectres on the roof
Frowning bid thee stand aloof!

Murder, like an eagle, waits
Perch'd above the gloomy gates,
Just in act to pounce his prey;
Come not near—away! away!

Let not plighted faith beguile;
Honour's semblance, Beauty's smile:
Fierce Ambition's venom'd dart
Rankles in the fest'ring heart.

Treason, arm'd against thy life,
Points his dagger, whets his knife,
Drugs his stupifying bowl,
Steels his unrelenting soul.

Now 'tis time; ere guilty night
Closes round thee, speed thy flight.
If the threshold once be cross,
Duncan! thou'rt for ever lost.

Or

On he goes!——resistless Fate
Hastes to fill his mortal date:
Cease, ye warnings, vain, tho' true.
Murder'd King, adieu! adieu †!

HORATIAN PHILOSOPHY.

[From the same Work.]

FROM scenes of tumult, noise and strife,
And all the ills of public life;
From waiting at the great man's gate;
Amid the slaves that swell his state;
From coxcomb poets and their verses;
From streets with chariots throng'd, and hearses:
From rattling spendthrifts, and their guests,
And dull buffoons with scurvy jests;
From fashion's whims, and folly's freaks;
From shouts by day, and nightly shrieks;
O let me make a quick retreat,
And seek in haste my country seat;
In silent shades forgotten lie,
And learn to live, before I die!
There, on the verdant turf reclin'd,
By wisdom's rules compose my mind;
My passions still, correct my heart,
And meliorate my better part:
Quit idle hope, and fond desire,
And cease to gaze where fools admire;
With scorn the crowd profane behold
Enslav'd by sordid thirst of gold,
Nor deign to bend at such a shrine,
While priest of Phœbus and the Nine.
Nor would I shun the student's toil,
But feed my lamp with Grecian oil.
Sometimes thro' Stoic walks sublime
Up the rough steep of Virtue climb;
From philosophic heights look down,
Nor heed if Fortune smile or frown;
In wisdom's mantle closely furl'd,
Defy the tempests of the world;
And, scorning all that's not our own,
Place every good in mind alone.
Then, sliding to an easier plan,
Put off the God, to be the Man;
Resolve the offer'd sweets to prove
Of social bowls, gay sports, and love;
Give froward life its childish toy,
Nor blush to feel, and to enjoy.

† The idea of this messenger of terror, have engrafted on the story of Macbeth, is derived from an incident which the French historians relate to her occured to Charles VI. in the forest of Mans.

Yet

Yet ever, as by humour led,
Each path of life in turn I tread,
Still to my first great maxim true,
On Moderation fix my view;
Let her with tempering sway preside
O'er Pleasure's cup and Learning's pride;
And by her sage decrees o'er-rule
The dogmas of each sturdy school.
Opinion thus may various play,
While reason shines with steady ray,
And casts o'er all the shifting scene
Her sober hue, and light serene.

AN AMATORY ODE.

[From Salmagundi; a Miscellaneous Combination of Original Poetry.]

NOW hath the sun his evanescent fires
Quench'd in the billows of the western main;
Cease their soft carols all the feather'd choirs,
And gloomy solitude usurps the plain.

Rise, ye deep shades, ye waves in darkness roll,
Ye feather'd choirs to silence yield the grove,
For Lesbia sleeps:—nor cheers my pensive soul
The glance of rapture, nor the voice of love.

Ye Winds, whose havoc-spreading pinions ply
Their furious speed, and with dire yell invade
This nether world, whose wasteful tyranny
Pale Dryads mourn in many a ruin'd shade;

Wake not my Love:—Let not your thund'ring cry
With dread alarm the haunt of peace infest;
Here breathe in soft Æolian melody
Each cadence sweet that charms the soul to rest.

Ye Spectres (whom belated pilgrims fear,
Issuing in throngs from charnel, vault, or tomb,
What time deep-shadowing clouds thy radiant sphere,
Cynthia, involve in night's meridian gloom,)

Hence to deserted fane or mouldering hall,
Or the gaunt felon's ruthless course control;
With monitory shriek the wretch appal,
And to compunction wake his torpid soul.

But walk not near the couch where Lesbia lies
Like some rich pearl in its enamell'd shell,
Or fa'med relic, from profaner eyes
Secluded in the dim shrine's silver cell.

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Wanton, ye Faries, round her tranquil bow'r,
With bliſsful elves fantaſtic meaſures tread;
O'er her ſoft eyelids dews of opiate pow'r
Cull'd from choice blooms, in ſhow'rs of fragrance ſhed:

Let your bright tapers' viſionary ray
The raven-tinctur'd robe of Night illume;
And, ſtreaming o'er your ſpangled creſts, diſplay
The wave-enamour'd halcyon's emerald plume.

And bid your Minſtrel-Fays, a ſhadowy choir,
That charm the planets from their ſpheres ſublime,
Celeſtial ſongs, that love and joy inſpire,
Chant to their golden harp's harmonious chime.

And, when morn's purple ſtreaks th' horizon ſtain,
And Fairies fly the peal of Chanticleer,
Let Fancy ſtill your glittering hues retain,
Still let your wild notes tremble on her ear.——

Then, Leſbia, wake thy beauties, freſher far
Than Galatea boaſted when ſhe lav'd
In the ſmooth deep her coral-axled car,
And the ſtern heart of Neptune's ſon enſlav'd.

Wake at his call, to ſooth whoſe ſoul in vain
Morn ſheds her radiant beam, her od'rous airs,
Save when, attentive to his artleſs ſtrain,
That radiant beam, thoſe odours Leſbia ſhares.

He aſks no laureate wreath to deck his brows,
No golden meed his bounded wiſhes claim,
Bleſt if the object of his tendereſt vows
Smile on his lay—for Leſbia's ſmile is fame.

FREE IMITATION of a LATIN ODE, by WALTER de MAPES, Archdeacon of Oxford in the eleventh Century.

[From the ſame Work.]

ORIGINAL.

MIHI eſt propoſitum in tabernâ mori,
Vinum ſit appoſitum morentis ori,
Ut dicant, cum venerint angelorum chori:
"Deus ſit propitius huic Potatori!"

Poculis accenditur animi lucerna;
Cor imbutum Nectare volat ad ſuperna;

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Mihi ſapit dulcius vinum in tabernâ
Quàm quod aquâ miſcuit præſulis Pincerna.

Suum cuique proprium dat natura munus,
Ego nunquam potui ſcribere jejunus:
Me jejunum vincere poſſet puer unus,
Sitim et jejunium odi tanquam funus.

Tales verſus facio quale vinum bibo,
Non poſſum ſcribere niſi ſumpto cibo;
Nihil valet penitùs quod jejunus ſcribo,
Naſonem poſt calices facilé præibo.

Mihi nunquàm ſpiritus prophetiæ datur
Niſi cùm fuerit venter benè ſatur;
Cùm in arce cerebri Bacchus dominatur
In me Phœbus irruit ac miranda fatur.

IMITATION.

I'll in a tavern end my days 'midſt boon companions merry,
Place at my lips a luſty flaſk replete with ſparkling ſherry,
That angels hov'ring round may cry, when I lie dead as door nail;
"Riſe, genial Deacon, riſe and drink of the well of life eternal."

'Tis wine the fading lamp of life renews with fire celeſtial,
And elevates the raptur'd ſenſe above this globe terreſtrial;
Be mine the grape's pure juice unmix'd with any baſe ingredient,
Water to heretics I leave, ſound churchmen have no need on't.

Various implements belong to ev'ry occupation;
Give me an haunch of veniſon,—and a fig for inſpiration!
Verſes and odes without good cheer I never could indite 'em,
Sure he who meager days devis'd is d---d ad infinitum!

When I exhauſt the bowl profound and gen'rous liquor ſwallow,
Bright as the beverage I imbibe the gen'rous numbers follow;
Your ſneaking water-drinkers all, I utterly condemn 'em,
He that would write like Homer muſt drink like Agamemnon.

Myſteries and prophetic truths, I never could unfold 'em
Without a flagon of good wine and a ſlice of cold ham;
But when I've drain'd my liquor out, and eat what's in the diſh up,
Tho' I am but an arch-deacon, I can preach like an archbiſhop.

ODE

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ODE on his MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureate.

I.

LOUD the whirlwind rang'd around
That ſhook affrighted Britain's ſhore,
In peals of louder thunder drown'd
That mingled with the wint'ry roar;
Dreadful amid the driving ſtorm
The gliding meteor's horrid form
With tranſient gleam illum'd the air,
While thro' December's murky night,
Refulgent with unwonted light,
The livid flaſhes glare.

II.

But ſee! the radiant lord of day
Now Northward rolls his burning car,
And ſcatters with victorious ray
The rage of elemental war.
To reſt the troubled waves ſubſide,
And gently o'er the curling tide
Young Zephyr leads the vernal hours;
Adorns with richeſt dyes the vale,
And fragrance wafts on every gale
From June's ambroſial flowers.

III.

O may no low'ring gloom o'ercaſt
Th' auſpicious morn to Britain dear,
Or Eurus check with envious blaſt
The promiſe of the rip'ning year!—
Or ſhould ſome tranſitory cloud
Awhile th' etherial ſplendour ſhroud,
Soon ſhall the ſun his ſtream renew;
Soon ſhall the landſcape ſmile around
With more luxuriant verdure crown'd,
And bloom with livelier hue.

IV.

Exulting in her prince rever'd,
Whoſe mild parental virtues grace
The ſacred throne, by glory rear'd
On freedom's adamantine baſe,
While Albion pours the feſtive ſtrain,
Reſponſive to her choral train
The muſe enraptur'd joins the throng;
Proud that a grateful people's praiſe
Echoes the votive verſe ſhe pays,
And conſecrates her ſong.

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CHARACTERISTICS of LIBERTY in the SAVAGE STATE of this ISLAND, its EXTINCTION in the early STAGES of our MONARCHY, and its REVIVAL and INFLUENCE in the preſent civilized STATE of MANNERS.

[From the Aboriginal Britons, by GEORGE RICHARDS, B. A.]

IN Albion's ancient days, midſt nothern ſnows,
Hardy and bold, immortal Freedom roſe.
She roam'd the ſounding margin of the deep,
Conway's wild bank, and Cader's craggy ſteep:
A bloody wolf-ſkin o'er her back was ſpread;
An axe ſhe bore; and wild weeds grac'd her head.
On Snowden's cliffs reclin'd ſhe watch'd on high
The tempeſt-driven clouds, that croſs'd the ſky;
Or caught with liſtening ear the ſounding gale,
When the dread war-ſong ſhook the diſtant dale.
At battle's cloſe ſhe roam'd the enſanguin'd plain,
And gaz'd the threatening aſpects of the ſlain.
Now from ignoble ſloth ſhe rarely roſe,
For ſavage freedom ſinks to mute repoſe;
Now to wild joys, and the bowl's maddening powers
Gave up the torpid ſenſe and liſtleſs hours;
Now joyful ſaw the naked ſword diſplay'd,
Though brother's blood flow'd reeking from the blade.
By tyrants ſunk ſhe roſe more proudly great,
As ocean ſwells indignant in the ſtrait;
And, borne in chains from Cambria's mountains bleak,
Rais'd virtue's generous bluſh on Cæſar's cheek.

But ah! full many a dark and ſtormy year
She dropt o'er Albion's iſle the patriot tear.
Retir'd to mountains from the craggy dell
She caught the Norman curfeu's tyrant knell.
Sad to her view the baron's caſtle frown'd
Bold from the ſteep, and aw'd the plains around:
She ſorrowing heard the papal thunders roll,
And mourn'd the ignoble bondage of the ſoul:
She bluſh'd, O Cromwell, bluſh'd at Charles's doom;
And wept, miſguided Sidney, o'er thy tomb.

But now reviv'd ſhe boaſts a purer cauſe,
Refin'd by ſcience, form'd by generous laws:
High hangs her helmet in the banner'd hall,
Nor ſounds her clarion but at honour's call.
Now walks the land with olive chaplet's crown'd,
Exalting worth, and beaming ſafety round:
With ſecret joy and conſcious pride admires
The patriot ſpirit, which herſelf inſpires:

Sees

Sees barren waſtes with unknown fruitage bloom;
Sees Labour bending patient o'er the loom;
Sees Science rove thro' academic bow'rs;
And peopled cities lift their ſpiry towers:
Trade ſwells her ſails, wherever ocean rolls,
Glows at the line, and freezes at the poles:
While through unwater'd plains and wondering meads
Waves not its own the obedient river leads.

But chief the god-like mind, which bears impreſs'd
Its Maker's glorious image full confeſt;
Nobleſt of works created; more divine,
Than all the ſtarry worlds, that nightly ſhine;
Form'd to live on, unconſcious of decay,
When the wide univerſe ſhall melt away:
The mind, which, hid in ſavage breaſt of yore,
Lay, like Golconda's gems, an uſeleſs ore;
Now greatly dares ſublimeſt aims to ſcan;
Enriches ſcience, and enobles man;
Unveils the ſemblance, which it's God beſtow'd;
And draws more near the fount, from whence it flow'd.

ODE on the diſtant VIEW of FRANCE from DOVER CLIFF, in the Year 1789.

[From the fourth Volume of the Poetry of the World.]

GENIUS of France! thy miſty ſhore
From Albion's rocky verge I trace,
As high above the billowy roar,
I dart my view thro' ſubject ſpace:
Thron'd on this cliff's embattled brow,
I ſeem the lord of all below,
And while my patriot paſſions boil,
I gaze indignant on thy crouching ſoil!

Has not old ocean's ruthleſs force
Torn thee from favour'd Britain's ſide?
And here with well-directed courſe
Still rolls he not his barrier tide?
Yes!—his dividing waves deſign'd
To give this leſſon to mankind—
'Tis nature's voice, 'tis Heav'n's decree,
Britain! alone be great—alone be free."

Warm'd with the thought my fancy dreams
Of all the mighty deeds of old,
When Britain rous'd to martial themes
Her monarchs ſtern, her warriors bold:

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I hear from off this airy ſteep
Her thunder rattle o'er the deep,
See in the field her fire diſplay'd,
And mark the withering lily droop and fade.

Then proudly turn my mental eye
On ſcenes of council—ſcenes of peace,
Where freedom lifts her voice on high,
And bids each tyrant paſſion ceaſe.
Illuſtrious iſle! let circling fame
Thy juſt pre-eminence proclaim!
In claſhing arms, in ſage debate,
Alike ſupremely brave—ſupremely great.

Such flattering viſions ſooth my ſoul,
Elane'd from this aerial height;
No narrow bounds her range controul,
No power reſtrains her daring flight.
Say what awakes the Eagle's fire?
The pride his towering haunts inſpire—
He wheels around his favourite ſtand,
And frowns contempt on every diſtant land.

Huſh'd be the haughty ſtrain! a ſound
Of maddening joy burſts on my ear!
From ſhore to ſhore its echoes bound—
'Tis new-born freedom's voice I hear!
Arous'd at ſuperſtition's death,
In Gallia's womb ſhe pants for breath!
Freſh ſhouts announce the finiſh'd ſtrife,
She breaks her bands—ſhe ſprings to life!

Tranſporting ſounds! they check my pride,
My flattering viſions melt away:
At wiſdom's nod my vaunts ſubſide—
I own her juſt, impartial ſway.
From clime to clime may freedom's note
On ocean's wavy boſom float!
May rapid gales its ſpirit bear,
Till every diſtant tribe the bleſſing ſhare:

Enlighten'd France! no more I view
With cold contempt thy glittering coaſt—
To active worth is honour due;
Th' unfetter'd mind has cauſe to boaſt.
Henceforth e'en Britain's ſplendid name
Can no ſuperior luſtre claim,
Nor ſingly now ſhall dart its rays,
But blend with thine in freedom's ſpreading blaze.

Enough

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Enough of war, of proud diſdain—
The ſelfiſh thought, the taunting jeſt;
Abſurd diſtinction—preference vain,
Be baniſh'd from the liberal breaſt!
Ye ſwell'd the liſt of human woes!
Ye made of France and Britain foes!
Taught each to ſcorn its neighbouring ſtate,
And thwart its views with unremitting hate.

Malignant ſhadows—hence, away!
Hie to ſome dark, unletter'd ſhore!
Behold the dawn of reaſon's day—
Britain and France contend no more.
In freedom's cauſe from age to age
Shall both with equal warmth engage,
Purſue the ſame exalted plan,
And vindicate on earth the Rights of Man.

ON a TEAR.

[From the third Volume of the ſame Work.]

OH! that the Chemiſt's magic art
Could chryſtalize this ſacred treaſure!
Long ſhould it glitter near my heart,
A ſecret ſource of penſive pleaſure.

The little brilliant, ere it fell,
Its luſtre caught from Chloe's eye;
Then, trembling, left its coral cell—
The ſpring of ſenſibility!

Sweet drop of pure and pearly light!
In thee the rays of virtue ſhine
More calmly clear, more mildly bright,
Than any gem that gilds the mine.

Benign reſtorer of the ſoul!
Who ever fly'ſt to bring relief,
When firſt the feels the rude controul
Of love or pity, joy or grief.

The ſage's and the poet's theme,
In every clime, in every age;
Thou charm'ſt in fancy's idle dream,
In reaſon's philoſophic page.

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That very law † which moulds a tear,
And bids it trickle from its ſource,
That law preſerves the earth a ſphere,
And guides the Planets in their courſe.

LINES TO HIM WHO WILL UNDERSTAND THEM.

[From Mrs. Robinſon's Poems.]

THOU art no more my boſom's friend;
Here muſt the ſweet deluſion end,
That charm'd my ſenſes many a year,
Thro' ſmiling ſummers, winters drear.—
O, Friendſhip! am I doom'd to find
Thout art a phanton of the mind?
A glit'ring ſhade, an empty name,
An air-born viſion's vap'riſh flame?
And yet, the dear deceit ſo long
Has wak'd to joy my matin ſong,
Has bid my tears forget to flow,
Chas'd ev'ry pain, ſooth'd ev'ry woe;
That truth, unwelcome to my ear,
Swells the deep ſigh, recalls the tear,
Gives to the ſenſe the keeneſt ſmart,
Checks the warm pulſes of the heart,
Darkens my fate and ſteals away
Each gleam of joy thro' life's ſad day.

Britain, farewel! I quit thy ſhore,
My native country charms no more;
No guide to mark the toilſome road;
No deſtin'd climes; no fix'd abode;
Alone and ſad, ordain'd to trace
The vaſt expanſe of endleſs ſpace;
To view, upon the mountain's height,
Thro' varied ſhades of glimm'ring light,
The diſtant landſcape fade away
In the laſt gleam of parting day:—
Or, on the quiv'ring lucid ſtream,
To watch the pale moon's ſilv'ry beam;
Or when, in ſad and plaintive ſtrains
The mournful Philomel complains,
In dulcet notes bewails her fate,
And murmurs for her abſent mate;
Inſpir'd by Sympathy divine,
I'll weep her woes—for they are mine.
Driven by my fate, where'er I go,
O'er burning plains, o'er hills of ſnow

† The law of Gravitation.

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Or on the boſom of the wave,
The howling tempeſt doom'd to brave,
Where'er my lonely courſe I bend,
Thy image ſhall my ſteps attend;
Each object I am doom'd to ſee,
Shall bid remembrance picture Thee.

Yes; I ſhall view thee in each flow'r,
That changes with the tranſient hour:
Thy wand'ring Fancy I ſhall find
Borne on the wings of every wind:
Thy wild impetuous paſſions trace
O'er the white wave's tempeſtuous ſpace;
In every changing ſeaſon prove
An emblem of thy wav'ring love.

Torn from my country, friends, and you,
The world lies open to my view;
New objects ſhall my mind engage;
I will explore th' hiſtoric page;
Sweet poetry ſhall ſoothe my ſoul;
Philoſophy each pang controul:
The Muſe I'll ſeek, her lambent fire
My ſoul's quick ſenſes ſhall inſpire;
With finer nerves my heart ſhall beat,
Touch'd by Heaven's own Promethean heat;
Italia's gales ſhall bear my ſong
In ſoft-link'd notes her woods among;
Upon the blue hill's miſty ſide,
Thro' trackleſs deſarts waſte and wide,
O'er craggy rocks, whoſe torrents flow
Upon the ſilver ſands below.
Sweet land of melody! 'tis thine
The ſofteſt paſſions to refine;
Thy myrtle groves, thy melting ſtrains,
Shall harmonize and ſooth my pains.
Nor will I caſt one thought behind,
On foes relentleſs, friends unkind;
I feel, I feel their poiſon'd dart
Pierce the life-nerve within my heart;
'Tis mingled with the vital heat,
That bids my throbbing pulſes beat;
Soon ſhall that vital heat be o'er,
Thoſe throbbing pulſes beat no more!
No—I will breath the ſpicy gale;
Plunge the clear ſtream, new health exhale;
O'er my pale cheek diffuſe the roſe,
And drink Oblivion to my woes.

ODE

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ODE TO HEALTH.

[From the ſame Work.]

COME, bright-eye maid,
Pure offſpring of the tranquil mind,
Haſte, my fev'riſh temples bind
With olive wreaths of em'rald hue
Steep'd in morn's ethereal dew,
Where in mild Helvetia's ſhade,
Bluſhing ſummer round her flings
Warm gales and ſunny ſhow'rs that hang upon her wings.

I'll ſeek thee in Italia's bow'rs,
Where ſupine on beds of flow'rs
Melody's ſoul-touching throng
Strike the ſoft lute or trill the melting ſong;
Where blith Fancy, queen of pleaſure,
Pours each rich luxuriant treaſure.
For thee I'll climb the breezy hill,
While the balmy dews diſtill
Odours from the budding thorn.
Drop'd from the luſt'rous lids of morn;
Who, ſtarting from her ſhad'wy bed,
Binds her gold fillet round the mountain's head.

There I'll preſs from herds and flow'rs
Juices bleſs'd with opiate powers,
Whoſe magic potency can heal
The throb of agonizing pain,
And thro' the purple ſwelling vein
With ſubtle influence ſteal:
Heaven opes for thee its aromatic ſtore
To bathe each languid gaſping pore;
But where, O where, ſhall cheriſh'd ſorrow find
The lenient balm to ſooth the feeling mind.

O, mem'ry! buſy barb'rous foe,
At thy fell touch I wake to woe:
Alas! the flatt'ring dream is o'er,
From thee the bright illuſions fly,
Thou bids the glitt'ring phantoms die,
And hope, and youth, and fancy, charm no more.

No more for me the tip-toe ſpring
Drops flowrets from her infant wing;
For me in vain the wild thymes bloom
Thro' the foreſt flings perfume;
In vain I climb th' embroider'd hill
To breath the clear autumnal air;
In vain I quaff the lucid rill
Since jocund health delights not there

To

To greet my heart: —— no more I view,
With ſparkling eye, the filv'ry dew
Sprinkling May's tears upon the folded roſe,
As low it droops its young and bluſhing head,
Preſs'd by grey twilight to its moſſy bed:
No more I lave amidſt the tide,
Or bound along the tufted grove,
Or o'er enamel'd meadows rove,
Where, on Zephyr's pinions, glide
Salubrious airs that waft the nymph repoſe.

Lightly o'er the yellow heath
Steals thy ſoft and fragrant breath,
Breath inhal'd from muſky flow'rs
Newly bath'd in perfum'd ſhow'rs,
See the roſy-finger'd morn
Opes her bright refulgent eye,
Hills and valleys to adorn,
While from her burning glance the ſcatter'd vapours fly.

Soon, ah ſoon! the painted ſcene,
The hill's blue top, the valley's green,
Midſt clouds of ſnow, and whirlwinds drear,
Shall cold and comfortleſs appear:
The howling blaſt ſhall ſtrip the plain,
And bid my penſive boſom learn,
Tho' Nature's face ſhall ſmile again,
And, on the glowing breaſt of ſpring
Creation all her gems ſhall fling,
Youth's April morn ſhall ne'er return.

Then come, Oh quickly come, Hygeian maid!
Each throbbing pulſe, each quiv'ring nerve pervade,
Flaſh thy bright fires acroſs my languid eye,
Tint my pale viſage with thy roſeate die,
Bid my heart's current own a temp'rate glow,
And from its crimſon ſource in tepid channels flow.

O Health, celeſtial nymph! without thy aid,
Creation ſickens in oblivion's ſhade:
Along the drear and ſolitary gloom
We ſteal on thorny footſteps to the tomb;
Youth, age, wealth, proverty, alike agree
To live is anguiſh, when depriv'd of thee,
To thee indulgent Heav'n benignly gave
The touch to heal, the extacy to ſave.
The balmy incenſe of thy ſoft'ring breath
Wafts the wan victim from the fangs of death,
Robs the grim tyrant of his trembling prize,
Cheers the faint ſoul, and lifts it to the ſkies.

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Let not the gentle roſe thy bounty dreſt
To meet the riſing ſun with od'rous breaſt,
Which glow'd with artleſs tints at noon-tide hour,
And ſhed ſoft tears upon each drooping flower,
With with'ring anguiſh mourn the parting day,
Shrink to the earth, and ſorrowing fade away.

SUBJECTS for PAINTERS, from SHAKSPEARE'S TEMPEST.

[From the Shakſpeare Gallery, by Mr. Jerningham.]

NOW, at the magic painter's wild command,
Girt with the ſea, aſcends th' enchanted land!
There ſtands Simplicity's endearing child †,
That artleſs maid! the flow'ret of the wild!
Beſide the margin of the wave-vex'd ſhore,
While all around conflicting thunders roar,
With unbound treſſes, flutt'ring to the wind,
Her eye expreſſive of her tortur'd mind,
She views the veſſel, by the ſurges toſt,
Now ſeen—now loſt—now found—now once more loſt;
Till, madly ruſhing on the pointed rock,
Its boſom riven with the forceful ſhock,
Beyond the ſtretch of naval art to ſave,
Down, down, it hurries to the watery grave!

Now Proſpero comes, with magic arts endu'd,
His ſable garb with hieroglyphics ſtrew'd;
Long care, long ſtudy, ſolitude profound,
Has deepen'd on his brow reflection's wound;
His long-deſcending hair, o'er blanch'd with age,
Becomes the ſorc'rer, and adorns the ſage:
Ah! view him at that dread, momentous hour,
While he abjures his necromantic pow'r!
Within the ring of Incantation's ground,
Elves, fairies, ſpirits, demons, flock around:
Beneath his foot behold the potent wand,
Doom'd ne'er again to grace his lifted hand!
Behold the volume, which (with myſt'ry fraught)
Predeſtination's darkling edicts taught,
And breath'd its ſolemn whiſpers on the mind,
With duſt o'erſpread, and to neglect conſign'd!
Yet then the diſtant ſcenery imparts
A dire remembrance of his former arts:
The bright ſun fading in his full career,
The wild ſtars madly ſtarting from their ſphere,
The ſtorm encumber'd ſky, the ſwelling main,
Th' uprooted cedars ſtretching o'er the plain,

† Miranda.

The

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The mountain looſen'd by convulſive throe,
With ruin ruſhing to the vale below,
And the pale wretch, reverſing nature's doom,
Abruptly riſing from the rifted tomb!

What glowing artiſt with bold hand ſhall claim
To draw, oh Ariel! they reſplendent frame;
Thou trickſy ſpirit with benignant ſmile,
Thou playful meteor of th' enchanted iſle!
Not like a ſea-nymph, rob'd in ſickly green,
With dappled wings, as on the ſtage thou'rt ſeen,
A gay tranſparency ſhalt thou appear,
Thy form celeſtial melting into air,
With foot light touching ſome fantaſtic height,
Prompt to depart, and ſtretching to thy flight.

Yet, ere we ſail from this enchanted iſle,
Let other ſcenes our ling'ring ſteps beguile:
There ſtands Anthonio, the ſuggeſting fiend,
And half reveals his purpoſe to his friend;
His boſom ſwells, his madd'ning eye-balls roll,
And ſhew the workings of his inmoſt ſoul.
All that his lawleſs, wild conceptions dare,
In various forms hang hov'ring in the air:
A ſword freſh-tainted with Alonzo's blood,
A ſceptre ſwimming in a crimſon flood,
A crown with dazzling ornaments o'erſpread;
And lightly floating o'er Sebaſtian's head;
While, in the diſtance, riſing o'er the bay,
Imperial Naples ſhall her tow'rs diſplay.

EXTRACT from PETER PINDAR'S ODE to his ASS, PETER.

[From the Remonſtrance, a Poem.]

O Thou, my ſolemn friend, of man deſpis'd,
But not by me deſpis'd—reſpected long!
To prove how much thy qualities are priz'd,
Accept, old fellow-traveller, a ſong.

My great great anceſtor of Lyric fame,
Immortal! threw a glory round the horſe;
Then, as I lit my candle at his flame,
That candle ſhall illumine thee of courſe.

For why not thou, in works and virtues rich,
In Fame's fair temple alſo boaſt a niche?
How many a genius, 'midſt a vulgar pack,
Oblivion ſtuffs into her ſooty ſack,

Calmly

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Calmly as Jew old-clothes-men, in their bags,
Mix ſome great Man's lac'd coat with dirty rags;
Or ſatin petticoat of ſome ſweet maid,
That o'er her beauties caſt an envious ſhade!
And what's the reaſon?—Reaſon too apparent!
Ah! "*quia vate ſacro carent*,"
As Horace ſays, that bard divine,
Whoſe wits ſo fortunately jump with mine.

Ah! Peter, I remember, oft, when tir'd,
And moſt unpleaſantly at times bemir'd,
Bold haſt thou ſaid, "I'll budge not one inch further;
"And now, young maſter, you may kick or murther."
Then have I cudgell'd thee—a fruitleſs matter!
For 'twas in vain to kick, or flog, or chatter.
Though, Balaam-like, I curs'd thee with a ſmack;
Sturdy thou dropp'dſt thine ears upon thy back,
And trotting retrograde, with wriggling tail,
In vain did I thy running rump aſſail:

For lo, between thy legs thou putt'dſt thine head,
And gaveſt me a puddle for a bed.
Now this was fair—the action bore no guile:
Thou duck'dſt me not, like Judas, with a ſmile.
O were the manners of ſome monarchs ſuch,
Who ſmile ev'n in the cloſe inſidious hour
That kicks th' unguarded minion from his pow'r!
But this is aſking p'rhaps of kings too much.

O Peter, little didſt thou think, I ween,
When I a ſchoolboy on thy back was ſeen,
Riding thee oft, in attitude uncouth;
For bridle, an old garter in thy mouth,
Jogging and whiſtling wild o'er hill and dale,
On ſloes, or nuts, or ſtrawb'ries to regale—

I ſay, O Peter, little didſt thou think,
That I, thy nameſake, in immortal ink
Should dip my pen, and riſe a wond'rous bard,
And gain ſuch praiſe, ſublimity's reward:

But not the laurel—honour much too high;
Giv'n by the king of iſles to miſter Pye,
Who ſings his ſov'reign's virtues twice a year,
And therefore cannot chronicle ſmall beer.

Yet ſimple as Montaigne, I'll tell thee true;
There are, who on my verſes look aſkew,

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And call my lyric lucubrations ſtuff:
But I'm a modeſt, not unconnyinge elf,
Or I could ſay ſuch things about myſelf—
But God forbid that I ſhould puff!

Yet natural are ſelfiſh predilections!
Like ſnakes they writhe about the heart's affections,
And ſometimes too infuſe a poiſonous ſpirit;
Producing, as by nat'raliſts I'm told,
Torpid inſenſibility, ſo cold
To every brother's riſing merit.

Wits to each other juſt like loadſtones act,
That do not always like firm friends attract;
Though of the ſame rare nature, (ſtrange to tell!
The little harden'd rogues as oft repel.
But lo, of thee I'll ſpeak, my long-ear'd friend!
Great were the wonders of thy heels of yore;
Victorious, for lac'd hats didſt thou contend;
And ribbons grac'd thy ears—a gaudy ſtore.

Buff breeches too have crown'd a proud proud day,
Not thou, but which thy rider wore away:
Triumphant ſtrutting through the world he ſtrode,
Great ſoul! deſerving an Olympic Ode.

Thy bravery often did I much approve;
Rais'd by that queen of paſſions, love.
Whene'er in love's delicous frenzy croſt
By long-ear'd brothers, lo, wert thou a hoſt!
Love did thy lion-heart with courage ſteel!
Quicker than that of Veſtris mov'd thy heel:
Here, there, up, down, in, out, how thou didſt ſmite!
And then no alderman could match thy bite!

And is thy race no more rever'd?
Indeed 'tis greatly to be fear'd!

Yet ſhalt thou flouriſh in immortal ſong,
To me if immortality belong;
For ſtranger things than this have come to paſs—
Poſterity thine hiſt'ry ſhall devour,
And read with pleaſure how, when vernal ſhow'r
In gay profuſion rais'd the dewy graſs,
I led thee forth, thine appetite to pleaſe,
And mid the verdure ſaw thee up to knees!

How, oft I pluck'd the tender blade;
And, happy, how thou cam'ſt at my command,
And wantoning around, as though afraid,
With poking neck didſt pull it from my hand,

Then

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Then ſcamper, kicking, frolickſome, away,
With ſuch a faſcinating bray!
Where oft I paid thee viſits, and where thou
Didſt cock with happineſs thy kingly ears,
And grin ſo 'witchingly, I can't tell how,
And dart at me ſuch friendly leers;

With ſuch a ſmiling head, and laughing tail;
And when I mov'd, how, griev'd, thou ſeem'dſt to ſay,
"Dear maſter, let your humble Aſs prevail;
"Pray, maſter, do not go away"—
And how (for what than friendſhip can be ſweeter?)
I gave thee graſs again, O pleaſant Peter,
And how when Winter bade the herbage die,
And nature mourn'd beneath the ſtormy ſky;
When waving trees, ſurcharg'd with chilling rain,
Dropp'd ſeeming tears upon the haraſs'd plain,
I gave thee a good ſtable, warm as wool,
With oats to grind, and hay to pull:
Thus, whilſt abroad December rul'd the day,
How plenty ſhew'd within, the blooming May!

And lo, to future times it ſhall be known,
How, twice a day to comb and rub thee down,
And be thy bed-maker at night,
Thy groom attended, both with hay and oat,
By which thy back could boaſt a handſome coat,
And laugh at many a fine court lord and knight,
Whoſe ſtrutting coats belong p'rhaps to the tailor,
And probably their bodies to the jailor!
What though no dimples thou haſt got;
Black ſparkling eyes (the faſhion) are thy lot,
And oft a 'witching ſmile and cheerful laugh;
And then thy cleanlineſs!—'tis ſtrange to utter!
Like ſin, thy heels avoid a pool, or gutter;
And then the ſtream ſo daintily doſt quaff,
Unlike a country alderman, who blows,
And in the mug baptizeth mouth and noſe!

What though I've heard ſome voices ſweeter;
Yet exquiſite thy hearing, gentle Peter!
Whether a judge of muſic, I don't know—
If ſo,
Thou haſt th' advantage got of many a ſcore
That enter at the Opera door.

ODE

ODE to HYMEN; or, the HECTIC.

[From the Rights of Kings, &c. By the ſame Author.]

GOD of ten million charming things,
Of whom our Milton ſo divinely ſings,
Once dove-tail'd to a devil of a wife—
Hymen, how comes it that I am ſo ſlighted?
Why with thy miſt'ries am I not delighted,
Which I have try'd to peep on half my life?
God of the down-clad chaplr, diſpel the miſt—
O put me ſpeedily upon thy liſt!
A civil liſt, like that of kings, I'm told,
Bringing in ſwelling bags of glorious gold!

What have I done to loſe thy good opinion?
Againſt thee was I ever known to rail;
And ſay, (abuſing thus thy ſweet dominion)
"Curſe me! if this boy's trap ſhall catch any tail!"
No! no!—I praiſe thy knot with bellowing breath,
Which, like Jack Ketch's, ſeldom ſlips till death.

Lo! 'midſt the hollow-ſounding vault of night,
Deep coughing by the taper's lonely light,
The hopeleſs Hectic rolls his eye-balls, ſighing:
"Sleep on," he cries, and drops the rend'ring tear;
Then kiſſes his wife's cherub cheek for fear:
"Bleſt be thy ſlumbers, love! though I am dying:
"Ah! whilſt thou ſleepeſt with the fondeſt truſt,
"I pump, for life, the putrid well of death!
"I feel of Fate's hard hand th' oppreſſive pow'r;
"I count the iron tongue of ev'ry hour,
"That ſeems in fancy's ſtartled ear to ſay—
"Soon muſt thou wander from thy wife away."

"Dread ſound! too ſolemn for the ſoul to bear,
"Murm'ring deep melancholy on my ear:
"And fullen—ling'ring, as if loth to part,
"And eaſe the terrors of my fainting heart.
"Yet, though I pant for life, ſleep thou, my dove,
"For well thy conſtancy deſerves my love."

And, lo! all young and beauteous by his ſide,
His ſoft, freſh-blooming, incenſe-breathing bride,
Whoſe cheek the dream of rapt'rous kiſſes warms,
Anticipates her ſpouſe's wiſh ſo good;
Feels love's wild ardours tingling through her blood,
And pants amidſt a ſecond huſband's arms;
Now opes her eyes, and, turning round her head,
"Wonders the filthy fellow is not dead!"

The HUE and CRY.

[From Poems by the Author of the Village Curate, and Adriano.]

OYEZ, my good people draw near,
My story surpasses belief,
Yet deign for a moment to hear,
And assist me to [illegible] a fury thief.

Have you chanc'd a fair damsel to meet,
Adorn'd like an angel of light,
In a robe that flow'd down to her feet,
No snow on the mountain so white.

Silver flowers bespangled her shoe,
Amber locks on her shoulders were spread,
Her waist had a girdle of blue,
And a beaver plum'd hat had her head.

Her steps an impression scarce leave,
She bounds o'er the meadow so soon;
Her smile is like Autumn's clear eve,
And her look as serene as his moon.

She seems to have nothing to blame,
Deceitless and meek as the dove;
But there lives not a chief of such fame,
She has pilfer'd below and above.

Her cheek has the blushes of day,
Her neck has undone the swan's wing,
Her breath has the odors of May,
And her eye has the dews of the spring.

She has [illegible] the rose,
She has dar'd the carnation to strip,
The bee who has plundered them knows,
And would fain fill his hive at her lip.

She has stol'n for her forehead so even
All beauty by sea and by land,
She has all the fine azure of Heaven
In the veins of her temple and hand.

Yes, yes, she has ransack'd above,
She [illegible] both nature and art,
She has got all we boast and love,
And from me she has pilfer'd my heart.

Bring her home, honest friends, bring her home,
And set her down safe at my door;
Let her once my companion become,
And I swear she shall wander do more.

Bring her home, and I'll give a reward
Whose value can never be told,
More precious than all you regard,
More in worth than a house-full of gold.

A reward such as none but a dunce,
Such as none but a madman would miss,
O yes, I will give you for once
From the charmer you bring me, a kiss.

PROJECT for the IMPROVEMENT of THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

[From Whist, a Poem.]

THAT dome, whose managers incessant strive
To keep the public appetite alive,
And feed their guests, on each returning night,
With varied treats of ever new delight;
Where yet delight is often sought in vain,
And languor and disgust too often reign;
One simple change might to a temple turn,
Where pleasure's lamp could never fail to burn;
How rich a feast would ev'ry play become,
If, like a pantomime, the scenes were dumb;
And liberty of speech to none allow'd,
But those distinguish'd from the vulgar crowd;
Who, thron'd betwixt the galleries and pit,
In vaulted cabinets of splendor sit!
We should not then frequent the house to hear
What Hamlet said a thousand years ago;
But flock to catch, in the politest way,
The news and scandal of the present day.
What perfect bliss from such a scheme appears
To all our faculties of eyes and ears!
The one delighted with the charms that flow
From graceful action, and the pomp of show;
The other ravish'd with the full display
Of all that wit and elegance could say.
A plan which promis'd thus their toils to ease,
The slothful players could not fail to please;
Nor would it cost them one triumphant hour,
Or circumscribe their fascinating pow'r.
For sure the Siddons, whose expressive eye

Each pause of language can so well supply,
Requires no succour from poetic art
To rouse, to soften, or to tear the heart;
Which, were it made of penetrable stuff,
Would find her gestures and her looks enough.
Nor less applause would crown the graces wild
Of sportive Jordan, Nature's charming child;
Whose romps, tho' mute, would be resistless still,
And all the house with endless laughter fill.
But much as those would love the change who sit
Or in the boxes, or the crowded pit;
I fear those vulgar souls, who perch'd on high
Behold improvement with a jealous eye,
Would loudly all against the motion cry.
But managers would from their duty stray,
Did they to such a voice attention pay;
Or risque offending the politer few,
To please the taste of such a tasteless crew.
Besides at times, or even once a week,
A play for them might be allow'd to speak.
The Orphan then, or some such vulgar thing,
Might 'prentice girls and country boobies bring;
Who there might all in maudlin concert whine,
And wet their handkerchiefs at ev'ry line;
And (silly souls!) to shew their sorrow, strive
That she should die who never was alive;
While we devoted the remaining nights
To those refin'd and elegant delights,
Which none can relish but the chosen band,
The flow'r and cream of each admiring land;
Who down the smooth expanse of fashion's tide
In pleasure's painted barge securely glide,
And o'er the glitt'ring wave in splendid triumph ride.

DESCRIPTION of the HORRORS of a GUILTY MIND.

[From Seventeen Hundred and Ninety-one, a Poem, in Imitation of the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal. By Arthur Murphy, Esq.]

YET think not that the wretch who finds a flaw,
To baffle justice, and elude the law,
Unpunish'd lives: he pays atonement due;
Each hour his malefactions rise to view;
Vengeance more fierce than engines, racks, and wheels,
Unseen, unheard, his mangled bosom feels.
What greater curse can earth or heaven devise,
Than his, who self-condemn'd in torture lies?
From agony of mind who knows no rest,
But bears his own accuser in his breast.

What

What charm ſhall bid theſe horrors rage no more,
Heal the hurt mind, and gentle peace reſtore?
That charm is virtue: virtue can ſupply
Comfort in life, and courage when we die.
Virtue the pureſt bleſſing can impart,
The conſcience clear, and ſelf-applauding heart.
At Delphos when a Spartan youth applied,
What think you then the Pythian Maid replied?
The treach'rous knave his friend's beſt treaſure ſtole,
And meant by perjury to keep the whole;
Unpractis'd yet in fraud, he aſk'd advice:
The prieſtleſs anſwer'd, "The bare thought is vice;
"Vice, that ſtrikes deep infection to the mind;
"Vice, that in time will retribution find."
And if the ſlave no deeper plung'd in ill,
Twas fear, not virtue, that controul'd his will.
Who but conceives a crime, with malice fraught,
Warps into vice, and kindles at the thought.
What though the embryo ſin conceal'd with art,
In thinking die? Guilt rankles in his heart.
If the ſtrong motive urge him to the deed,
Horror, remorſe, and miſery ſucceed.
See him at table, liſtleſs, wan with care,
In thick-eyed muſing loſt, and pale deſpair.
Within his mouth, now unelaſtic, flow,
The viands loiter, and inſipid grow.
In vain for him the banquet ſpreads it ſtore,
The rareſt banquet now can pleaſe no more.
In vain for him the mellowing years refine
The precious age of the pure racy wine.
In vain gay wit calls forth her magic train;
He flies the ſcene, to think, and dwell with pain.
No reſpite from himſelf, with cares oppreſs'd,
If weary nature ſink at length to reſt,
In the dead waſte of night pale phantoms riſe,
Stalk round his couch, and glare before his eyes.
The temple bends its arches o'er his head,
And the long iſles their ſolemn ſhades ſpread;
He ſees the altar pil'd, where he [illegible]
The violated altar of his God!
He groans, he riſes, but the conſcious mind
Wakes to worſe horrors than he left behind.
Of his fix'd doom each object is a ſign,
A viſitation from the pow'r divine!
Kindled in air if ſudden meteors fly,
And hollow murmurs ſhake the vaulted ſky,
No more the tempeſt ſprings from gen'ral laws;
The winds have now a preternatural cauſe.
'Tis god in wrath, that ſpreads his terrors round;
'Tis God, who now his enemies has found.

'Tis God's right arm, that shakes the distant pole,
Wings the red lightning, and the thunder rolls.
Soon as the warring elements subside,
And nature smiles with renovated pride,
Remorse and horror now no more appal;
'Tis chance, not providence, that rules the ball.
A fever comes: 'tis heaven's avenging rod!
Again he owns the attributes of God.
He dies, and leaves the church his children's share,
And hopes in heaven to make his soul his heir.
Such the deep pangs obdurate villains find;
Such the dire furies of the guilty mind.

ODE to HOPE.

[From genuine Poetical Compositions, &c. By Eliz. Bentley.]

O THOU! advance, whose heav'nly light
Can make each scene of sadness please;
On future bliss can fix the sight,
And anguish change to ease.

'Tis thou, sweet Hope, of race divine,
Who bid'st the Poet's thoughts aspire;
Thou breath'st thy influence o'er each line,
And add'st celestial fire.

Thou bid'st his anxious bosom glow,
To climb the steep ascent of fame;
To share that praise the just bestow,
And gain a deathless name.

The Painter fir'd by thee can trace,
Each genuine beauty Nature gives,
As on the canvas shines each grace,
Renown'd his mem'ry lives.

'Tis thou, sweet Hope, whose magic pow'r
The griefs of absence best can calm;
While Friendship chides each loit'ring hour,
Thou shed'st thy soothing balm.

Thou mak'st the captive's heart rejoice
In gloomy regions of despair;
In thought he hears fair Freedom's voice,
And breathes in purer air.

But oh! when thou forsak'st his breast,
What dismal horrors round him rise!
His mind, with weightier chains oppress
Deep sunk in sorrow lies.

The

The sailor on the wat'ry waste,
While hoist'rous waves terrific roar,
Thou bid'st ideal pleasures taste,
And tread his native shore.

The wretch whom keen Remorse assails,
Or he who feels Misfortune's dart,
His happless fate no more bewails,
Such joy thy beams impart.

When life presents her closing scene,
Thy radiant sun-shine chears the soul;
'Tis thou, bright Hope, with smile serene,
Can Fear's dread hand controul.

No mist obstructs thy piercing sight,
Thou bid'st the mind her greatness know;
Soaring, thou point'st to realms of light,
And scorn'st to rest below.

The DISAPPOINTMENT, a RUSTIC TALE.

[From Poems, wherein it is attempted to Describe certain Views of Nature, and of Rustic Manners, &c.]

ON village green, whose smooth and well worn sod,
Cross-path'd with every gossip's foot is trod;
By cottage door where playful children run,
And cats and curs sit basking the sun:
Where o'er the earthen seat the thorn is bent,
Cross-arm'd, and back to wall, poor William leant.
His bonnet broad drawn o'er his gather'd brow,
His hanging lip and lengthen'd visage shew
A mind but ill at ease. With motions strange,
His listless limbs their wayward postures change;
Whilst many a crooked line and curious maze,
With clouted shoon, he on the sand pourtrays.
The half-chew'd straw fell slowly from his mouth:
And to himself low-mutt'ring, spoke the youth.
" How simple is the lad! and reft of skill,
" Who thinks with love to fix a woman's will:
" Who every Sunday morn, to please her sight,
" Knots up his neck-cloth gay, and hosen white:
" Who for her pleasure keeps his pockets bare,
" And half his wages spends on pedlar's ware;
" When every niggard clown, or dotard old,
" Who hides in secret nooks his oft told gold,

" Whose field or orchard tempts with all her pride;
" At little cost may win her for his bride;
" Whilst all the meed her silly lover gains
" Is but the neighbours' jeering for his pains.
" On Sunday last when Susan's bans were read,
" And I astonish'd sat with hanging head,
" Cold grew my shrinking limbs, and loose my knee,
" Whilst every neighbour's eye was fixed on me.
" Ah, Sue! when last we work'd at Hodge's hay,
" And still at me you jeer'd in wanton play;
" When last at fair well pleas'd by show-man's stand,
" You took the new-bought fairing from my hand;
" When at old Hobb's you sung that song so gay,
" Sweet William still the burthen of the lay;
" I little thought, alas! the lots were cast,
" That thou should'st be another's bride at last:
" And had, when last we tripp'd it on the green
" And laugh'd at stiff-back'd Rob, I ill thought I ween,
" Ere yet another hasty month was flown,
" To see thee wedded to the hateful clown.
" Ay, lucky swain, more gold thy pockets line;
" But did these shapely limbs resemble thine,
" I'd stay at home, and tend the household gear,
" Nor on the green with other lads appear.
" Ay, lucky swain, no store thy coffers lacks,
" And round thy barn thick stand the shelter'd stacks;
" But did such features hard my visage grace,
" I'd never budge the bonnet from my face.
" Yet let it be: it shall not break my ease;
" He best deserves who doth the maiden please.
" Such silly cares no more shall give me pain,
" Nor ever maiden cross my rest again.
" Such grizzly suitors with their taste agree
" And the black fiend may take them all for me!

Now thro' the village rise confused sounds,
Hoarse lads, and children shrill, and yelping hounds.
Straight ev'ry matron at the door is seen,
And pausing hedgers on their mattocks lean;
At every narrow lane, and alley mouth,
Loud laughing lasses stand, and joking youth.
A near approaching band in colours gay,
With minstrels blythe before to cheer the way,
From clouds of curling dust which onward fly
In rural splendour break upon the eye.
As in their way they hold so gayly on,
Caps, beads, and buttons glancing in the sun,
Each village wag, with eye of roguish cast,
Some maiden jogs, and rends the ready jest;
Whilst village toasts the passing belles deride,
And sober matrons marvel at their pride.

But

But William, head erect, with ſettled brow
In ſullen ſilence view'd the paſſing ſhew;
And oft' he ſcratch'd his pate with manful grace,
And ſcorn'd to pull the bonnet o'er his face;
But did with ſteady look unmoved wait,
Till hindmoſt man had turn'd the church-yard gate:
Then turn'd him to his cot with viſage flat,
Where honeſt Tray upon the threſhold ſat.
Up jump'd the kindly beaſt his hand to lick,
And, for his pains, receiv'd an angry kick.
Loud ſhouts the flapping door with thund'ring din;
The echoes round their circling courſe begin,
From cot to cot, in wide progreſſive ſwell,
Deep groans the church-yard wall and neighb'ring dell,
And Tray reſponſive joins with long and piteous yell.

STANZAS from the Ode for the 14th of July, 1792, the Anniverſary of the Revolution in France. By Robert Merry. A Muſician Mad, and ſung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

FILL high the ſparkling glaſs,
And let the electric ruby paſs
From hand to hand, from ſouth to ſouth,
Who ſhall the energy controul,
Exalted, pure, refin'd,
The Health of Humankind!

Not now a venal tribe ſhall raiſe
The ſong of proſtituted praiſe,
To Sov'reign's who have ſeiz'd their power:
But at this gay, this lib'ral hour,
We bleſs what Heaven deſign'd,
The Health of Humankind!

We turn indignant from each cauſe
Of Man's diſmay, from partial laws,
From Kings who vainly ſeek by flight,
To ſhun the blaze of moral light;
We bleſs what Heaven deſign'd,
The Health of Humankind!

TRANSLATION of a POEM of HALLER.

[From Curioſities of Literature, &c.]

AH! woods for ever dear, whoſe branches ſpread
Their verdant arch o'er Hafel's breezy head,
When ſhall I once again, ſupinely laid,
Hear Philomela charm your liſt'ning ſhade;

Where

When ſhall I ſtretch my careleſs limbs again,
Where, gently riſing from the velvet plain,
O'er the green hills, in eaſy curve that bend,
The moſſy carpet Nature's hands extend;
Where all is ſilent! ſave the gales that move
The leafy umbrage of the whiſp'ring grove;
Or the ſoft murmurs of the rivulet's wave,
Whoſe chearing ſtreams the lonely meadows lave.

O Heav'n! when ſhall once more theſe eyes be caſt
On ſcenes where all my ſpring of life was paſs'd;
Where, oft reſponſive to the fallen rill,
Sylvia and Love my artleſs lays would fill:
While Zephyr's fragrant breeze, ſoft breathing, ſtole
A pleaſing ſadneſs o'er my penſive ſoul.
Care, and her ghaſtly train, were far away;
While calm, beneath the ſheltering woods, I lay
Mid ſhades, impervious to the beams of day.

Here—ſad reverſe! from ſcenes of pleaſure far,
I wage with ſorrow unremitting war:
Oppreſs'd with grief, my ling'ring moments flow,
Nor aught of joy, or aught of quiet, know.
Far from the ſcenes that gave my being birth,
From parents far, an outcaſt of the earth!
In youth's warm hours, from each reſtriction free,
Left to myſelf in dangerous liberty.

Now pale diſeaſe ſhoots through my languid frame,
And checks the zeal for wiſdom and for fame.
Now droops fond Hope, by Diſappointment croſs'd;
Chill'd by neglect, each ſanguine wiſh is loſt.
O'er the weak mound ſtern Ocean's billows ride,
And waſt deſtruction in with every tide;
While Mars, deſcending from his crimſon car,
Fans with fierce hands the kindling flames of war.

Her gentle aid let conſolation lend:
All human evils haſten to their end.
The ſtorm abates at every guſt it blows:
Paſt ills enhance the comforts of repoſe.
He who ne'er felt the preſſure of diſtreſs,
Ne'er felt returning pleaſure's keen exceſs.
Time, who Affliction bore on rapid wing,
My panting heart to happineſs may bring.
I, on my native hills, may yet enhale
The purer influence of the ambient gale.

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Ah! ſcenes of early joy! ah, much-lov'd ſhades!
Soon may my footſteps tread your vernal glades.
Ah; ſhould kind Heav'n permit me to explore
Your ſeats of ſtill tranquillity once more!
E'en now, to Fancy's viſionary eye,
Hope ſhews the flatt'ring hour of tranſport nigh.
Blue ſhines the æther, when the ſtorm is paſs'd;
And calm Repoſe ſucceeds to Sorrow's blaſt.
Flouriſh, ye ſcenes of ever new delight!
Wave wide your branches to my rapt'ur'd ſight!
While, ne'er to roam again, my wearied feet
Seek the kind refuge of your calm retreat.

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DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1791.

THE Domestic Literature of the year 1791, has been uncommonly barren of publications in Biblical criticism.

The first article which we have to insert in our History is, a notice of the appearance of the fifth and sixth volumes of "A short and plain Exposition of the Old Testament &c. by the late Rev. Job Orton, published from the Author's MSS. by Robert Gentleman." These volumes, which complete the editor's plan, are executed as a similar manner with the preceding ones. For a general character of this work, we refer our readers to our history of the Domestic Literature of the year 1788.

In our Register for the last year we announced the publication of a "New Translation of Isaiah, with Notes supplementary to those of Dr. Lowth, &c. by a Layman." During the present year there appeared "Short Remarks on that work, in a Letter to the Author, by John Sturges, LL. D." The object of Dr. Sturges is to support the translation of Dr. Lowth in many passages, in which the layman contended that there occurred important mistakes and defects, particularly in passages cited in the New Testament from the prophet. In this publication, the abilities and learning of Dr. Sturges appear to considerable advantage, and the temper and moderation with which he writes are highly commendable. But we have not met with anything in his reasoning, which has tended to diminish the value which we formerly put on the layman's version.

These remarks soon called forth an answer, in "A Letter to the rev. Dr. Sturges, &c. by Michael Dodson, Esq." who avows himself to be the author of the New Translation and Notes. In this letter Mr. Dodson vindicates his former translation and criticisms, as well as his remarks on Dr. Lowth, with admirable skill, and with becoming candour and liberality. To the lovers of Biblical learning we recommend this pamphlet, together with the remarks of Dr. Sturges, as what will afford them instruction and pleasure. To polemics they offer excellent specimens of the manner in which contests

tests for truth ought to be conducted.

The "Essay on a Passage of St. Paul, 1 Cor. II. 10. addressed to the lord bishop of Exeter, and published at his lordship's Request, by John Hayter, M. A." contains a specimen of conjectural criticism, which, without doing violence to the text, tends greatly to elucidate a passage at which the ablest commentators have stumbled. The following is the translation of the verse which he proposes: "on this account a woman, as the distinguishing mark of her sex, ought to have some covering on her head, on account of the spies." His reasons for the reading by which he supports this translation, discover much learning and ingenuity, and would have lost nothing of their force, nad they been unaccompanied with that severity of sarcasm with which he speaks of the interpretations of former critics.

Mr. Ashdowne's "Attempt to shew that the Opinion concerning the Devil, or Satan, as a fallen Angel, and that he tempts Men to sin, hath no real Foundation in Scripture," is a publication which reflects credit on the author's industry and ingenuity. His criticisms on the texts in which the words Satan, devil, or evil spirit, occur are, in general, judicious and unexceptionable; and the arguments by which he supports his positions, are delivered with great candour and modesty. Those who contend that the opinion of fallen angels or malignant spirits having access to the minds of men, and the power to tempt them to evil, is one of the corruptions introduced into the Christian religion from the oriental philosophy, will find in Mr. Ashdowne a well informed and useful auxiliary.

The "View of the external Evidence of the Christian Religion, by the Rev. James L. Moore," contains a short abstract of the testimonies in favour of our holy faith, arising from the fulfilment of prophecy, the miracles and resurrection of Christ, his moral character, the concurrence of incidental information in profane historians, and the progress of christianity notwithstanding the discouragement and opposition it met with. This little volume is drawn up in an easy and popular style, and is well adapted for the information of those, who have not either leisure or inclination to peruse larger treatises on this subject. We could have wished, however, that the author, in a work of this nature, which should have been unexceptionable to Christians of every different sentiment and opinion, had admitted of no expressions or reasoning, which can only be used by persons attached to particular systems of theology.

The "Essay on the Manner in which Christianity was intended to improve Morality, by the Rev. John Leadley, M. A." has been deemed worthy of the Norrisian prize in the university of Cambridge. It is a sensible and elegant production: and if the observations and arguments which it contains do not come recommended by the charms of novelty, that is to be attributed, in a considerable degree, to the nature of the subject proposed for discussion, which has so frequently been the theme of able christian moralists.

Dr. Edward Parry, in his "Theological, Philosophical, and Moral Essays," has delivered sentiments and observations on a variety of subjects of importance to human happiness, which are frequently animated and impressive, and always of a serious

or useful tendency. What he is principally to be blamed for is, too great an inattention to perspicuity and propriety of language, and a too great attachment to a diffuse declamatory style.

The "Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World, by one of the Laity," is a performance evidently written with the best views, and entitled to a considerable share of commendation. The design of the author is, to enquire into the causes of the decline of christianity in the more polite and higher ranks of life; to obviate the objections which are commonly urged against the supposed strictness and severity of manners which religion enjoins; and to expose their inconsistency who, while they profess to receive christianity as an object of faith, refuse to make it their rule of life. On these topics the author offers a variety of important observations and remarks, which he recommends not only by weight and force of argument, but by politeness and ease of style and language. To numbers of readers this estimate will be the more acceptable, on account of its proceeding from the pen of an orthodox and zealous member of our established church.

As a proper supplement to the last mentioned article, we may venture to recommend a little treatise entitled "Thoughts on Card-Playing," which, as well as the former, is an anonymous publication. In these thoughts the author, with much solid and serious argument, exposes the excess of a practice which has become almost universal, not only in the fashionable world, but in every class of society; and which is not confined to the hours of formal visiting, and occasional amusement, but is suffered to intrude on the moments which should be devoted to wholesome recreation and exercise, to friendly and improving conversation, or to the discharge of necessary and domestic duties. It is on these grounds that he reprobates card playing, and not, as the more severe religionist would do, by contending for its sinfulness; excepting so far as it is sinful to be guilty of an imprudent waste of time.

Sir Adam Gordon's "Affectionate Advice from a Minister of the established Church to his Parishioners, upon the most plain and positive Duties of Religion, with some Cautions against the prevailing Spirit of Innovation," contains a number of hints and observations relative to the duties of religion in general, and to the institutions of public worship in particular, which deserve the attention of readers of every denomination. But his principal design is, to caution his parishioners against deserting the communion of the established church, and being led away by the seductions of methodistic enthusiasm. We have no reason to doubt but that the author's practice as a christian minister, is consistent with the affectionate advice which he instils into their minds, through the medium of this pamphlet; and that he is instant, in season and out of season, in the discharge of his pastoral duties. Such is the practice that will justify him in using the language of this little work, and prove, at the same time, the most effectual preventative of the mischiefs which he deprecates.

Mr. Wakefield, in his "Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of public or social Worship," endeavours to establish the following curious and novel positions: that the practice of our Saviour discountenances public worship; that his precepts, either directly or indirectly

directly, prove it not only to be unauthorized by christianity, but inconsistent with it; and that with respect to the practice of the apostles, whatever he has been able to discover relative to the subject, "is either wholly consistent with private worship, or, from the peculiarity of its circumstances, or its dissimilarity to what is now called social worship, cannot, with any cogency, or shew of reason, be pressed into the service of the cause which he is combating." In reading this pamphlet, we have had frequent opportunity for admiring Mr. Wakefield's ingenuity, in commenting on those parts of scripture which are generally thought to afford authorities for the practice of public worship, as well as the bold decisive spirit with which he draws his conclusions. But we cannot say that we have so far felt the weight of his arguments, as to be induced to admit his positions, or convinced of the inexpediency of social worship. In different parts of his work, he introduces pointed and severe strictures and sarcasms on the manner in which public worship is conducted in the established church, and particularly among the Dissenters, which will afford a high gratification to those of his readers who may not possess that spirit of seriousness and piety, which, we doubt not, actuates Mr. Wakefield's mind; but which were neither necessary nor proper to be introduced into a discussion, in which truth, and not applause, is the author's object.

Mr. Williams's "Discourse on the Influence of religious Practice upon our Enquiries after Truth, &c." appears to have been written, chiefly, with a view to controvert an opinion suggested by Mr. Belsham, in his sermon to the supporters of the New College at Hackney, "that men who are the most indifferent to the practice of religion, and whose minds therefore are least attached to any set of principles, will ever be first to see the absurdity of a popular superstition, and to embrace a rational system of faith." In this discourse the author displays great piety, and goodness of intention, and an ardent zeal for the interest of the calvinistic system, which Mr. Belsham has renounced. These are more pre-eminent features in his pamphlet, than strength and acuteness of reasoning.

"A Plain Man's Creed, or the Principles of genuine Christianity, endeavoured to be candidly and impartially stated, by a Layman," is the production of a person of plain good sense, who is willing to assist in disrobing Christianity of the veils under which enthusiasm and superstition have endeavoured to conceal her simple and beautiful form. His intention is laudable; and if we cannot subscribe to all his articles, we think them, on the whole, rational and unexceptionable.

The "Plain and rational Account of Salvation by Jesus Christ, &c. by J. Gough, A. B." is intended to combat the doctrine of a vicarious sacrifice; and to shew, that where it is said in scripture Christ died for us, the meaning is, he died on account of, not instead of us; and that his death was necessary, not to satisfy the demands of divine justice, but to ensure to mankind the blessings of the new covenant, which could not have been conveyed to them but through a mediator. For this idea of the Christian redemption, which differs little, if at all, from that of Clarke, and of others who have sometimes been classed in the middle theological school, the author contends with modesty and good temper.

The treatise entitled "Elements Chris-

Chriſtiana; the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England proved to be agreeable to the Word of God, in their literal and grammatical Senſe, &c. by the Rev. Thomas Hervey," is drawn up in the catechetical form, and details, in plain and perſpicuous language, the arguments commonly adduced to prove that the articles are conformable to Chriſtian verity. The author, however, does not bring any acceſſion of force to the ſide which he eſpouſes.

The "Syllabus of Chriſtian Doctrines and Duties, in the Catechetical Form, &c. by S. Newton," is publiſhed "for the uſe of thoſe who would wiſh to judge for themſelves of the nature and influence of the Chriſtian religion, from the uncorrupt language of divine revelation, and who are deſirous of communicating the knowledge of it in an eaſy and familiar manner to their families." The queſtions and the anſwers of Mr. Newton are drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to inſtil into the minds of young perſons a bias in favour of the Calviniſtic ſyſtem. It will be acceptable, therefore, to thoſe who agree with him in ſentiment, and who think it their duty to initiate their children early in the principles of their own orthodox creed.

"The Doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity briefly aſſerted and vindicated; confided to a generous Public, by the Rev. Henry Evans Holder," contains a number of comments on texts of ſcripture, and arguments for the commonly received doctrine, which are ſufficiently familiar to thoſe who have paid any attention to the Trinitarian controverſy. But we have ſeen them uſed by abler advocates, and with much greater advantage. In zeal, however, Mr. Holder gives place to none of his fellow combatants; and we are ſorry to find, that it occaſionally tranſports him beyond the bounds which a liberal and Chriſtian ſpirit would preſcribe.

"Arius ſlain, and Socinus mortally wounded, &c. and addreſſed to Joſeph Prieſtley, LL.D. F.R.S. by an Old Seaman," is a treatiſe, the ſtyle and phraſeology of which are occaſionally well adapted to the wits of the forecaſtle, and will be reliſhed by ſuch of the author's old meſſmates as are fond of dabbling in theological controverſy. How likely his arguments are to produce conviction in landſmen, we muſt leave his readers to determine. According to his own account, he "has the teſtimony of the whole word of God, even that of all the inſpired prophets, and apoſtles" on his ſide; while the advocates for the hereſies which he oppoſes, have only their own aſſertions, or thoſe of other fallible men, to ſupport their opinions. And he thanks God, that Dr. Prieſtley, who, he ſuppoſes, is endeavouring to deſtroy the truth as it is in Chriſt, has no other weapons to make uſe of than artillery which is "only ſingle caſt, honeycombed with ruſt, of wicked Cain's mould, therefore, in a ſhort time will burſt, and deſtroy the whole crew with an utter and eternal deſtruction."

"Socinianiſm unſcriptural, or the Prophets and Apoſtles vindicated from the Charge of holding the Doctrine of Chriſt's meer Humanity, &c. by the late Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madely", continued by Joſeph Benſon, conſiſts of a number of letters, in which the author introduces a long detail of quotations from the Old Teſtament, and from the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, to prove the Divinity of Chriſt; and that he appeared to Abraham, Jacob,

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ob, Moses, and the other Old Testament saints. Mr. Benson's Continuation is entitled, "A Demonstration of the Want of Common Sense in the New Testament Writers, on the Supposition of their believing and teaching the above mentioned Doctrine," i.e. Socinianism. Mr. Fletcher's letters were confessedly left by him in a very unfinished and imperfect state; and it would not have proved any injury to the cause they are intended to support, or to the memory of the author's catholicism, if they had been entirely kept from the notice of the public. Mr. Benson's Continuation possesses no great claims to merit, when considered as an exhibition of his argumentative powers.

The "Letter to the Rev. J. Edwards, &c. by G. Hodson, jun." contains Strictures on the unitarian creed, as explained in an address from Mr. Edwards to a congregation of baptists at Liverpool: and an attempt to support the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Whatever applause Mr. Hodson may be thought entitled to from the goodness of his intention, and the temper with which he writes, we do not think that he will be considered as having effected much towards terminating the controversy.

Mr. Edwards, in his "Vindication of the Sentiments contained in a late Address, &c." enters into a fuller and more particular discussion of the question in debate. In this treatise he shews that he is well acquainted with the Controversy; and presses on his opponents those passages of Scripture, and those arguments, which have been advanced by the ablest supporters unitarianism. The heat and acrimony, however, which occasionally appear in his pages, do no service to his cause.

The "Letter addressed to a Member of the Church of England, containing remarks on his Defence of the Trinitarian Doctrine", is the work of an anonymous author, who possesses considerable knowledge and abilities, and delivers his opinions and arguments, with that dispassionate liberal spirit which we wish always to prevail among polemics. The cause of Mr. Edwards meets with a strenuous supporter in this writer.

It is not in our power to give our readers any clear idea of what they may expect to meet with in Mr. Lewelyn's Tracts, entitled "An Exposition of the Beginning of Genesis, vol. I. An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, vol. II. The Doctrine of Baptism, "vol. III. ΜΟΡΦΗ ΘΥ, vol. IV." They contain such a farrago of mysticism and absurdity, that we can scarcely conceive them to have been penned by a serious religionist, in the competent possession of his faculties. If the author in writing them, had any particular object in view, it should seem that it was to revive the long forgotten sect of the Anthropomorphites.

"Antinomianism unmasked and refuted, &c. by Maria de Fleury", attempts to reconcile high orthodoxy with morality; or to shew, that the principles of Calvinism do not militate against the moral law, which the scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments declare to be still in full force, as the rule of the Christian's conduct. The design is well meant; and is pursued with spirit and with zeal, more than proportioned to the experience of the author in theological disputation.

"Mystery Babylon encompassed for utter Destruction, &c. by Thomas Jones," is written in answer to the last mentioned article, and contains a weak defence of principles which cannot be espoused by any who are not Antinomians, although the author is unwilling to be ranked in that class.

"The Barber, or Timothy Priestley shaved, as reflected from his own Looking Glass, the Operator William Huntingdon," and "The Barber's Mirror, &c. being Remarks on that Gentleman's Pamphlet," relate to the squabbles of two pulpit quacks, about the infallibility of their respective nostrums; and contain more nonsense and illiberality, than seriousness or wit.

In taking notice of the different treatises in controversial theology, which have engaged the public attention during the present year, we must not omit to mention, that the old dispute about infant baptism has been attempted to be revived by the Rev. Edward Williams, in his "Antipædobaptism examined, in two vols." In this work the author professes, not only to give a full reply to Mr. Booth's Pædobaptism examined, which we noticed in our Register for 1784, but also to the arguments and objections of Dr. Stennet, in answer to Dr. Addington, to Dr. Gale's Reflections on Dr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism, and to other writers who have maintained the same side of the controversy. He likewise enters into an investigation of the nature of positive institutions in general, and occasional strictures on human ceremonies in matters of religion. Mr. Williams appears to have paid great attention to the subject which he engages to discuss, and to have suffered none of the former writers on the question, of any established fame, to pass by without a close and particular examination. The scope which he prescribed to himself has necessarily rendered his work prolix: but it must be acknowledged, that he has in a great measure compensated for this evil, by the value of his matter, and that his argument is managed with great shrewdness and ability. The view of the question which Mr. Williams takes, is consistent with the Calvinistic doctrine.

"The Divine Œconomy of Christ in his Kingdom, or Church, as practised, taught, and ordained by himself, to continue, according to Scripture alone, by George Bruning," appears to have been published in consequence of the resentment which the author has felt, on viewing the depredations committed by the bold innovators of the present day on the patrimony of St. Peter; and the rapid progress of opinions, which threaten, eventually, to deprive the head of the church of all power and dignity, excepting as *spiritualibus*. Alarmed for the honour and rights of the keeper of the keys, this writer, with the Scriptures in his hands, undertakes to prove, that the authority conferred by our Saviour on St. Peter, was superior to what was granted to any other of the apostles; and that all invasions on the privileges or the property of his successors, are profane and sacrilegious. For the manner of his accommodating the Scriptures to this doctrine, which is growing very unfashionable in the world, we must refer our readers to his publication.

Falkland's "Essay on Bigotry, Innovation, and Infidelity, as respectively supported by Doctors Burke, Priestley, and Toulmin," &c. is a publication, in perusing which we found ourselves alternately pleased, and dissatisfied; disposed

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bſed to beſtow a high ſhare of ommendation on the author, for he ſound and incontrovertible ar- uments which he advances in ſup- ort of an unlimited and univerſal xtenſion of religious liberty, and bliged to cenſure him for his fre- uent inconſiſtency with his own rinciples, and for advancing ſenti- ments and obſervations that ſavour rongly of the intolerance and bi- otry againſt which he proteſts. While he laments that "the mind f many a Briton remains enſlaved y inquiſitorial decretals, feared by he obſolete penalties of a cruel ode"; and expreſſes a hope that even this generation may ſee the appy day, in which the hand of berality will pull down the old artition wall which bigotry has rected in the fane of chriſtianity"; ve applaud and ſympathiſe with is liberal and philoſophic ſpirit. ut when we find him condemning he efforts of the men who would boliſh that cruel code, and remove hat partition wall, which belongs ot to the building, and conceals its roportion and beauty; we are orry that the author is no better cquainted with the principles, and hat he would entirely deſtroy the alue of that liberty of which he vould be thought the advocate. We think the general principles of his eſſay better calculated to repreſs hat ſpirit of cruelty and inhumani- y, which bigotry too commonly xcites in it's votaries, than to mancipate the world from the ty- anny of prejudice and ſuperſtition.

The "ſhort Treatiſe in ſupport of National Religion, &c. by a Gentle- nan of the Church of England," is he production of a mind very dif- erently conſtituted from that of the aſt mentioned writer. He ſpeaks of the unreſtrained toleration of ectaries as a moſt "pernicious li- berty;" and would inflict the wholeſome ſeverities of "fine, im- priſonment, or bodily puniſhment, ſteadily and unremittingly," on every perſon who, by any means whatſoever, publiſhes opinions or ſuppoſitions contrary to thoſe of the mother church. What an admir- able auxiliary would this gentle- man prove to the humane fathers of the inquiſition, in practiſing their gentle methods of propagating the pure orthodox faith! We commend him to the pity of every charitable heart; and to the illumination of that divine religion, which was in- tended to promote among men mutual forbearance, and the inter- change of the mildeſt and moſt be- nevolent affections, and which uni- formly proteſts againſt every ſpecies of deſpotiſm over conſcience, by whomſoever, and under whatſoever pretences it may be aſſumed.

Of a very different and oppoſite complexion is "An Eſſay on Eccleſi- aſtical Eſtabliſhments in Religion, ſhewing their hurtful Tendency, &c. by a Proteſtant Diſſenter." The intention of this author is to prove, that the connexion of the church with the ſtate, by means of which one ſect alone became excluſively eſtabliſhed and patronized, has been the principal cauſe of the evils which have taken place in the world, on account of religion; that ſuch eſta- bliſhments are inconſiſtent with rea- ſon, ſince they interfere with the unalienable rights of individuals to worſhip God, without ſuffering any injury or oppreſſion on that ac- count; that they are inconſiſtent with the genius of chriſtianity, ſince they diſcourage that liberality and freedom of enquiry, which that reli- gion not only recommends but enjoins on its followers; and ſince all the genuine and uſeful purpoſes of that religion, would be more completely

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anſwered without ſuch adventitious and ruinous ſupport. Whatever be the opinion of his readers, relative to the principle for which the author contends, and his ſucceſs in eſtabliſhing it, they muſt acknowledge that he writes with calmneſs and good temper; and that many of the obſervations which occur, could not have proceeded but from a well-informed and liberal mind. To this eſſay are added two diſcourſes, containing a comment on the 14th chapter of the book of Revelation, in which, as the author conceives, is predicted the deſtruction of all civil eſtabliſhments of religion. How far he has been able to unravel the difficulties of that dark and myſterious book, we muſt leave his readers to determine.

The "Review of the Policy, Doctrines, and Morals of the Methodiſts," is the production of a ſenſible writer, and contains a number of important remarks, worthy of the notice of the people whom he undertakes to deſcribe, as well as of readers in general. But we do not think him ſufficiently informed in the hiſtory of methodiſm, nor ſufficiently candid towards its profeſſors. Diſapproving as we do of the theological tenets of that people, and of the methods by which they have propagated them, we think, notwithſtanding, that they have produced much more good than evil to ſociety. Under this conviction, we adopt a part of the author's concluding reflection, but with greater confidence than he ſeems to profeſs in the reſult. "Providence may be employing this inſtrument for introducing more knowledge and virtue among men. If it ſhould prove the means of directing the ignorant to ſerious enquiry, and rouſing men of virtue and underſtanding to the defence and ſupport of genuine religion: if it ſhould ſtimulate the miniſters of religion to exert themſelves in recommending the ſublime doctrines and pure precepts of the Goſpel, and in adorning them by the meekneſs and innocence of their lives; this would be the way to reſcue the ignorant and deluded from the hands of enthuſiaſts and impoſtors; and then Chriſtianity would become a light to enlighten the Gentiles, the honour and ornament of human nature, and the glory of all its profeſſors."

Dr. Prieſtley's "Letters to the Members of the New Jeruſalem Church, formed by Baron Swedenborg," were written, in conſequence of his attention being drawn to that perſuaſion, by the forming of a church, and the building of an elegant place of worſhip for them at Birmingham, as well as his acquaintance with the miniſters and leading members of that church. With theſe perſons the doctor lived in friendſhip; and was ſupplied by them with as many of the writings of Mr. Swedenborg, as he wiſhed to ſee. Theſe writings he read with much care; and the reſult was a determination to publiſh the letters before us. The doctor's object is, partly, to lay before the public a clear and accurate view of the diſtinguiſhing and peculiar tenets of that new ſect; and, partly, to expoſe the incongruities in their ſyſtem, and to conciliate them to unitarianiſm. To thoſe who have a curioſity to known what are the opinions which are held by this "ſtriking variety in the modes of Chriſtian faith and practice," without undergoing the drudgery of reading the voluminous and heavy works of the baron, they will prove an acceptable preſent; and we think them well calculated, from the candid liberal manner in which they are

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are written, to prevent those who will read and think for themselves, from becoming converts to his system.

The "Candid and impartial Reply to the Rev. Dr. Priestley's Letters, &c. by J. Proud, N. H. M." is the production of a shrewd and ingenious writer, and is penned with good temper and urbanity. This gentleman, who is the minister of the New Jerusalem Church at Birmingham, frankly acknowledges that Dr. Priestley has given a fair statement of the peculiar notions of the Swedenborgians, the objections to which he endeavours to do away, and to vindicate them both from reason and scripture. We do not think, however, that his attempt to remove the doctor's objections, will be thought successful by any who are not initiated in *the science of correspondences*, that inexplicable key to the scriptures, which was lost to the world till happily restored by the baron. Nor do we think his arguments likely to make converts, excepting among such as are possessed of minds sufficiently docile to believe implicitly in the inspiration of that modern apostle, on the ground of his own confident assertions, and of what the most subtle logician would be puzzled to make amount even to presumptive evidence.

"Emanuel Swedenborg's New Year's Gift, for the Year 1791", is intended to vindicate the writings of that author from a suspicion, entertained on mistaken grounds, that they were favourable to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment. It also contains an account of some of the choice mysteries of Emanuel, which we are unable to comprehend; and an invitation to the enlightened "to separate themselves from all other bodies of Christians, and form associations, here and there, in order to serve the Lord together in a manner more rational, as well as more agreeable to the fundamental doctrines of the true church."

The "Liturgy, compiled from the Book of Common Prayer, Reformed, according to the Plan of the late Dr. Samuel Clark, &c. printed at Plymouth," contains an order for morning prayer, and two orders for evening prayer; orders for the administration of the Lord's supper, for infant baptism, for that of adults, and for the burial of the dead; morning and evening prayers for a family; occasional payers; occasional thanksgivings; and a collection of psalms and hymns for public worship, taken, for the most part, from those of Dr. Watts, with alterations. In this liturgy, which is intended for the use of unitarian congregations, a number of judicious additions and alterations from Dr. Clarke's plan are introduced, which, in our opinion, add greatly to its value, while it is rendered more unexceptionable to persons holding different religious sentiments.

Of a similar character are the "Forms of Prayer, for public Worship," which, as the advertisement informs us, were compiled for the use of an evening lecture among the protestant dissenters in Portsmouth. In this volume, however, there is a greater variety than in that which we have just noticed. It contains five distinct orders for prayer; of which the first and second are taken from Dr. Clark's reformed liturgy, with a few alterations, and the other three from the liturgies published about thirty years ago, for the use of a protestant dissenting congregation in Liverpool. From the apperance of these

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and similar publications, it is evident, that the aversion to liturgies, which formerly characterized almost all the dissenters from our established church, is rapidly declining. And the measure which numbers of them have adopted, of accommodating our public liturgy to their own sentiments, affords more than a presumption, that a judicious revisal of our public service and doctrines, would greatly diminish the number of non-conformists. Both these circumstances certainly deserve the notice of the governors of our church; and they add considerable force to the reasoning in the excellent treatises entitled, "Hints, submitted to the serious Consideration of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly associated, by a Layman," and "Considerations on the Expediency of reviving the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, by a consistent Protestant;" of which we freely expressed our opinion, in this department of our Registers for the years 1789 and 1790.

Among the Sermons of the year 1791, we shall, in the first place, call the attention of our reader to such as are posthumous.

In this number we meet with a second volume of Sermons by the late rev. John Logan, F.R.S. Edin. The general character which we gave of the first volume of these discourses, in our Register for the last year, is, upon the whole, applicable to the volume before us. The subjects which have been selected, are miscellaneous, but chiefly practical; and are treated in a pleasing and popular manner. Some of them are of that species of composition which in the Scotch church are called lectures, and consist of explanations of connected portions of scripture, together with practical observations and reflections deduced from them. Others appear to contain little more than outlines, which were filled up by the author in the course of his delivery.

The "Sermons now first printed from the Original Manuscripts of John Wallis, D. D. sometime Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II." have been published by a descendant of that celebrated and good man, who thought them too valuable to be buried in oblivion; and who imagines that they will be acceptable and useful to those who have no objection to discourses of a puritanical cast. The subjects of these sermons are chiefly practical; their style and language are plain and simple; and their doctrinal part is Calvinistic. That class of christians with whom the opinion of Mr. De Coetlogon is of any weight, are informed by him, in a recommendatory introduction to the volume, that "it is absurd and ignorant to deny, that the doctrines contained in them are the doctrines of the reformation of the church of England, and which is more than all, of the sacred scriptures." Prefixed to these sermons we have memoirs of the author, which appear to be authentic, and which are more particular and interesting than any before communicated to the public.

The two volumes of "Sermons on several Subjects, by John Pilkington Morgan, M. A. late Vicar of Hitchin, Herts, &c." are, on the whole, plain, practical, and useful. They were not, however, intended by the author for the press, but are a posthumous publication; the favourable reception of which by the public will be an act of benevolence towards the relations of the deceased.

Dr. Tatham's "Chart and Scale of Truth, by which to find the Cause

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of Error, &c, in two Volumes," belongs more properly to philoſophy than to theology. The ſubſtance of theſe volumes, however, was delivered at the lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, under the name of divinity ſermons, in order to be entitled to the ſum left by that gentleman, to be annually diſtributed to ſuch lecturers as ſhall be appointed by the heads of colleges in Oxford, to preach on particular ſubjects ſpecified in his will. With the form of them, Dr. Tatham has taken a conſiderable liberty in this publication; which he thought himſelf juſtified in doing, as it appeared to be the beſt method of accompliſhing the end he had in view. And notwithſtanding that he is more voluminous than his predeceſſors, ſo prolific is his invention, and ſo excurſive his pen, that in theſe volumes he has only executed one third part of his intention. The plan of the author, in what he has already completed, is, "to trace the diſtinct and proper principles, to point out the right method of reaſoning, and to mark that juſt aſſent, all correſponding with each other, which appertain to the different kinds of truth, as they ſeverally relate to intellect, the will, and the imagination; and this for the expreſs and ſpecial purpoſe of aſcertaining the proper nature, the particular method, and the peculiar genius of theologic truth." The firſt volume is chiefly ſcientific, and is divided into a number of heads and ſubdiviſions, in which few readers will take any pleaſure in accompanying the author, excepting ſuch as have been accuſtomed to mathematical deduction. The object of it is, to combat the logic of Ariſtotle, and to exalt the fame of Bacon at the expence of the Stagirite. The ſecond volume, which is more miſcellaneous, treats of theological principle, and its effect upon the mind; of theological reaſoning, and theological truth. The minuter diviſions, our limits will not permit us to ſpecify. In this part of his work we meet with frequent opportunities of admiring Dr. Tatham's ingenuity and learning; although we are obliged more frequently to diſſent from his principles, and to deprecate the conſequences of the ſyſtem which he would eſtabliſh. In our opinion, it tends to deſtroy all connection between reaſon and religion, which muſt prove fatal to the intereſts of both; and inſtead of ſerving as a guide to our acquaintance with truth, is calculated "to thicken and confirm the clouds of ignorance and ſuperſtition, which continue to envelope the greater part of the Chriſtian church." But we ſhall probably have it in our power to return to an examination of his principles, when more fully unfolded, and applied to the other parts which are intended to complete the author's plan. In the courſe of his lectures, Dr. Tatham finds opportunity to expreſs the contempt in which he holds the learning of the diſſenting miniſters, "that formal and pompous claſs of men;" and to treat the abilities of the late biſhop Lowth, as diſplayed in his Prælectiones de ſacra Poeſi Hebræorum, in a manner rather unbecoming the rank which has been generally aſſigned him in the learned world.

Mr. Kett's "Sermons preached before the Univerſity of Oxford, in the Year 1790, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton," are intended to ſupport the orthodox ſyſtem of doctrine maintained by our eſtabliſhed church, againſt the inſinuations, or direct attacks, of Dr. Middleton, Mr. Gibbon, and Dr. Prieſtley. His labours commence with an apology for the fathers of the church, whoſe

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character, as historians, as learned men, and as faithful depositaries of the true doctrine of the gospel, he defends with great zeal and animation. Miraculous powers, he contends, were exercised in the church, till the reign of the emperor Julian. In opposition to the animadversions of Mr. Gibbon, he vindicates the apologies of the primitive Christians, and corrects the misrepresentations which that gentleman had given of the causes which contributed to the propagation of the Christian faith. Mr. Kett afterwards undertakes to discuss and refute the leading principles in Dr. Priestly's History of the early opinions concerning Christ. The concluding sermons of the volume are employed in establishing the authenticity and inspiration of the books of the New Testament, and in tracing an analogy between the primitive church and the church of England, on which he bestows a warm and elegant eulogy. From the perusal of these sermons we have received a high degree of pleasure, although we have frequently found ourselves obliged to differ from the learned author, in his construction of the sense of ecclesiastical history, in his reasonings, and in his deductions. We think him, however, entitled to very respectful attention, from the unquestionable marks of learning and ingenuity which he discovers; which are likewise recommended by great perspicuity, manliness, and elegance of style.

Mr. Morres's "eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1791," at the Bampton lecture, are principally employed in tracing the evidence of divine revelation. These he examines, as consisting in the complete proof which is afforded of the authenticity and authority of the scriptures, as far as it depends on human testimony; the nature and value of their internal testimony, as far as it is necessary or expedient to consider that as a criterion of truth; the reasonableness of the doctrine, the morality, and the œconomy of the gospel; and the necessity of the Christian faith, and its sanctions, to our religion, and to our morality. On these topics, which have at different times employed the pens of many of our ablest writers, Mr. Morres has not introduced any thing which can give him a claim to originality of thought, or to superiority in argument, over his predecessors. The other subjects which he discusses are, religious establishments, heresy, and the application of the general doctrine of his sermons to the present times. What he has said on these subjects shews, at least, that he is not inferior in zeal to any of the champions of our national church. For he contends, under apprehension of the mischiefs which would follow from the slightest innovations or attempts to examine what he acknowledges was left imperfect at the Reformation, "that the liturgy and discipline of the church of England must be complied with, notwithstanding all imperfections and improprieties, if nothing positively wicked can be discovered; which is not the case." As compositions, these sermons do not possess any distinguishing merit.

Dr. Parker's two volumes of "Discourses on special Subjects, preached before the University of Oxford, and upon other Occasions," are to be announced as a republication, and not as a new work; since they contain only a collection of such discourses as the doctor had before printed, and concerning which the public opinion has already been formed.

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The two volumes of "Sermons, y the Rev. Geo. Butt, A. M. haplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, cc." after being preached in the hapel Royal, are offered by the uthor as candidates for the appro-ation of the public. The ſubjects f them are, "Conſideration, Faith, epentance, Love to God and Man, e Beatitudes, and the Importance of arly religious Inſtruction; to which added, a Diſcourſe delivered during ne Late Indiſpoſition of the King." t is but juſtice to ſay, that Mr. Butt has diſcovered in theſe ſermons, onſiderable abilities and application. His ſentiments are often ſtriking, nd his language bold and energetic. But he frequently betrays a bad taſte n his choice of words; and intro-uces falſe ornaments into his com-oſition, which deſtroy its chaſteneſs nd perſpicuity. Theſe volumes re recommended by a very reſpect-ble liſt of ſubſcribers.

The "Sermons on moral and re-igious Subjects, by Will. Jones, M. A. F. R. S. in two volumes." re, chiefly, of a practical and uſeful endency; and ſeem to have been dictated by a truly pious and benevo-ent ſpirit. They are not, however, o be commended for any great epth of thought, or cloſeneſs of eaſoning. Neither do ſuch of them s are intended to diſplay the good-eſs of God, from thoſe wonders vhich an acquaintance with natural iſtory unfolds, diſcover any accurate nowledge of true principles in phi-oſophy. The author is, likewiſe, o fond of allegory, and ſpiritual al-uſions, that plain and common eaders will not eaſily underſtand many of his remarks and illuſtra-ions.

"Cauſtoniana, or twelve Diſ-ourſes, addreſſed to the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of Cauſton, in Norfolk, by Thomas Bowman, M. A." ap-pear to be the productions of a pious, orthodox clergyman, who is not willing that his ſervices to thoſe over whom he has watched for twenty years, ſhould be confined to his la-bours in the pulpit; and, therefore, with a diſintereſted zeal for their beſt intereſts, offers them this little volume. The deſign is truly com-mendable; and will, doubtleſs, meet with acceptance from thoſe who have been edified by Mr. Bowman's diſcharge of his paſtoral duties.

Mr. Percival Stockdale's "Thir-teen Sermons to Seamen, preached on Board of his Majeſty's Ship Leander, in the Bay of Gibraltar," are chiefly on practical and moral ſubjects, within the comprehenſion of the audience to whom they were delivered. They abound in pure and juſt ſentiments, judicious re-marks, and ſerious pathetic addreſs. Occaſionally the author is guilty of a redundancy of ſtyle, and affected phraſeology, which could not have rendered his meaning very intelligi-ble to his hearers. And he has, in his preface, introduced ſevere and uncandid reflections on modern re-formers, which might have been omitted, without leaving any room for ſuſpecting his own ortho-doxy.

The merit of the publication, en-titled, "Family Lectures, or Domeſ-tic Divinity," conſiſts in its compre-hending, in one large volume, at a reaſonable price, a great number of ſermons, by different authors of the preſent century, who have acquired an eſtabliſhed reputation as ſound divines, and as able judicious writers. The following is the liſt of their names: Atterbury, Newlin, Sher-lock, Butler, Balguy, Fothergill, Tottie, Newton, Aſhton, Horberry, Waterland, Stone, Langhorne, Ge-rard, and Stebbing.

The volume of "Sermons on prac-

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practical Subjects, by Andrew Kippis, D. D. F. R. S, &c." is the production of an author, who hath sufficiently established his reputation in the literary world, by different valuable publications. These discourses were not sent abroad to increase his fame, or to rival the popular labours of his contemporaries; but were selected from his usual pulpit compositions, in compliance with the desire of several of his congregation, who had frequently urged him to present them with such a specimen of his services, as their pastor. The subjects which they discuss are important and edifying; and the manner in which the author has treated them, will be acceptable to every well-wisher to the interests of piety and virtue, whatever his own peculiar opinions may be. As compositions, they are regular, argumentative, and impressive; and cloathed in perspicuous, easy, and often elegant language.

The "Sermons by Robert Walker, senior Minister of Canongate, Edinburgh, and F.R.S. Edinburgh," are chiefly on practical subjects, and contain a number of just and important sentiments, and seasonable truths, which are particularly deserving the notice and recommendation of those who would guard the rising generation against the scepticism and immorality of the fashionable world. The style in which they are written, is such as is best adapted to popular discourses; perspicuous, easy, and often animated. When theological opinions are introduced by the author, they are such as are conformable to the creed of the Scotch national church.

The "Sermons preached before the University of Glasgow, &c. by James Bell, D. D." are the productions of a sensible and judicious author, and will be found highly instructive and useful. They abound much in striking and well-drawn delineations of character, and discover an intimate acquaintance with men and manners. Their style, with the exception of a few Scotticisms, is chaste, clear, and nervous. With respect to controversial theology, Dr. Bell has wisely avoided intermixing its dogmas with his moral and practical reasonings, which are adapted to benefit persons of the most discordant opinions.

The "Sermons on the Heart, by John Jameson, M. A. in two Volumes," will be principally acceptable to those who are familiar with the phraseology of the puritanical writers, and who have imbibed the tenets of systematic Calvinism. With peculiar recommendations to such readers, Mr. Jameson discovers, likewise, abilities much above mediocrity, and a serious devotional spirit, which every person must admire and commend.

"Parental Duty, or the religious Education of Children illustrated and urged, in several Discourses, by the Rev. George Jerment," is a publication which contains much serious and useful advice to parents, delivered in plain and unaffected language. What we chiefly find in them to discommend is, the stress which the pious author seems to lay on peculiar opinions in theology, and the zeal with which he urges the early initiation of youth into the trammels of system.

Turner's "Expositions of some of the most highly picturesque and interesting Passages of Scripture, &c." although they are not published under the name of Sermons, cannot be properly referred to any other class of composition. The subjects of them are, Abraham offering up Isaac; the case of Jacob, under the apprehension of an attack from his brother

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brother Esau; Joseph making himself known to his brethren; the Jewish and Christian churches contrasted; the parable of the sower; the parable of the prodigal; the rich man and Lazarus; and the story of Zacheus. We cannot say that we have met with any thing in these expositions, which entitle them to much commendation. They are written in a familiar and declamatory manner; and are, in general, of a practical and useful tendency. But we cannot approve of the frequency with which the author indulges to fanciful and mystical interpretations, which instead of elucidating historical narrative, and the lessons which it is intended to enforce, endangers the rendering of them confused, perplexing, and of little advantage to the reader.

Among the single sermons and episcopal charges of the year 1791, of which our limits will permit us to take notice, the first which we shall introduce to our readers is, "a Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of West-minster, on Monday, Jan. 31st, by William, Lord Bishop of Chester." In this discourse, after expatiating on the design of Christianity to strengthen and support law and government, and insisting on the peculiar force which our ecclesiastical establishment adds to the civil constitution of this country, and contending that they cannot be separated without the ruin of both, the learned prelate enters the lists against the political and ecclesiastical reformers of the age. To whatever suspicions, among good churchmen, some particular members of the episcopal bench may have exposed themselves, by the liberality of their discourses on the 30th of January, and their favourable disposition towards sectaries, Dr. Cleaver has left no room to doubt his principles. Against the fashionable doctrine of the Rights of Man, he erects the banners of hostility. The French revolution he characterises as "an humiliating spectacle of above twenty millions of people, melted, as it were, into a shapeless mass, and waiting till providence shall determine their fate." Against innovation, whatever form of moderation it may affect, he zealously protests, when it approaches the fences which our ancestors have drawn round church and state. He even goes so far against every species of reform, as to assert, that the establishment of the church must fall with the liturgy. And he draws a melancholy picture of the consequences to be expected from the spread of Socinianism, which, in his opinion, opposes the doctrines which "comprise nearly all that can interest the hopes and fears, and therefore all that can influence the practice of a Christian." How far the right Rev. preacher's principles and statements are consistent with the true spirit of the British constitution, with fact, right reason, and Christian charity, our readers will determine for themselves.

"The Charge of Samuel, Lord Bishop of St. David's, to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered at his primary Visitation, in the Year 1790," is the next article which we shall present to our readers. The principal object of the author is, to convince the clergy of the impropriety of fixing on moral duties, as the favourite and almost exclusive subjects of their pulpit discourses; and to engage them chiefly to insist on the great topics of faith, the peculiar doctrines of Revelation, such as "the trinity of persons in the undivided godhead, the incarnation of the second person, the expiation of sin by the Redeem-

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Redeemer's ſufferings and death, the efficacy of his interceſſion, and the myſterious commerce of the believer's ſoul with the divine ſpirit." The effect which he encourages them to hope for, from complying with his advice, is, that the common people, "nouriſhed with the ſincere milk of the word, by their proper paſtors, would refuſe a drink of doubtful quality, mingled by a ſtranger; the churches would be thronged, while the moralizing unitarian would be left to read his dull weekly lecture, to the walls of his deſerted conventicle; and the field-preacher would bellow unregarded to the wilderneſs." We have ſeldom met with a compoſition more reprehenſible for ſome of its ſingular and irrational opinions, or more illiberal and intolerant in its ſpirit and tendency, than this Charge of Dr. Horſley. The uſe of reaſon in religion he utterly explodes. In his zeal for revelation, he ſpeaks of the inſignificance of natural religion, which is its baſis; and makes morality the ſame as ſocial virtue, which is only a branch of it. But the haughty intolerant ſpirit which this Charge breathes, is peculiarly diſgraceful to his character as a chriſtian biſhop; as is the groſs perſonal obloquy which he pours on ſome of the principal of his theological opponents, whom he aſſociates with infidels and atheiſts. How could Dr. Horſley prepare himſelf for, and engage in, the diſcharge of one of the moſt ſolemn duties of his office; with a temper ſo diſſimilar from the humble, mild, charitable ſpirit of the goſpel?

Of a very different nature from Dr. Horſley's, is the "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Landaff, June 1791, by Richard Watſon, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Biſhop of Landaff." This excellent diſcourſe, inſtead of irritating the minds of its readers, and exciting a ſpirit of bigotry and intolerance, is admirably calculated to promote that candour, chriſtian benevolence, and liberal views of religion and policy, which have ever diſtinguiſhed the good prelate's character, and which are peculiarly honourable to the rank he holds in the church. The ſentiments which he expreſſes reſpecting the French revolution, and the changes which it has introduced in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, are ſuch as muſt have been dictated by an enlarged, well-informed mind, and a genuine love of freedom. So likewiſe muſt his direct and explicit diſapprobation of the penal ſtatutes and reſtraining laws of this country, which render our toleration incomplete, and exclude diſſenters from the common rights of citizens. But that his opinions may not be miſtaken, or miſrepreſented, his lordſhip takes the opportunity of avowing that, with the moſt liberal ſentiments towards thoſe who are of a different perſuaſion, his predilections are in favour of the eſtabliſhment of which he is a member; that on ſerious and well conſidered grounds, he prefers prelacy to preſbytery, the uſe of a liturgy to extempore prayers, and a legal payment to a gratuitous ſupport of the clergy. He, however, execrates that bigotry which many of it's members poſſeſs, which, claiming a blind and implicit reverence, reprobates diſcuſſion, and would oppoſe everlaſting barriers againſt becoming and neceſſary improvement. We recommend this Charge to our readers, for the good ſenſe, important obſervations, and truly conciliating chriſtian ſpirit by which it is diſtinguiſhed; and on account of its being peculiarly ſeaſonable at this very intereſting period.

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The last single sermon of which we can take any notice, is entitled "The proper Objects of Education in the present State of the World, represented in a Discourse delivered on the 27th of April, 1791, at the Meeting-House in the old Jewry, London, to the Supporters of the New College at Hackney, by Joseph Priestley, L. L. D. F. R. S, &c." This discourse will be found to contain numerous evidences of the author's strength and comprehensiveness of mind, and of his usual boldness and freedom in discussion, as well as a variety of observations worthy the attention of those who wish for the improvement of the human species. What the doctor recommends, as principally deserving the notice of the instructors of youth, at the present period, when "we must be at the eve of great revolutions, such as will rouse the faculties and call forth the exertion of great numbers," are the forming them for the proper discharge of their duty, as members of domestic and civil society, and leading them to an interested attention to general truth, general liberty, and general happiness. On these topics he expatiates in a manner peculiarly suited to the business of the day, and in correct, nervous, and animated language. Many of his incidental reflections, likewise, are very important and interesting; particularly those to which he is led when contemplating the progress of reformation in the religious as well as civil state of society, to which an accelerated force is communicating by the general diffusion of "knowledge that finally governs mankind; and to which power, though ever so refractory, must at length yield."

Under the head of Philosophy, the first work which claims our notice is "The History of Philosophy, from the earliest Times to the Beginning of the present Century, drawn up from Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiæ, by William Enfield, L. L. D. in 2 vols. 4to." This work is a valuable acquisition to the British student. It contains the substance of a voluminous publication, in six closely-printed 4to vols. which Dr. Enfield properly calls "a vast magazine of important facts, collected with indefatigable industry, digested with admirable perspicuity of method, and written with every appearance of candour and impartiality." Stanley's History of Philosophy was the only one which, before this publication, seemed to promise much assistance to those who were desirous of taking a general survey of the rise and progress of opinions, on the more important subjects of speculation, and of drawing conclusions for themselves, from a fair comparison of different systems. The plan of that work, however, extends little farther than to the history of the Grecian sects; and the author is to be considered rather as an industrious compiler, than a judicious critic. The present history is divided into three periods. The first period, which is extended from the earliest times to the decline of the Roman republic, comprehends the Barbaric philosophy, including that of all ancient nations among whom the Greek language was not spoken; and the Grecian philosophy, as divided into the fabulous, political, and sectarian. The second period, from the decline of the republic to the revival of letters, comprehends the philosophy of the Romans; the oriental philosophy; the philosophy of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, under which is included the philosophy of the Saracens or Ara-

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Arabians; and the philoſophy of the Chriſtians, from the birth of Chriſt to the ſeventh century. The third period, extending from the revival of letters to the beginning of the preſent century, contains the hiſtory of attempts to reſtore and correct the ſectarian philoſophy, for which we are indebted to the reſtoration of learning, and particularly to the revival of the ſtudy of the Greek language; of attempts to introduce new methods of philoſophiſing, by modern ſceptics, ſcriptural philoſophers, theoſophiſts, and profeſſed enemies of philoſophy; and of attempts to improve philoſophy in general, or particular branches of it, in the true eclectic method. From this ſhort account our readers may be able to form a general idea of the information and entertainment they may expect to derive from the work before us. Dr. Enfield's labours, in compreſſing the original, in ſelecting the moſt intereſting materials, and in giving a faithful repreſentation of its genuine ſenſe and meaning, entitle him to a conſiderable ſhare of praiſe. It was a difficult taſk which he undertook: and he has executed it in ſuch a manner as will, doubtleſs, ſecure to his work a favourable reception in the literary world. In the arrangement, in the ſtyle, and in the language, his judgment and taſte are equally conſpicuous.

The next article which we have to introduce to our readers is, "The Philoſophy of ancient Greece inveſtigated, in its Origin and Progreſs, to the Æras of its greateſt Celebrity, in the Ionian, Italic, and Athenian Schools, with Remarks on the delineated Syſtems of their Founders, &c. by Walter Anderſon, D. D." Dr. Anderſon, after beſtowing due encomiums on Mr. Stanley's work, to whoſe extenſive reſearches he acknowledges himſelf conſiderably indebted, ſets out with obſerving, that the deficiencies of that author, in information reſpecting the firſt and early traces of literature and philoſophy among the Greeks, and in confutations of ſuch principles and tenets as are of impious or immoral tendency, were the principal circumſtances that engaged him to publiſh this volume. His object, therefore, is to correct ſuch faulty omiſſions; to give place "to remarks upon the reaſoning employed by the moſt eminent of the Grecian philoſophers, in ſupport of their *phyſical*, *theological*, and *moral* ſyſtems; to give a fuller and more connected diſplay of their theories and arguments; and to relieve the frigidity of their bare details, by interſperſing obſervations." This work is divided into nine parts, which treat, 1. Of the appearance and character of the ſeven ſages of Greece. 2. Of Pythagoras, and his inſtitution of the Italic ſchool. 3. Of the atomical philoſophy, and the Sophiſts. 4. Of Socrates, Ariſtippus, the Cyrenaics, and the Cynics. 5. Of Plato, and his ſucceſſors in the academy. 6. Of Ariſtotle, and his ſucceſſors in the Lycæum. 7. Of Arceſilas, and the middle academy. 8. Of Epicurus, and his ſchool. 9. Of Zeno, and the Stoics. Dr. Anderſon appears to be poſſeſſed of a ſufficient ſtock of erudition, and metaphyſical acuteneſs, to have qualified him for the undertaking in which he engaged; and his account of the different Grecian ſchools, and of their theories and reaſonings, is accurate and perſpicuous. It is not, however, recommended by equal graces of ſtyle and language with the laſt publication which we noticed.

The "Notes and Additions to Dr. Hartley's Obſervations on Man, by

y Herman Andrew Piſtorius, ranſlated from the German Ori. inal, &c." conſtitute a third volume f a new edition of that celebrated ork. The character which Dr. Hartley's ſyſtem bears in the philo-ophical world, is ſufficiently known o our readers, as well as the exten-ve and rapid ſpread of his doctrine. Theſe notes, of Piſtorius contain nuch accurate and judicious rea-oning, in illuſtration of what is ather obſcure in the original work; nd ſhew, that, like Dr. Hartley, he as united to an acquaintance with hiloſophy, an intimate knowledge f theology and morals. And they re diſtinguiſhed, not only by great etaphyſical acuteneſs and inge-uity, but by abundant evidences of n enlarged, liberal, and pious mind. To this volume is prefixed a ſhort nd well-written ſketch of Dr. Hart-ey's life and character, by his ſon, David Hartley, eſq.

The treatiſe intitled, "The Free-om of Human Actions explained nd vindicated, in which the Opi-ions of Dr. Prieſtley on the Subject re particularly conſidered," is the ublication of an author, who does ot conſider the queſtion to have een diſcuſſed with ſufficient preci-ion, by modern metaphyſicians; nd who imagines that he is able to hrow that light upon it, which will ompletely overturn the arguments f the Neceſſitarians, and firmly ſtabliſh the doctrine of liberty. We annot ſay that he is the moſt accu-ate and profound metaphyſician, who has undertaken to conteſt the octrine of philoſophical neceſſity; ior is there any thing ſufficiently novel in his reaſonings, to call for a particular reply from the defenders f that doctrine.

"The Nature, Extent, and Pro-ince of human Reaſon conſidered," s intended to oppoſe the objection which is frequently urged againſt particular theological tenets, that they are contrary to reaſon, and there-fore cannot be founded in truth. The definition which is given of reaſon in this work, is not preciſe and de-terminate. It is ſometimes con-founded with comprehenſion, and ſometimes with judgment. Such an indiſcriminate uſe of the term leads, as may be ſuppoſed, to reaſon-ings that are not always correct, and to concluſions not ſtrictly logical. This obſervation will meet with the concurrence of ſuch readers of this treatiſe, as may differ eſſentially with reſpect to the principle which it is meant to eſtabliſh.

Among the different treatiſes of the year on ſubjects relative to Go-vernment, Political Œconomy, and Law, the firſt which attracts our no-tice is, the "Analyſis of the Science of Legiſlation, from the Italian of the Chevalier Filangieri." This treatiſe contains only the proſpectus of a larger work, which was pub-liſhed in part during the author's life-time, and the remainder from materials which were left by him in proper arrangement. The plan of the chevalier, which has employ-ed his time and attention for ſeve-ral years, is divided into ſeven books, under the following heads: 1. The general rules of legiſlative ſcience. 2. Laws political and œco-nomical. 3. Criminal laws. 4. Education, manners, and public inſtruction. 5. Laws which re-ſpect religion. 6. Laws which re-ſpect property. 7. Laws relating to paternal authority, and the good order of families. The reception which this work has met with in Italy, is highly honourable to the character of the author, as a wri-ter on ſubjects of legiſlation; and affords ſtriking teſtimony to the progreſs which freedom of en-quiry, and liberality of ſentiment,

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are making in countries not yet emancipated from the yoke of deſpotiſm. And the author's deligence of inveſtigation, accuracy of judgment, and bold ſpirit of enquiry, have contributed to render it a work of peculiar merit, which deſerves the attention and encouragement of every friend to the liberties and happineſs of mankind. We hope that the tranſlator of this analyſis, who appears to be well qualified for ſuch a taſk, will be encouraged to proceed in laying before us, in our native tongue, the whole of the Chevalier Filangieri's valuable work. We perfectly concur with him in opinion, "that the liberal and manly ſtyle adopted by this writer, in expoſing the numerous errors which diſgrace our preſent ſyſtems of juriſprudence; the ſagacity which ſeems to have pointed out remedies neceſſary to be applied to thoſe errors; the enthſiaſm of liberty, and the amiable ſpirit of philanthropy which pervade his whole theory, not to mention the prophetic effuſions which animate many paſſages of his work, will render a tranſlation, executed with fidelity, by no means unacceptable to an Engliſh reader."

"The Hedaya, or Guide, a Commentary on the Muſſulman Laws, tranſlated by Order of the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, by Charles Hamilton," in 4 vols. 4to," is a work which may be conſidered as a very valuable addition to Engliſh literature. It includes in it a complete ſyſtem of Muſſulman juriſprudence. In the words of the tranſlator, "the Hedaya is an extract from a number of the moſt approved works of the early writers on juriſprudence, digeſted into ſomething like the form of a regular treatiſe, although in point of arrangement it is rather deſultory. It poſſeſſes the ſingular advantage of combining with the authorities, the different opinions and explications of the principal commentators on all diſputed points, together with the reaſons for preſerving any one adjudication in particular; by which means the principles of the laws are fully diſcloſed, and we have not only the dictum, but the moſt ample explication of it." Our limits will not permit us to enter into a more particular ſpecification of the contents of theſe volumes, which are divided into fifty-three chapters. From this account, however, and from the conſideration of the intimate connexion of our own country with the numerous governments whoſe conduct is regulated by theſe laws, our readers will expect to find it a ſingularly important and intereſting publication. And we can aſſure them that they will not be diſappointed. To the legiſlator, to the hiſtorian, and to the curious inquiſitive ſcholar, they will afford much information and entertainment.

The eſſays "on Government, addreſſed to the Public, by Thomas Wycliffe," conſiſt, partly, of treatiſes on government, with a particular reference to the ſituation and conſtitution of this country, which have already been ſubmitted to the public, in detached forms; and, partly, of additional eſſays, in continuation of the author's plan. The ſubjects of the latter are, the art of civil government according to St. Paul; a plan for emancipating the negroes in the Weſt Indies from ſlavery, and thereby eventually aboliſhing the ſlave-trade; charters; the liturgy of the church of England; a ſuppoſed ſcale of rank in the ſtate, for the purpoſe of raiſing a voluntary revenue, either for the particular ſervice of the church, or for the general ſer-

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vice of the ſtate; and taxes, and the expenditure of the public money. The author of theſe eſſays appears to be actuated by pure motives of patriotiſm; and many of his obſervations are ſuch as will meet with the approbation of the friends to improvement, and to human nature. Some parts of his plans may be deemed too eccentric; and others inadequate to the rational objects which he has in view. They are, however, deſerving of an attentive and candid examination.

"The great and important Diſcovery of the Eighteenth Century, and the Means of ſetting right the National Affairs, by a great addition of numerous and ineſtimable uſeful Deſigns, and Public Improvements, &c. by George Edwards, eſq. M. D." was written in continuation of the plans recommended by him in the "Royal and Conſtitutional Regeneration of Great Britain," and "the Practical Means of effectually exonerating the Public Burthens," which were noticed by us in our Regiſter for the laſt year. It contains ſufficient evidence of the author's patriotiſm and public ſpirit, and of his perſevering induſtry in calling the attention of his countrymen to objects, with which he thinks their proſperity and happineſs are connected. This tribute of praiſe, at leaſt, will be allowed to the doctor, by thoſe who may not be ſanguine with reſpect to the practicability or expediency of the means which he recommends To the preſent volume are added addreſſes to the ſeveral claſſes of ſociety, pointing out the meaſures which they ought to purſue as their reſpective duties, in redreſſing public affairs.

The "Account of the Origin, Proceedings, and Intention of the Society for Promotion of Induſtry, in the Southern Diſtrict of the Parts of Lindſey, in the County of Lincoln, &c." affords a convincing proof of the benefit which would reſult to the community, from a regular and ſyſtematic attention in the higher and middle claſſes, to encourage a ſpirit of induſtry among the poor. This ſociety was formed with a view to concur with, and ſupport a number of regulations which had been adopted by the magiſtrates of the ſouthern diſtrict, at one of their meetings at the quarter ſeſſion, and which they had agreed to purſue in their management of the poor. Of theſe the following were the principal: that the overſeer ſhould purchaſe ſtock, and materials, and provide proper and convenient places in which the poor might work; that no relief ſhould be granted in money, till the perſon aſking it had done ſuch work, as he or ſhe was capable of; and that all the poor children within their diſtrict, excepting in caſes of ſickneſs, ſhould be taught to knit before they were ſix, and to ſpin before they were nine years old. That theſe regulations might prove the more efficacious, the ſociety determined on offering various rewards for the encouragement of infant induſtry. In their account which is here preſented to the public, we have a pleaſing picture of the ſucceſs which has attended their laudable and benevolent exertions; as well as a number of obſervations which may afford uſeful hints to the political œconomiſt. It would give us real pleaſure to learn, that the example of this part of the county of Lincoln were followed in many other parts of the kingdom.

The "Account of the Shrewſbury Houſe of Induſtry, its Eſtabliſhment and Regulations, with Hints to thoſe who may have ſimilar Intentions in View, by J. Wood," gives us another pleaſing proof of what may be effected by a perſever-

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ing public ſpirit, both in improving the condition of the lower orders of ſociety, and lightening the inſufferable burthen of taxes impoſed by our preſent imperfect poor laws. Whether the forming aſſociations of pariſhes, ſimilar with that which has taken place at Shrewſbury, be, all circumſtances conſidered, the beſt and moſt deſirable mode of accompliſhing thoſe objects, is a matter about which the general opinion is very much divided. But if not the beſt practicable, it poſſeſſes great and unqueſtionable advantages over the manner in which the management of the poor is at preſent conducted in moſt of the pariſhes in the kingdom.

Mr Lucas's "Impartial Enquiry into the preſent State of Parochial Regiſters, Charitable Funds, Taxation, and Pariſh Rates," contains the ſentiments of a judicious and well informed mind, on ſubjects which have for a long time excited the obſervation and complaints of the thinking part of the community. The expediency of introducing a general reform is ſufficiently ſhewn by him; and many improvements are ſuggeſted, which would be attended with conſiderable public benefit.

The treatiſe entitled "Wool encouraged without Exportation, or practical Obſervations on Wool and the Woollen Manufacture, &c. by a Wiltſhire Clothier, F. A. S." is the work of an acute and ſenſible writer, who to twenty-five years experience has united a conſiderable ſhare of reading on the ſubject which employs his pen. This pamphlet is divided into two parts. The firſt part contains ſtrictures on the Appendix, N°. 4. to a report made by a committee of the Highland Society, on the ſubject of Shetland wool. In theſe ſtrictures, the accuracy of Dr. Anderſon's Hiſtorical Deductions is queſtioned; and the author, with ſome degree of acrimony, endeavours to vindicate the conduct of the manufacturers of wool, againſt the charges implied in the doctor's remarks. The ſecond part, which conſiſts of a brief hiſtory of wool, and the nature of the woollen manufacture, as connected with it, contains alſo, a number of miſcellaneous obſervations worthy the attention of thoſe who are deſirous of improving the condition of our ſtaple commodity. Without undertaking to determine between Dr. Anderſon and the author of this publication, we cannot but rejoice, that a ſubject ſo very important and intereſting to this kingdom, is likely to meet with repeated diſcuſſion by men of ſpeculation, and by men of experience. However contradictory their opinions may be, and however different their concluſions from facts to which both ſides may make their appeal, their colliſion will prove the means of exciting public notice, and of diffuſing, more generally, uſeful hints and information.

Mr. Nichols's "Obſervations on the Propagation and Management of Oak Trees in general, but more immediately applying to his Majeſty's New Foreſt, in Hampſhire &c." in a letter addreſſed to the earl of Chatham, firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, contain a variety of authentic and intereſting information, on a ſubject, intimately connected with the proſperity and ſecurity of the kingdom. Beſide pointing out a number of exiſting evils, of the moſt ſerious tendency, in the management of thoſe tracts of land which are deſigned to produce timber for the uſe of the navy, he offers to the public, much judicious advice, and important remarks, the reſult of experiment and obſervation for more than thirty years, to which they

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they cannot pay too particular or too early attention. Mr. Nichols seems to have published these observations, which are written with great openness, and plainness, from very disinterested and patriotic motives.

The Representation of the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade, and Foreig Plantations, upon the present State of the Laws for regulating the Importation and Exportation of Corn, which we announced in our Register for the last year; and the bill brought into parliament on the ground of that representation, have excited the animadversions of some able writers in political œconomy.

Among others, Lord Sheffield, in his "Observations on the Corn-Bill, &c." offers a variety of forcible arguments against several parts of the principle of that bill. In particular, he is decisive against the system of establishing warehouses for foreign corn, which, he thinks, must place the farmer at the mercy of the merchant, and eventually produce that scarcity which it is intended to prevent.

The same, and other strong objections are supported by sir John Sinclair Bart. in an "Address to the Landed Interest on the Corn Bill, &c." who treats the supposed inability of this country to support itself with grain, as a dangerous absurdity, which a proper regulation of the bounties on exportation would effectually cure. Among other encouragements to agriculture, he warmly recommends bounties on the transportation of grain from one district of this island to another. This plan he considers to be founded not only on policy but justice; as the whole kingdom would thus be put upon the same footing, and some districts be furnished with a constant market for their commodities, and others with a regular supply of food. By adopting such a system, which under proper regulations could not occasion any very considerable expence, not only the agriculture, but the navigation of the country would be promoted.

The "Considerations on the Opinion stated by the Lords Committee of Council, &c. by William Mitford, esq." are on the same side of the question with the two last mentioned publications. Among other evils of which he complains, as detrimental to agriculture, are the exaction of tithes, which he calls the most oppressive and impolitic of all taxes, the attaching the poor to their parochial settlements, and the encouragement offered by the legislature for the growth of hemp, than which, he says, no other object interferes more with the growth of corn.

The "Considerations on the Corn Laws, with Remarks on the Observations of Lord Sheffield on the Corn Bill, &c." embrace opposite opinions, from the publications just mentioned, and with great ingenuity support the statement of the lords of the privy council, and the principles of the corn bill. The author of these Considerations, as well as his opponents, has paid a close attention to his subject, and possesses considerable commercial and agricultural knowledge.

They who have been interested in the endeavours made at different times to establish an equalization of the weights and measures of Great Britain, will consider themselves obliged to the editor of "A Plan for Introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures within the Limits of the British Empire, by the late sir James Steuart, bart. Author of the Political Œconomy; published from the original Manu-

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ſcript, by his ſon, ſir J. Steuart, bart." This treatiſe was written more than thirty years ago, when Mr. Bird's plan engaged the attention of the legiſlature. It diſplays an intimate acquaintance with the ſubject on which the author treats; and offers many remarks and obſervations worthy the attention of thoſe who are engaged in ſimilar purſuits. The particulars of his plan our limits will not permit us to lay before our readers.

The "Tracts on Weights, Meaſures, and Coins, &c. by George Skene Keith, M. A." likewiſe, contain ſatisfactory evidence of the author's ingenuity and abilities; and of the laborious induſtry with which he has applied himſelf to inveſtigate the ſubjects mentioned in his title-page. In many reſpects he differs from preceding writers; and particularly from Mr. Whitehurſt, to whoſe plan he offers ſeveral objections. Whoever ſhall prove the fortunate man whoſe ſyſtem ſhall abide the teſt of repeated and accurate experiment, and meet with general acceptance, we conſider the public to be much indebted to every gentleman who devotes his abilities and time to ſubjects of ſuch great importance and utility.

The author of "An Enquiry into the Legality of Capital Puniſhments, in a Letter to Lord Thurlow," in order to ſhew that there exiſts no right in any government to inflict capital puniſhments; enters into a diſcuſſion of the following points: Does the ſovereign poſſeſs any power that has not been delegated to him by ſociety? Does ſociety, as an aggregate body, poſſeſs any rights which had not previouſly appertained to the individuals who compoſe it? Did individuals ever poſſeſs the right of abridging the duration of their own lives? In reading this ſenſible and elegant little treatiſe, we were frequently led to admire the ingenuity and acuteneſs of the author, although we could not always admit of the correctneſs of his reaſoning, or allow his concluſions.

The "Treatiſe on Civil Impriſonment in England, with the Hiſtory of its Progreſs, and Objections to its Policy, &c. by Thomas Macdonald, eſq. Barriſter at Law," is a publication in which the author has diſplayed great labour and accuracy in inveſtigating a difficult and important ſubject; and in ſuggeſting alterations and amendments in thoſe laws which reſpect the intereſts of creditors, and the puniſhment or protection of debtors. Mr. Macdonald's reaſoning, which is delivered in elegant and forcible language, will meet with the approbation of the well-wiſhers to the attempts which have been lately making, to meliorate that part of our civil code which enjoins impriſonment for debt, and to render it more conformable with the intereſts of true policy, and humanity.

The "New, Candid, and Practical Thoughts on the Law of Impriſonment for Debt, with a View to the Regulation of it," contend for the ſame humane and liberal alterations of our laws, with the laſt mentioned publication. The author of them, likewiſe, ſuggeſts many judicious obſervations on the proper methods of preventing and puniſhing frauds, of maintaining credit, and for the better and more ſpeedy ſatisfaction of creditors.

The "Treatiſe upon the Laws of England now in force for the recovery of Debts, &c. by John Prujean, eſq." points out many abuſes in the laws as they now exiſt; and offers a plan for more ſpeedy and equitable juſtice to creditors, and to debtors, which, the author informs us, was ſug-

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ſuggeſted to him by the municipal regulations of a town on the continent, which experience has ſhewn to be productive of the greateſt advantages.

The "Conſiderations on the reſpective Rights of Judge and Jury, particularly upon Trials for Libel, by John Bowles, eſq. Barriſter at Law," are intended to ſupport the doctrine, that in the caſe of libels, the jury have no right to determine with reſpect both to the law and to the fact; that they have only a juriſdiction over the latter, while the former belongs excluſively to the judge. Notwithſtanding that this doctrine, has been too faſhionable in our courts of law, we conceive it to be highly unconſtitutional and dangerous. And we are happy that, as theſe pages are committing to the preſs, the legiſlature of our country has determined it to be ſo, by paſſing a bill which clearly aſcertains the rights of juries, and puts an end for ever to that legal quibbling which has ſo frequently proved injurious to the liberty of the ſubject, and which threatened gradually, but effectually, to deſtroy that of the preſs.

The "Letter to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, occaſioned by his late Motion in the Houſe of Commons reſpecting Libels, &c." by the ſame author, expreſſes his ſerious apprehenſions that if the bill above mentioned ſhould paſs into a law, the whole body of our criminal law will be endangered, and the moſt alarming conſequences enſue. We do not conſider Mr. Bowles to be fortunate in his reaſoning; and doubt not but that he will ſoon have the pleaſure of being convinced, that his fears were groundleſs and chimerical.

In the "Reflections on the Diſtinction uſually adopted in Criminal Proſecutions for Libels, &c." Mr. A. Highmore, jun. attorney at law, with much ingenuity and ſucceſs, attacks the poſitions laid down by Mr. Bowles, and ſupports the ſound conſtitutional principle, that if a juror does not find any criminality in a publication ſtated to be libellous, he ought to acquit the defendant by means of the general verdict of, "not guilty."

The ſame ſide of the queſtion is adopted in the "Conſiderations on the Matter of Libel, by John Leach, eſq." who ſupports it with great ability, and offers ſome excellent obſervations on the policy of reſtraining the diſcuſſion of public ſubjects by government proſecutions. Free diſcuſſion, he very juſtly contends, is the beſt method of checking abuſes; and inſtead of endangering, it will ever tend to ſecure the public tranquillity.

Among the publications in Law, more immediately intended for profeſſional men, we find continuations of the following works: "Reports of Cauſes in the King's Bench, Part. IV. Vol. IV. by Dornford and Eaſt," and "the Practice of the Office of Pleas in the Court of Exchequer, by Philip Burton, eſq. vol. II."

To theſe are to be added the following new publications: "a Digeſt of the Statute Law, by T. W. Williams, 2 Vols. Quarto." "the Law of Evidence, on an extended Plan, with ſome account of Baron Gilbert, by C. Lofft Eſq. 2 vols;" a "Collection of Caſes, with opinions of Mr. Booth, and other eminent Council in Matters of Law, Equity, and Conveyancing, 2 Vols." "An Eſſay on the Law of Contingent Remainders, by C. Fearne, eſq. Vol. I.;" "Report of Proceedings on controverted Elections, during the firſt Seſſion of the ſeventeenth

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Parliament, by S. Fraſer, eſq;" "An Eſſay on the Nature and Laws of Uſes and Truſts, by F. W. Saunders, eſq." "A Law Grammar, or Introduction to Engliſh Juriſprudence;" "A Treatiſe on the Law of Awards, by S. Kydd, eſq; "A Digeſt of the Poor Laws, by S. Pritchard, Pt. I;" "Law of Bills of Exchange, by I. Blagrave;" "A Succinct Digeſt of the Laws relative to Bankrupts;" and "Proceedings in the Cauſe, the King againſt Amory and Monk, in 2 Vols."

The following republications have alſo appeared during the year 1791, "Wood's Body of Conveyancing, a new Edition, with great Improvements, by I. I. Powel, eſq. Vol. II;" "Raymond's Reports, a new Edition, by I. Bayley, in Three Vols;" "The Touchſtone of Common Aſſurances, by W. Sheppard, a new Edition, by E. Hilliard;" and "Collectinea Juridica, Vol. I." which is deſigned to be a repoſitory for ſcarce and uſeful tracts relative to the laws and conſtitution of England.

Among the books of a mathematical kind which it falls within our province to enumerate, the firſt which we have to announce is, "A Treatiſe on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture," &c. by ſir William Chambers, K. P. S, &c. the third Edition, conſiderably augmented." It will not be expected that we ſhall enter into a particular account of a work, which is ſo well known to the architect, and to the connoiſſeur, and on which the public approbation hath already been ſtamped. We thought it, however, improper to omit mentioning, that a new edition had appeared of a ſcientific performance, univerſally acknowledged to be of great utility; eſpecially as the author, "ſtimulated by a deſire of rendering it ſtill more worthy of public notice, has carefully reviſed, and conſiderably augmented it; he does not preſume to ſay improved it: but flatters himſelf the experience gained by thirty years very extenſive practice, ſince the original publication, has enabled him to judge with ſome degree of certainty, at leaſt, of what might be left out, be added, or altered to advantage."

The "Collection of Papers on Naval Architecture, Pt. I." was originally communicated to the public, through the channel of the European Magazine, and promiſes to be followed by a ſucceſſion of treatiſes, which may eventually prove objects of conſiderable national benefit. What encourages us in this expectation is the circumſtance, that a reſpectable ſociety has been formed, under the patronage of many perſons of rank and fortune, for the expreſs purpoſe of improving "naval architecture in all its branches; extending their enquiries and improvements to veſſels for navigation of every kind;" and who have already offered conſiderable premiums to encourage the attention of philoſophers, mathematicians, and mechanics, to the object of their inſtitution." It was the patriotic ſpirit of Mr. Sewell, the publiſher of theſe papers, which led the way to the inſtitution of that Society, and he will be deſervedly honoured by poſterity, as its father.

The "Geometrical and Graphical Eſſays, containing a Deſcription of the Mathematical Inſtruments uſed in Geometry, Civil and Military Surveying, Levelling, and Perſpective; with many new Problems, Illuſtrative of each Branch, by G. Adams," will be found an uſeful and valuable work to ſuch ſtudents as have not the opportunity of conſulting larger publications, on the different ſubjects mentioned in the title

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title page. Many of his ſolutions of the geometrical problems, are ſuperior to thoſe generally met with; and they are all eaſy and familiar. The explanatory plates, which are thirty two in number, are executed with neatneſs and accuracy.

The "Treatiſe on Univerſal Inland Navigations, and the Uſe of all ſorts of Mines, &c. by Edmund Leach, Surveyor," is the production of a well-intentioned writer, who is not deficient in mechanical ingenuity; and who offers many hints and obſervations, which, in more ſcientific hands, may be turned to uſeful purpoſes. His great object is, to recommend the ſubſtitution of inclined planes, and a machine, the conſtruction of which he particularly deſcribes, in the room of the locks made uſe of in navigable canals, and of the wheel and axle as they are at preſent employed by miners. Thoſe who wiſh for a more particular explanation of his plan, we muſt refer to the author's treatiſe.

[The delay in the publication of the annual volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, has protracted it beyond the year; but, as various impediments have alſo occaſioned ſome delay in the publication of this volume, we are ſtill enabled to preſerve an account of its contents; and with theſe we are enabled to interweave ſome information, reſpecting the philoſophical labours of the Iriſh academy. As M. de Luc's papers on hygrometry have been peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by the reward of the Copley medal, we muſt conſider them as the moſt important communication. M. de Luc has done much in this very laborious and intricate inveſtigation, but much yet remains to be done. It is not aſcertained what are the real hygrometical affinities of different bodies, whether theſe are always the ſame in the ſame body, or whether alterations, in the texture, do not occaſionally influence the affinities. In ſhort, the ſcience is yet in its infancy, and we are glad that it has found ſo good a guardian. Another branch of meteorology, beſides the uſual regiſters, is attended to in the ſame volume; and we muſt recommend the continuance of different obſervers or enquirers on this ſubject. We allude to Mr. Read's "Journal, chiefly relating to the Atmoſpherical Electricity." Various phænomena undoubtedly depend on it; and our knowledge of the cauſe of the appearances, which we conſtantly ſee, is ſtill limited. In the Mancheſter Memoirs, a work of ſome merit, which contains a few philoſophical papers, we find a deſcription of a common meteorological phænomenon, a parhelion; and two others are deſcribed by Dr. Uſher, in the Iriſh Tranſactions, appearances which will probably be found to be at leaſt greatly influenced by the atmoſpherical electricity. In this branch of ſcience, there are ſome new experiments by Mr. Bennet, publiſhed ſeparately, which appeared in a former volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions; and an "Eſſay" by Dr. Peart "on Electricity and Magnetiſm," in which he endeavours to refute the common theory of poſitive and negative electricity, we think, without ſucceſs. On the ſubject of Magnetiſm we may juſt mention the exploded farce of animal magnitiſm, as two works occur in the catalogue of the preſent year. Mr. Martin's ſhort account of the pretended ſecret, under the title of "Animal Magnetiſm Examined:" and Dr. Stear's more pompous, but leſs ſatisfactory work of "the Myſteries of Animal Magnitiſm.

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revealed." The phænomena of attraction and repulsion, since electricity has been more generally studied have been usually attributed to the apparent or latent influence of this fluid. The attraction and repulsion however, of cork balls swimming in water, Mr. Banks, an ingenious lecturer in natural philosophy, attributes to the inequality of pressure, as a dry ball repells the water, making the fluid rise around it, while a wet one produces the contrary effect. This paper occurs in the Manchester Memoirs, and Mr. Bennet, in a separate publication, has adduced some similar observations as well as some observations "on the Waving Motion, observed, on vibrating a Glass jointly filled with Oil and Water."

If we consider philosophy, as subservient to the different arts, we may mention a very ingenious contrivance described by Mr. Cooke, in the Irish Transactions, of obtaining by means of steam, a continuous rotative motion; and, in the same collection, this author has described an instrument which greatly facilitates the resolution of some of the more common problems in navigation. The triangular measurement of 1787 and 1788, was one of the greatest efforts of modern practical philosophy; and, in this busy age, the date, as might be expected, would soon furnish different facts. The longitudes of Dunkirk and Paris from Greenwich, are ascertained in the last volume of the London Transactions from this measurement, on the supposition of the earth's being an elipsoid; and, to future investigators, Mr. Pictet has pointed out the convenience of measuring an arc of the meridian, and of the parallel of longitude, having Geneva for their common intersection, in the same collection. In this volume too, Mr. Rennel, the geographer of India, has pointed out a new method of measuring distances by calculating the paces of a camel, either loaden or unencumbered; and it is surprising, in this first attempt, to find him approximating the real distances very nearly. Mr. Cavallo has described a very simple instrument for celestial measurement, a micrometer for a telescope, consisting of a circle of mother of pearl, minutely divided, which will answer common purposes very completely; but a full description of the numerous astronomical instruments, used in the most enlightened æra of the science, occurs in Mr. Vince's "Practical Astronomy," to which are added, some of the more essential and useful calculations. In the particular branches of astronomy, we have to notice Dr. Usher's paper in the Irish Transactions, on the dis-appearance and re-appearance of Saturn's ring, in 1789, with some remarks on his diurnal rotation, and a very ingenious series of observations by Mr. Herschell, on stars really nebulous, not resolvable, which he considers as masses of light connected with some star, the storehouse from which future suns may be formed. An ingenious work, in this department, entitled "Cosmology," has been published in the course of this year, and we have since seen an enlarged edition of it. The author is rational, pious, and judicious; but, in some of his novelties, he does not always convince us. The "Philosophy of the Masons," is a more general system, whose novelty is apparent only. It is the philosophy of the present æra attributed to the Egyptian priests, in a suspicious form, leaning too much to the fashionable infidelity of the age in which we live.

In the progressive improvements of philosophy and chemistry, they have intruded, as we formerly observed,

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ſerved, on each others limits, and form one chain of ſcience, where the termination and commencement of either is uncertain. Fire was one of thoſe bodies, or a modification of body, which for a time was the object of the philoſopher. It is now with more propriety, the ſubject of the chemiſt's enquiries. That it poſſeſſes weight has been long denied, that it is really ſpecifically light, leſſening the weight of bodies, was for a time the opinion of different authors. Mr. Henry, in the Mancheſter Memoirs, has endeavoured to elucidate this ſubject, but the queſtion is not determined. The increaſe of weight, in cooling, depends, we know, on the changes produced in the body heated, by the abſorption of the pure part of the atmoſpheric air. This change appears now fully to explain all the phænomena attributed to the loſs of phlogiſton, a principle, whoſe exiſtence is now generally doubted, and almoſt as generally diſbelieved. Dr. Prieſtley, in his paper in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, entitled, Farther Experiments relating to the Decompoſition of Dephlogiſticated and Inflammable Airs, ſtill adheres to the old theory of Stahl, and endeavours to explain the appearance of the nitrous acid from the different proportions of theſe airs, and not from the accidental impregnation of phlogiſticated air, as the French chemiſts ſuppoſed. Mr. Tennent has, on the contrary, ſupported the doctrine of M. Lavoiſier, in the ſame collection, by actually decompoſing fixed air, and producing from it a coal perfectly reſembling the charcoal of wood. The experiment, though at firſt doubted, has been repeated, we find with ſucceſs. Dr. Beddoes, in his "Account of the Appearances attending the Converſion of Caſt into Malleable Iron," proceſs new and highly advantageous, has, we perceive alſo, forſaken the banners of the elder chemiſts. Yet it is ſurpriſing that the diſcoveries of the preſent æra were in ſome degree anticipated by a Dr. Mayow; and to Dr. Beddoes, who has rendered Dr. Mayow's work more generally known, we owe the obligation of this information. M. Chaptal's "Elements of Chemiſtry" is the only general ſyſtem that has appeared in this year, and as it is the lateſt and conſequently one of the moſt complete works, ſo it is alſo judicious, intelligent, and well arranged.

If we ſurvey chemiſtry as ſubſervient to the arts, and to medicine, we ſhall find it offering conſiderable aſſiſtance to artiſts, manufacturers, and phyſicians. The Mancheſter Memoirs furniſh ſome judicious obſervations on dying, by Mr. Henry, and ſome experiments on the fuſion of palatina, by Mr. Willis; while the Iriſh Tranſactions contain two papers of much more importance, Mr. Kirwan's Experiments on the Alkaleſcent Subſtances uſed in Bleaching, and Mr. Pouget's Method of aſcertaining the Strength of Spirits, by the diminution of the bulk of an union of alcohol and water: the former paper contains alſo an Analyſis of the Colouring Matter of Linnen Yarn. The only ſeparate publication in this department is, Mr. Richardſon's "Chemical Principles of the Metallic Arts," a work uſeful, but by no means ſo minute and particular, as to be intereſting, or to the chemiſt, improving.

In medicine, we may notice another new edition of the "London Pharmacopeia," with variations, we have no authority to ſtyle them improvements. Mr. Garnet's "Analyſis of the Creſcent Water at Harrowgate," is ſhort, and in ſome meaſure incomplete, but a work, in

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a chemical view, by no means contemptible. M. Macie's Chemical Experiments on the Tabasheer, deserve some notice in this part of our sketch of Domestic Literature. It is an Indian vegetable substance, whose general nature we noticed in our last volume, and it is more interesting, as we find, from Mr. Macie's paper in the Philosophical Transactions, that it contains a siliceous earth, in one instance a flint already formed. Dr. Pearson's Investigation of the Composition of James's Powder, in the same collection, deserves much attention, as it completely elucidates the nature of that excellent medicine, and enables us to imitate it with success. We need scarcely say, that the pulvis antimonialis of the last London Pharmacopeia is, in its nature and operations nearly the same.

Chemistry has not only elucidated the nature of some secret compositions, but has suggested new remedies. Dr. Crawford recommends the earthy salt composed of the barytic earth, and the muriatic acid, in schrophulous and cancerous complaints. On trial, it is said not to equal, and what medicine does so all the sanguine recommendations of its first author, though it shews sufficient powers on the constitution to render it, under proper management, an useful remedy. This paper occurs in the second volume of a respectable publication entitled, "Medical Communications," which furnishes also, in this department, some judicious observations by Mr. Pearson, on the Use of Opium in the Venereal Disease, in which he shews that it is alone unequal to the cure, and in every instance, little more than a quieting palliative, with some remarks, by Dr. Chas. Michael Smith, on the Effects of Cantharides, which he supposes, perhaps, with reason, are not diuretic. We may just add, that, on perusing this volume, we do not find any thing else, which we need particularly mention in our general account. The only separate publication on the use of medicines is Mr. Braude's "account of the Angustura Bark." It is a narrotic bitter, and supposed to be useful, like other bitters, in curing intermittents, dyspepsia, &c. We have not found either, on trial, or from authority, that it possesses peculiar powers.

Though the Angustura bark has not been introduced into general practice, the use of the Peruvian bark has been supported by Dr. Robertson in his "Essay on Fevers." This gentleman has seen much of the fever of ships and hospitals, which he considers as the only genuine, and indeed the universal form of fever. His work, so far as one species, or a single epidemic is concerned, may be pronounced valuable, and useful. Dr. Robertson errs only in considering what he has seen, as the only existing form. A work on fevers of a different class, though confined to the fevers of hot climates, and particularly the remittents of different forms, Dr. Jackson's deserves particular commendation, as the result of careful attention and judicious observation. The medical advice to the inhabitants of warm climates, is not equally valuable; it is trite, superficial, and often erroneous. As a work connected with fevers, and the result of observation, we may mention the "Essay on the Progress and Diagnosis of Diseases," by Dr. Price, dictated by reading and examination, yet in different parts not finished with equal care. Dr. Edwards's "Description of the Diseases of the Human Body," the introduction to a larger work, is styled a System of Nosology; it is however,

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ver, a collection of hiſtories of diſ-
aſes, far exceeding the limits of de-
initions. Dr. Ruſſel's large work
'on the Plague" ſeems ſcarcely to
ave anſwered the expectations of
ractitioners. It is a political trea-
iſe on quarantines, rather than a
nedical diſquiſition, and what is
ontained in the medical department,
s often confuſed and unſatisfactory.
We ſee little added to our know-
edge of the diſeaſe. Reſpecting
articular complaints, we find a trea-
iſe of Dr. Butter's on "the Angina
'ectoris," where he expreſſes an opi-
ion that this peculiar diſeaſe is only
variety of atonic gout, ſeizing the
iaphragm; but we do not find his
yſtem adopted by other practition-
rs, nor does it appear to be ſup-
orted by experience. Dr. Quin, in
is Treatiſe "on the Dropſy of the
rain," ſeems to point out a new
iew of the complaint, and to conſi-
er the ſymptoms as ariſing from
elaxation, while the compoſition is
nly a ſubſequent effect. He has
ndoubtedly the merit of elucidat-
ng the ſubject in a certain degree,
hough his concluſions may be too
eneral. Dr. Perfect deſcribes a
aſe ſeemingly of the ſame diſeaſe,
nder the term of madneſs, where
he compreſſion was only ſo great
s to produce irritation. The medi-
ractitioner, in his "Eſſay on Vital
uſpenſion," conſiders the cauſe
f death as owing to effuſion in the
ead, in conſequence of the ſtop-
age of breathing, without adding,
owever, to our reſources, for the
atient's relief. Of the more general
orks, chiefly of a practical na-
ure, beſide the ſecond volume of
he Medical Communications, we
erceive the continuation of Dr. Dun-
an's "Medical Commentaries;"
he ſecond volume of Wintringham's
Commentarii de Morbis Quibuſ-
am," a work of no great practical
importance; the firſt volume of
"Medical Facts and Opinions," a
new form of a reſpectable work, long
continued by Dr. Fort Simmons;
Dr. Wallis's improved edition of
"Motherby's Dictionary" publiſhed
in the preſent year, with a variety of
thoſe pamphlets which are little
better than quack-advertiſements. Of
this laſt kind, are Dr. Buchan's
"Letter on the Fleecy Hoſiery,"
"Poor Man's Medicine Cheſt," &c.
We would willingly except from
this general cenſure, Fothergil's
"Cautions to the Heads of Families,"
though, to write popularly on pro-
feſſional ſubjects, is not always ſo re-
putable or uſeful.

On diſeaſes, whoſe cure depends
on anatomical knowledge, we have
received ſome inſtructive informa-
tion, though anatomy itſelf has enjoy-
ed little of the foſtering care of the
Improver, in this period, for we can
mention only Dr. Vaughan's "Prin-
ciples of Anatomy," tranſlated from
Leber, with ſome new notes,
and Mr. Hey's "Deſcription of the
Eye of a Seal," in the Manchester
Memoirs. Yet the ſurgical works,
juſt alluded to, deſerve attention.
The complete collection of Mr.
Pott's tracts forms a valuable addi-
tion to the ſurgeon's library,
though little novelty is added; the
whole amounting to a few remarks
by the editor, Mr. Earle, the reſult
of Mr. Pott's more mature expe-
rience. Mr. Earle has, however,
added to this edition, his own "Trac-
on the Hydrocele," in which he pro-
poſes a new method of cure by in-
jection: this tract he has alſo publi-
liſhed ſeparately. Rowley's work
"on the Diſeaſes of the Eyes," con-
tains ſome valuable facts, while, to
give the appearance of a complete
ſyſtem, he ſeems to have divided the
ſubject too minutely, and to have
increaſed the number of ſpecies
with-

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without ſufficient reaſon. Mr. Ogle has oppoſed Mr. Jeſſe Foot's "Newly Diſcovered Fact," relative to the venereal diſeaſe, mentioned in our laſt volume: and to Mr. Collis we are are indebted for a treatiſe "on the Gonorrhæa," a ſhort work, and by no means of importance. In another branch of ſurgery, midwifery, Mr. Heath has greatly aſſiſted the Engliſh ſurgeons by his tranſlaion of M. Baudelocque's very excellent "Syſtem of Midwifery," in which the hiſtory and merits of the Segaultian operation are examined, with peculiar care and ability. A branch of this ſubject, the treatment of infants in the firſt ſtages of their life, has been the object of Dr. Clarke's attention in the Iriſh Tranſactions, who, from an epidemic ſpaſm, fatal to many children in the Dublin hoſpital, has ſhown the diſadvantages of cloſe wards. The diſeaſe diſappeared when they were more airy and leſs crowded.

The ſource of that life, which is in early ages ſo ſoon extinguiſhed, and the principle in which it conſiſts, we ſcarcely underſtand better from a late work, "Speculations on Impregnation," which only revive an old forgotten theory, or from Dr. Ferriar's tract "on the Vital Principle", in the Mancheſter Memoirs. In the laſt, the author oppoſes the exiſtence of a principle of life, independent of a ſoul, or of that organization of body, on which ſome authors ſuppoſe the mental powers may depend. Dr. Corrie's "Eſſay on the Vitality of the Blood," in ſupport of Mr. Hunter's ſyſtem, is but a feeble prop to an opinion almoſt diametrically oppoſite. Life, ſupported, however, by food digeſted in the ſtomach, and evinced by muſcular motion, is as little underſtood, when conſidered in either light. The Gulſtonian lectures have enabled Dr. Fordyce to publiſh his opinions on the former ſubject, and his tract is both curious and intereſting. He has explained many circumſtances, incidental or ſubſervient to digeſtion, with propriety, but has added little to our knowledge of the real proceſs. Dr. Blane, in the "Croonian Lectures," has been ſcarcely more ſucceſsful in explaining muſcular motion; indeed either ſubject will probably remain beyond the reach of unſucceſsful reaſon or philoſophy. It is with regret that we record unſucceſsful efforts; but we cannot ſpeak more favourably of Dr. Auſtin's work, "on the Origin and Component Parts of the Stone," which in oppoſition to every former phyſiologiſt, he conſiders to be mucus. Mr. Lane's "Experiments on Human Calculi," tend only to ſhew, that they are in different perſons, and at different periods in the ſame perſon, of different kinds.

The natural hiſtory of the human body and of man, has not received great improvements in this year. Mr. Home, in the London Tranſactions, endeavours to ſhow, that horny excreſcences on the human body are owing to the ſuperfluous efforts of nature, to extend the cuticle over a wound; and in the Mancheſter Memoirs, we find a deſcription of a diminutive and imperfect race of men, the Cretins of the Valais, who ſeem to be unfiniſhed abortions, rather than men, equally weak in mind and body. The other branches of natural hiſtory have been more carefully attended to. Dr. Shaw has publiſhed two ſplendid numbers of a work entitled "Speculum Linnæanum, an Illuſtration of Linnæus' Zoology," which we hope will be continued with equal care; and we have received the firſt volume of a ſyſtem "of Natural

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ral Hiſtory," from an anonymous author, containing only the quadrupeds, which appears to be a judicious compilation. Mr. Latham under the modeſt title of "Index Ornithologicus," has given a ſyſtematic ornithology, carried on to the utmoſt extent of our preſent knowledge, which to a ſcientific naturaliſt, ſupplies the neceſſity of his former volumes of ſplendid plates. In entomology, we have only one attempt, viz. Dr. Roxburgh's "Deſcription of the Chermes Lacca," the inſect that affords the gum lac. Botany ſeems to have been cultivated with more attention, and the inſtitution of the Linnæan ſociety, under the auſpices of Dr. Smith, poſſeſſor of the Linnæan collection, with a view to cultivate the natural hiſtory of this kingdom, and to contribute to render the ſyſtem of the Swediſh naturaliſt more perfect, deſerves our attention and commendation. Papers, confined to an object ſo limited, it is impoſſible to mention particularly. The ſecond faſciculus of Dr. Smith's "Plantarum Icones" has appeared during this year, executed with his uſual zeal and attention; and the republication of Rudbeck's Plates, accidentally diſcovered, under the title of "Reliquiæ Rudbeckianæ," adds equal honour to Dr. Smith's ardor in the cauſe of ſcience. Dr. Pultney's very accurate and elegant work, entitled "Sceteches of Botany," may be ſtyled a general introduction to the hiſtory of the ſcience, and is executed with judgment and ability, while Dr. Dickſon's ſecond Faſciculus "Plantarum Cryptogamicarum Britaniæ," is more excluſively calculated to elucidate this very obſcure order of Britiſh plants. This author's "Hortus Siccus," a new attempt, will greatly diffuſe the knowledge of the ſcience, ſince dried ſpecimens muſt convey a much more accurate idea, then the minuteſt deſcriptions. Swayne's "Gramina Paſcua," and Woodville's "Medical Botany," are more peculiarly deſigned for the agriculturiſt and phyſician; they are each executed with ability. The former work is illuſtrated by dried ſpecimens. In mineralogy, we can only notice Mr. Williams' "Hiſtory of the Mineral Kingdom," a work intereſting to the miner, rather than the philoſopher, and Dr. Beddoes ineffectual attempt to eſtabliſh "the affinity between baſaltes and granite," in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.]

In our Hiſtorical department, the firſt publication of the year which calls for our notice is "An Hiſtorical Diſquiſition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; and the Progreſs of Trade with that Country, prior to the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to it by the Cape of Good Hope, &c. by William Robertſon, D. D. F. R. S. Ed. &c." This work owes its origin to the author's peruſal of major Rennel's excellent memoir for illuſtrating his map of Hindoſtan, which ſuggeſted to his mind the idea of examining, more fully than he had done, in his Hiſtory of America, into the knowledge which the ancients had of India; and of conſidering what is certain, what is obſcure, and what is fabulous in their accounts of that remote country. It is divided into four ſections. In the firſt ſection, the author treats of the intercourſe between Europe and India, from the earlieſt times, until the conqueſt of Egypt by the Romans. What is ſaid in this ſection, reſpecting the tranſactions of Alexander the Great with India, and the circumſtances that preceded and followed them, is peculiarly intereſting. In the ſecond ſection, which

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which treats of the Indian trade from the eſtabliſhment of the Roman dominion in Egypt, to the Conqueſt of that kingdom by the Mahomedans, our attention was particularly engaged by the account of the commerce, wealth, and power of Palmyra. The third ſection continues the ſame ſubject from the conqueſt of Egypt, to the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, and the eſtabliſhment of the Portugueſe dominions in the Eaſt. The fourth ſection of this narrative, conſiſts of ſuch general obſervations as naturally reſult from the ſubject of the author's reſearches, and ſerve to illuſtrate many important particulars in the hiſtory of commerce, and its revolutions. To this diſquiſition, Dr. Robertſon has added an Appendix, containing obſervations on the civil policy, the laws and judicial proceedings, the arts, the ſciences, and religious inſtitutions, of the Indians; from which many curious proofs may be deduced of their early cultivation and refinement. The notes, which are intended to illuſtrate many of the poſitions in the body of the work and the Appendix, are learned, inſtructive, and entertaining. From this general account, our readers will be able to form ſome idea of what they may expect to meet with in this hiſtorical diſquiſition. With reſpect to its general merits we would obſerve, that a great variety of facts is collected from books, ancient and modern, accompanied with much judicious reaſoning and probable conjecture; which afford evidence of great induſtry and patience of inveſtigation, and happily illuſtrate many circumſtances in hiſtory, with which the unlearned reader was but little acquainted. In the arrangement of his materials, Dr. Robertſon obſerves the ſame method as in his former compoſitions, which have juſtly acquired the author a high degree of celebrity as an hiſtorian. He has endeavoured to keep hiſtorical narrative as much ſeparate as poſſible from ſcientific and critical diſcuſſion, by reſerving the latter for notes and illuſtrations. With reſpect to the ſtyle and language of the work, it is, in general, like that of the author's former productions, perſpicuous, correct, and elegant. On the whole, we cannot but pronounce this effort of Dr. Robertſon's pen, to be a very valuable acceſſion to Engliſh literature: and are ſorry for a ſtrong inſinuation which he throws out, that he here terminates his labours in the field of Hiſtory, which he has cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs and reputation.

The next publication which we have to announce is entitled "Tranſactions during the Reign of Queen Anne, from the Union to the Death of that Princeſs, by Charles Hamilton, eſq." The materials for this work, as the author informs us, were in a great meaſure ſupplied by manuſcripts of his father, who was the ſon of James, earl of Arran, afterwards duke of Hamilton, and of lady Barbara, third daughter of Charles II. by the ducheſs of Cleveland; and who at an early age was ſent over to France, and educated under the direction of the earl of Middleton, at that time ſecretary to James II. Brought up in that miniſter's family, we are told that he was admitted to an unlimited ſhare of his confidence, and held in great conſideration by the court of St. Germain, until the fatal cataſtrophe of the duke of Hamilton in 1718. If our author had printed the manuſcripts above mentioned, he would have enabled the public to judge, more ſatisfactorily than they now can do, of the authenticity of the

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the information which they are said to contain, and of the fairneſs of his own deductions. At preſent, the evidence for the chief circumſtances which he wiſhes to eſtabliſh, is of ſo private a nature, that its value in a great meaſure depends upon Mr. Hamilton's honour and impartiality. His obvious intention, however, is to deſtroy the credit of thoſe great characters who were engaged in effecting the change of government introduced by the revolution, and in ſupporting the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover. But he indulges himſelf in ſuch indiſcriminate and groſs invective, and is uniformly influenced by ſuch undiſguiſed and glaring prejudices, that he affords little ſupport to the cauſe which he eſpouſes. And from theſe circumſtances, we have been forced to withold our confidence from many parts of his narrative, which, otherwiſe, we ſhould have conſidered to be curious and intereſting.

"The Hiſtory of the American Revolution, by David Ramſay, M. D. in 2 Vols." is written by the ſame pen which gratified the public with the "Hiſtory of the Revolution of South Carolina, of which we took notice in our Regiſter for the year 1787. The events which took place during the ſtruggle which ſecured independence to America, and which led the way to the revolutions which are taking place in the old world, are ſufficiently in the recollection of moſt of our readers. They are, however, related in ſo intereſting a manner by our author, that the effect produced on us by his work, was almoſt the ſame as if it had come recommended to us by the charms of novelty. The author appears to have had acceſs to the beſt ſources of private, as well as public information. And when it is conſidered that he was an actor in the ſcenes which he draws, he muſt be acknowledged to be uncommonly liberal, and impartial. His materials have been well digeſted, are arranged with perſpicuity, and are illuſtrated by numerous philoſophical reflections, and animated deſcriptions. Of the different accounts, which we have ſeen of the origin and progreſs of the American revolution, Dr. Ramſay's bids fair to be tranſmitted to poſterity with the ſtrongeſt recommendations.

"The ſpirit of General Hiſtory, in a Series of Lectures, from the eighth to the eighteenth Century, &c. by the Rev. George Thompſon," is intended to give ſuch a view of the period under conſideration, as may ſerve the purpoſes of moral and political inſtruction. The author does not enter into a minute detail of facts; but endeavours to mark the ſeveral changes in the manners of mankind, through the different ſtages of ſociety, the cauſes which have retarded or promoted the civilization of European nations, and thoſe by which revolutions in the civil or religious ſtate of mankind have been effected. This work is divided into nine lectures. The firſt lecture conſiſts of preliminary obſervations, which form a ſlight ſketch of ancient hiſtory. The ſecond and third lectures contain a view of the hiſtory, laws, manners, cuſtoms, and religion, of the modern nations of Europe, from the time of the diſſolution of the Weſtern Roman empire, to the end of the eleventh century. In the fourth lecture, the author preſents us with a ſketch of the hiſtory of the eaſtern nations, during the ſame period, of Mahomet, his religion, and ſucceſſors. The fifth lecture continues the former ſubjects to the end of the thirteenth century. In the ſixth lecture, the author treats

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of the revolutions in kingdoms, government, legiſlation, manners, religion, ſcience, and arts, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The ſeventh lecture is wholly devoted to the ſixteenth century: and the eighth and ninth continue the author's plan to the end of the ſeventeenth century. As far as the confined nature of Mr. Thompſon's work, and the great variety of topics which called for diſcuſſion, would admit of it, he hath executed his deſign with conſiderable ſucceſs. And if he has not contributed, by the profoundneſs of his inveſtigations, to extend the boundaries of the philoſophy of hiſtory, his lectures may be conſidered as an uſeful introduction to this branch of ſcience. His ſtyle, in general, is eaſy and unaffected.

The "New Chronological Abridgement of the Hiſtory of England, from the earlieſt Times to the Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, &c. by Charles Home, Eſq." was drawn up in imitation of the preſident Henault's Hiſtory of France. The author's object, as he informs us in a well written preface, is to impreſs upon the memory of young perſons, the moſt remarkable and leading facts in Engliſh hiſtory; to ſupply a manual of it to thoſe who are engaged either in the ſea or land ſervice, and whoſe library muſt neceſſarily be of the moſt contracted and portable kind; and to furniſh other perſons with an uſeful book of reference. On attending to the facts which Mr. Home has ſelected, his manner of ſtating them, and his arrangement, we think, on the whole, that his work is a judicious and uſeful one, and well adapted to the purpoſes mentioned in his Preface. Some miſtakes we met with while peruſing it; and more inſtances of negligence and colloquial vulgariſm, which are not pardonable even in a chronological abridgement.

The "Sketch of the Reign of George the Third, from 1780, to the Cloſe of the Year 1790," is rather to be conſidered as panegyric than hiſtory. As a ſolution of the cauſes which have produced the memorable events and changes of that period, particularly, as affecting this country, it will be ſatisfactory only to thoſe who hold the ſame political opinions with the author. What theſe are our readers will underſtand when we inform them, that the meaſures of the exiſting adminiſtration, and the miniſter who directs the helm of government, are the ſubjects of his warm and unqualified eulogium. The language of this publication is, in general, animated and beautiful; but too metaphorical and florid for the ſober ſtyle of hiſtory.

The "Conciſe Hiſtory of France, from the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy to the preſent time, by M. des Carrieres, in 2 Vols." is written both in French and Engliſh, on oppoſite pages. It is an avowed compilation from ſome of the principal French hiſtorians, particularly the works of M. Abbé Millot, whoſe hiſtorical reflections are well known to be inſtructive and excellent. Juſtice to M. des Carrieres obliges us to ſay, that his abridgement is executed, on the whole, with care and judgment; that the reflections of his own which are introduced, are ſenſible and liberal; and that his language, if we except ſome inſtances in which he adheres too much to the idiom of his native tongue, is correct, eaſy, and ſometimes elegant. The period at which this hiſtory cloſes is the end of the reign of Louis XIV. But the author intends, in a ſubſequent

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quent volume, to continue it to the present times.

In our View of the Foreign Literature of the year 1789, we announced the publication of M. Anquetill's "Memoirs of the Court of France, and the Regency of the Duke of Orleans." Of this work we spake, as a moſt intereſting and entertaining one, affording even to thoſe who are not unacquainted with the hiſtories, memoirs, and anecdotes, relative to that buſy and intriguing period, new ſtores of information and amuſement. The Engliſh reader has it now in his power to judge of the value and importance of that work, which has been tranſlated from the French, in two volumes. With reſpect to this verſion we have only to obſerve, that it appears to be rendered with fidelity and ſpirit.

"The Crimes of the Kings of France, from Clovis to Louis XVI. tranſlated from the French, by I. Trapp, A. M." is a publication which preſents the reader with ſome of the moſt ſhocking pictures of enormity, vice, and guilt, that the human eye hath even beheld. It is, however, a painful conſideration, that they are drawn from characters who have really exiſted. The truth of the facts which the author has collected, is eſtabliſhed by the teſtimony of undoubted and impartial hiſtory; and he has paid a proper tribute to juſtice and to humanity, in expoſing them to general view and abhorrence. Freemen will learn from them how highly they ought to prize their liberties; and with what jealouſly they ſhould guard againſt the leaſt approaches towards that deſpotiſm, which has produced ſo much miſery and wretchneſs in the world. And to kings they teach this important leſſon, that to be happy in themſelves, beloved by their people, and reſpected by poſterity, they muſt be virtuous, reſpect liberty, and, inſtead of indulging their ambition, or other paſſions, make the eaſe and proſperity of the people the principal object of their care.

The "Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Diſcovery of America, by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwyneed, about the Year 1170, by John Williams, L L. D." is deſigned to controvert the opinions of lord Lyttleton, Dr. Robertſon, and other modern hiſtorians, who have contended againſt the probability of the event referred to in the title-page; and to eſtabliſh the claim of the ancient Britons to be the diſcoverers of the new world. In purſuing his object, Dr. Williams has with great induſtry collected whatever information could be obtained on this difficult ſubject, and ſupported the ſide of the queſtion which he eſpouſes, in a manner that will be found intereſting and entertaining to the curious and inquiſitive reader. Should it be proved, on enquiry, that a tribe of Indians exiſts in America, who ſpeak the ancient Britiſh language, as many modern travellers aſſert, the doctor's arguments would be irreſiſtible.

Sir John Sinclair's "Statiſtical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the Communications of the Miniſters of the Different Pariſhes, in 2 Vols." is part of a work which the worthy baronet has undertaken from the moſt patriotic motives, and which promiſes to be a repoſitory of much uſeful, as well as curious information. About twelve months before the date of this publication, ſir John circulated, among the clergy of Scotland, a variety of queries for elucidating the natural and political hiſtory of the country, rela-

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tive to the names of their respective parishes, their situation, surface, air, population, cultivation and produce, manufactures, wages, prices, poor, rent of land, churches and their stipends, mineral springs, and roads; manners, customs, and miscellaneous observations including antiquities. His original idea was, to have drawn up, from their returns, a general statistical view of North Britain, without any particular reference to parochial districts. But he found so much merit and ability, and so many useful facts and important observations, in the answers that were sent to him, that he could not think of depriving the clergy of the credit they were entitled to derive from such laborious exertions; and he was induced to give the work in its present shape of a collection of their respective papers. Whether the same plan is to be persevered in, or whether more regularity and connexion are to be attended to in future, will depend on the unanimity and dispatch with which the clergy transmit the necessary information to the author. This account of the nature and design of the work, which we have drawn from the preface, will sufficiently apprize our readers of what they may expect to meet with in it, and of the great utility of such a plan, in diffusing information, and improvement over the country. And, considering the extent to which it is meant to be carried, we do not hesitate in subscribing to the observation of Mr. Dempster, "that no publication of equal information and curiosity has appeared in Great Britain since Doomsday-Book; and that from the ample and authentic facts which it records, it must be resorted to by every future statesman, philosopher, and divine, as the best basis that has ever yet appeared for political speculation."

"Scotland Delineated, or a Geographical Description of every Shire in Scotland, including the Northern and Western Isles, with some Account of the Curiosities, Antiquities, and present State of the Country," is a publication which was drawn up in imitation of Dr. Aikin's work, entitled "England Delineated," with the view of completing, on a plan nearly similar, a description of the whole of Great Britain. We recommend this publication, as an intelligent and useful one, and what is particularly adapted to the information and entertainment of young persons, for whose use it is chiefly intended. The authorities which the author has consulted, are the latest and best that could be obtained; and he has also, as well as Dr. Aikin, had the assistance of valuable private correspondents, in rendering his work more perfect. To this volume there is prefixed a map of Scotland, and of the islands, copied from Arrowsmith's, published in 1807, from an actual survey.

"The History of the Island of Dominica, containing a Description of its Situation, Extent, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Natural Productions, &c. by Thomas Atwood," was written with the view of directing the attention of government and the public to the importance of our West India possessions, which, notwithstanding that it is distinguished by some peculiar advantages, and capable of being rendered exceedingly profitable to the mother country, has been too much neglected. This history is drawn up in a plain and perspicuous manner, and is, apparently, accurate and faithful. The author's observations on the natural history and the

ommerce of the iſland, contain many intereſting particulars; and is account of its capture by the rench, during the late war, and heir conduct while in poſſeſſion of , is minute and circumſtantial.

The "Narrative of the Loſs of he Groſvenor Eaſt Indiaman, &c. ompiled from the Examination of ohn Hynes, by Mr. George Car- er," contains little, if any authen- ic matter, relative to that melan- holly event, which was not before n the poſſeſſion of the public. he ſtory, however, which with all s known circumſtances was ori- inally confined within a narrow ompaſs, our author's induſtry has ilated to the ſize of an octavo vo- ume. This he has done, partly, y epiſodes relative to the country nd its inhabitants, extracted from 'atterſon and Vaillant, and, partly, y his own reflections and remarks. opper-plates deſcriptive of the atrophe, and engraved from Mr. Carter's deſigns, embelliſh the arrative.

The "Narrative of the Building, nd a Deſcripton of the Conſtruc- on of the Edyſtone Lighthouſe with tone, &c. by John Smeaton, Civil ngineer, F. R. S. Imperial Folio", s a well written and intereſting ork, for which the public in gene- al, as well as men of ſcience, are uch indebted to the ingenious uthor. The ſubject of it is very ncommon, and important in a ational view; and the athor's de- ails highly inſtructive and en- ertaining, and written with per- picuity and preciſion. In an ap- endix, Mr. Smeaton has given an ccount of the light-houſe on purn-point, near the mouth of he river Humber, which was rected under his inſpection. This plendid work is illuſtrated by twen- y two plates, which are entitled o much commendation; among which are repreſentations of the ſe- veral light-houſes, that have been erected on the Edyſtone rocks, and an elevation and ſection of that built on Spurn-point.

The "Hiſtorical Report on Ramſgate Harbour, written by or- der of, and addreſſed to the Truſ- tees" by the ſame author, is publiſh- ed with a view to inform the world of the improved ſtate of Ramſgate harbour; and alſo of the unexpect- ed difficulties which occurred in the progreſs and actual execution of that long deſired eſtabliſhment. This Hiſtorical Report we have read with conſiderable pleaſure; and we warmly recommend the peruſal of it, in order that the advantages to be derived from that great national work may be univerſally under- ſtood. In the concluſion the author ſtates, that evidence can be produ- ced, that the harbour has been, this winter, the means of ſaving a great many ſhips and veſſels, and property to the amount of between two and three hundred thouſand pounds, with a great number of valuable lives, which otherwiſe would have been driven on the flats and rocks, and in all probability loſt. Since the publication of this work, we have ſeen a ſtatement which aſſerts, on good grounds, that from the commencement of the work, above eight thouſand lives have been ſaved by the conſtruction of this artificial harbour, and property to the amount of more than four millions.

Intimately connected with hiſto- ry are thoſe branches of the fine arts which aſſiſt in developing traces of the religion, manners, hiſtory, or taſte of former ages; or which are deſigned to perpetuate the memory of extraordinary perſons, and of ſignal events in modern times. Among other branches, that of engraving was practiſed in very early times; and the precious re-

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mains of the artists of antiquity, in this line, compose some of the richest treasures in the most celebrated modern cabinets. The number, however, of these remains, especially of such as are of the most elegant workmanship, or in a perfect state of preservation, is comparatively, but small. It has, therefore, for many years, been the employment of ingenious artists to copy scarce and valuable gems; which, in many instances, has been done with such an astonishing degree of accuracy and perfection, that it is not an easy matter to distinguish them from the originals. Among modern artists, Mr. Tassie is entitled to distinguished fame; and his well known and universal admired collection is unrivalled, whether we consider the number or the excellence of the articles. Those of our readers who wish for a particular account and explanation of those articles, have it now in their power to consult "a Descriptive Catalogue of a general Collection of ancient and modern Engraved Gems, Cameos as well as Intaglios, taken from the most celebrated Cabinets in Europe; cast in coloured Pastes, white Enamel and Sulphur, by James Tassie, Modeller; arranged and described by R. E. Raspe, and illustrated with Copper-plates, &c. in 2 Vols. 4to." in French and English. This catalogue is arranged in a similar manner with that of the Abbé Winckelmann, which describes baron Stosch's collection. It is divided into two classes. The first class consists of Egyptain coins, including hieroglyphic inscriptions, and hieroglyphic figures or symbols; Abraxas and Talismans, of the Gnostics, Basilideans, &c. Persepolitan and Parthian coins; Mithriac lions; Indian, Arabic, and Persian engravings; and Greek and Roman coins relating to subjects in mythology, the fables of the heroes, history, and to miscellaneous subjects. The second class contains modern engravings, relating to the Old and New Testament, saints, and legendary subjects; together with portraits of sovereigns and celebrated characters, unknown heads, and devices, and micellaneous coins. In an introductory discourse to these volumes, and in his descriptions and explanations, Mr. Raspe discovers a considerable share of knowledge, classical learning, and acquaintance with the comments and opinions of other writers who have engaged in similar tasks: but we cannot entirely acquit him of errors and gross impropcieties. The plates which illustrate his descriptions are fifty-seven in number, and are executed with great accuracy and elegance. To the classical scholar, the historian, and the admirer of the fine arts, we can promise much pleasure and entertainment from the perusal of these volumes.

Among the biographical publications of the year, the first which we have to announce is "the Life of Samuel Johnson, L. L. D. comprehending an Account of his Studies and numerous Works, in Chronological Order, a Series of his Epistolary Corrsepondence and Conversations with many eminent Persons, and various Original Pieces of his Composition, never before published, &c. by James Boswell Esq. in 2 vols. 4to." Of Dr. Johnson's character we have had frequent opportunities of expressing our opinion in the course of our periodical labours. Our present attention, therefore, must be confined to Mr. Boswell's life of that extraordinary man, as a biographical production. Of the form of this voluminous and very mis-

miſcellaneous work, we cannot, perhaps, give our readers a better idea, than by adopting the words of the author. "Inſtead," ſays he, of melting down my materials into one maſs, and conſtantly ſpeaking in my own perſon, by which I might have appeared to have more merit in the execution of the work, I reſolved to adopt and enlarge upon the excellent plan of Mr. Maſon, in his memoirs of Gray. Whatever narrative is neceſſary to explain, connect, and ſupply, I furniſh it, to the beſt of my ability, but in the chronological ſeries of Johnſon's life, which I trace as diſtinctly as I can, day by year, I produce, wherever it is in my power, his own minutes, letters, or converſation, being convinced that this mode is more lively, and will make my reader better acquainted with him, than even moſt of thoſe were who actually knew him, but could only know him partially; whereas, there is here an accumulation of intelligence from various points, by which his character is more fully underſtood and illuſtrated." With reſpect to the advantages which Mr. Boſwell poſſeſſed for engaging in ſuch a work, it ſhould be recollected, that he was united to Dr. Johnſon in the intimacy of friendſhip for more than twenty years; that he had the theme of writing his life conſtantly in view, of which circumſtance the doctor was appriſed, and from time to time, while our author paid him a conſtant and aſſiduous attention, ſatisfied his enquiries by communicating to him different incidents of his life; and that he has been favoured with the moſt liberal communications of many other intimate friends of the doctor's. Theſe advantages Mr. Boſwell has employed in a manner which has afforded us conſiderable entertainment; while at the ſame time, we are ready to acknowledge, that his work is rendered unneceſſarily tedious and prolix by the too frequent inſertions of unintereſting converſation, and of trifling anecdotes and remarks. With reſpect to the freedom in which he hath indulged himſelf of mentioning facts, and of detailing private converſation, which can afford no gratification to his readers, but may injure the feelings of living characters, we conſider it to be highly reprehenſible. The picture which the author has drawn of his hero, is, upon the whole, an accurate and juſt one; notwithſtanding that the partiality of friendſhip hath occaſioned him to give a colouring to it, which, many will contend, renders it a too flattering likeneſs. The ſtyle and language of this work, with a few exceptions, are plain, unaffected, and perſpicuous.

The next publication which we ſhall introduce to our readers is, an "Eſſay on the Life and Character of John Lord Somers, Baron of Eveſham; alſo a Sketch of an Eſſay on the Life and Character of Philip Earl of Hardwicke; propoſed to be inſerted in a compendious Hiſtory of Worceſterſhire, by R. Cookſey, eſq." With reſpect to the public life of lord Somers, but little is ſaid in this eſſay. What is chiefly intereſting in it is, the account of the family of Somers, and their mode of living at the White Ladies, a religious houſe in Worceſter, and the connexions formed by Mr. Somers in early life. In his attempt to prove that Mr. Somers was the author of the Tale of a Tub, ſo generally attributed to Dr. Swift, we think that Mr. Cookſey is greatly deficient. To this eſſay are added, a liſt of lord Somer's writings, epitaphs of his fa-

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nally, &c. letters, and other extracts from manuscripts and printed books. The Sketch of an Essay on the Life and Character of lord Hardwicke is chiefly recommended by the insertion of two letters; one from Mr. Bentham, a respectable lawyer of 80 years old, who knew his lordship well, and the other from a correspondent who chuses that his name shall be concealed. These letters exhibit very different pictures of lord Hardwicke: but which of them approaches nearest to nature, we will not take upon ourselves to determine without farther information. Mr. Cooksey will, doubtless, render these biographical sketches more regular and complete, before they are inserted in his projected history.

The "View of the Character and Public Services of the late John Howard, esq. L.L.D. F.R.S. by John Aikin, M.D." is a biographical publication of considerable merit, and which will be read with pleasure by every person who has admired the actions of that celebrated philanthropist. Dr. Aikin's knowledge of Mr. Howard was derived from a personal acquaintance with him, and a long continued intercourse of intimate friendship. After a particular and accurate account of his private life, our biographer relates, in chronological order, his various movements as a public character, and the measures of general utility in which he engaged, with a disinterested and persevering fortitude, of which the world can boast few examples. This relation is accompanied with judicious analyses of his different publications, and a variety of incidental reflections and remarks, which do credit to the author's knowledge of the world, to his candour, and to his humanity. The character of Mr. Howard, with which Dr. Aikin concludes his book, is drawn with equal judgment and impartiality. As a composition, this work is correct, unaffected, and elegant.

"The Eulogies of Howard, a Vision," are also a proper tribute of respect to the memory of that excellent man. In this work the author represents himself as introduced, in a vision, by affection and sensibility, to the paradise of true glory, over which gratitude and admiration preside. In this paradise he finds three magnificent structures, devoted to the professions of law, medicine, and theology; in which panegyrics are ordained to be pronounced on distinguished characters. The elegant and animated eulogies which compose this little volume, he represents to have been delivered by the presidents of each, at numerous meetings to which he was introduced by his guides.

The "Memoirs of the late Rev. John Wesley, A.M. with a Review of his Life and Writings, and a History of Methodism, from its Commencement in 1729, to the present Time, by John Hampson, A.B. in 3 Vols." were written principally, during the life of the celebrated subject of them, and finished since his death. Mr. Hampson seems to have spared no pains to acquire information concerning this father of the methodistical sect, and the people with whom he associated. He has diligently read Mr. Wesley's writings in general, particularly his sermons, journals, and controversial pieces; the correspondence between the family of the Wesleys and others, from 1724 to 1739; and he has availed himself, likewise, of the advantage of much private information. With these aids, he has with great indus-

try

ry composed a judicious and inter-
ting narrative, for which the pub-
is much indebted to him. We
lieve that he hath endeavoured
draw a picture which should be,
s nearly as possible, "a just tran-
ript of truth and nature." As
r as our information will enable
s to determine, he is faithful and
partial. Many of his remarks
iscover him to be possessed of a
eral and well-informed mind;
nd, together with his attention to
e recommendations of arrange-
ent and style, entitle him to a re-
pectable rank among the biogra-
hers of the age.

The "Account of the Life and
Vritings of Thomas Day, esq. by
ames Keir, esq." contains a view
f the opinions, principles, and dis-
ositions of a man of exemplary
rivate manners, of unimpeachable
ublic virtue, of great strength of
ind and constitutional knowledge,
nd a steady friendship to the rights
nd happiness of mankind. His
xcellent and entertaining book, en-
itled Sandford and Merton, has
iven him an established fame as
friend of the rising generation.
Ir. Keir appears to have had a
ufficient knowledge of Mr. Day, to
ppreciate his character with ac-
uracy and just discrimination;
nd his account of it abounds in
elicious and useful observations.

The "Sketch of the Life and
rojects of John Law, of Lauriston,
omptroller General of the Fi-
ances in France," is an interesting
nd pleasing piece of biography,
hich contains ample matter to
atify the curiosity of the reader.
he hero of this production, is well
nown to have been one of the
ost extraordinary characters of
odern times; and an attention
o the circumstances of his life, as
financier, may afford lessons beau-

monition to the politicians of the
present day. This work, we are
informed, is only a part of a larger
work intended for the press, entitled
"a Topographical Description of
the Parish of Cramond," in which the
author promises a variety of bio-
graphical anecdotes relative to emi-
nent and distinguished men, which,
if we may judge from the specimen
before us, cannot fail of proving
acceptable to the public.

Those English readers whose cu-
riosity was excited by the account
which we gave of the "Memoirs
of the Duke de Richlieu, &c." in
our view of the literature of France
for the year 1790, are now present-
ed with an opportunity of gratify-
ing that passion: as that work has
been translated into their native
language, by a person who appears
to have had the proper requisites for
such an undertaking.

The "Secret Memoirs of Robert
Count de Parades, written by him-
self, on coming out of the Bastile,"
are a translation from the French, of
what appears to be an authentic
account of the *honourable* transac-
tions of a French spy in England,
during the progress of the late war:
authentic we mean with regard to
the general circumstances of his
being employed in that capacity by
the court of France, and of his
success in obtaining information
prejudicial to the interests of this
country. We hesitate, however, at
admitting some of the facts which
he relates: and wish to be incre-
dulous, when we find him endea-
vouring to involve a number of per-
sons in our public offices, in the
crime of the basest and most profli-
gate treachery.

The "Sketch of the Character
of his Royal Highness the Prince
of Denmark, &c." contains a pleas-
ing view of the talents and dis-

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position of the heir apparent to that monarchy; who, if we may trust to general report, promises fair to employ the influence of the crown, in diffusing knowledge, literature, and liberty, among the enslaved peasants of an arbitrary government. Considering these to be his views, our ingenious author, who appears to be a foreigner, is unbounded in the applause which he bestows on the subject of his eulogy. But what is principally curious and interesting in this publication is, the review which it gives of the present state of literature, and the polite arts in Denmark; and the anecdotes which it contains of the illustrious characters which adorn that kingdom.

"The "Authentic Memoirs and Sufferings of Dr. William Stahl, a German Physician, written by himself, at his Enlargement in 1780, translated from the German," contain an affecting and interesting narrative of the cruelties which the author underwent, from the inquisition at Goa, which must shock every humane and feeling breast. Surely the most bigotted Portuguese will not be long before he follows the example of his more enlightened catholic brethren, who have emancipated themselves from the shackles of that tyrannical and impious institution!

"The Life of Joseph Balsamo, commonly called Count Cagliostro, containing the singular Adventures of that extraordinary Personage, from his Birth untill his Imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo, &c." is a translation from the original proceedings against that profligate character, which were published at Rome, by order of the Apostolic chamber. Those who are delighted with a recital of uncommon adventures, and of the deceptions which artful imposture can practise on the weak and credulous, will receive considerable entertainment from the perusal of this volume. We shall only add, that the crimes of which Balsamo had been guilty against society, were not the alledged motives for the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, which his Roman judges passed on him, but, to their eternal disgrace, the practice of free masonry. In the ecclesiastical state, whoever can be convicted of performing the mysteries of that innocent and benevolent institution, is deemed guilty of capital felony.

The "Memoirs of the first forty-five Years of the Life of James Lackington, the present Bookseller in Chiswell Street, Moorfields, London, written by himself," relate the author's progress through life, from the situation of a journeyman shoemaker, to that of a bookseller who, if we may credit his own declaration, receives annual profits from his business to the amount of four thousand pounds. Two motives seem to have predominated in the author's mind, when he determined to write these memoirs; vanity, and interest. For the first, many allowances will be made, when the surprising change in his circumstances is considered. The latter is the life of all trade; and justifies the author in publishing this volume as a larger species of advertisement, in which he makes use of every allowable art in recommending his own shop and goods. It will not be imagined that the incidents attending the life of such a person as Mr. Lackington, have been very important or interesting. He makes the most, however, of the occurrences he met with; and we have frequently been diverted by his narrative and remarks.

"The

"The Life of Thomas Paine, the Author of the Rights of Man, by Francis Oldys, A. M." is an attempt to catch the notice of the public, by artifice and fraud. Instead of being a defence of the writings of Paine, it is, chiefly, an attack on his offences against grammar, and propriety of language, which will not weigh much in the scale against the principles for which that author contends. What is called the Life of Thomas Paine, attempts to throw much abuse and dirt on that obnoxious character, by reciting a variety of facts relative to his private life; for the truth of which we have the evidence of Mr. Francis Oldys. This name, it seems, is a borrowed one, under the disguise of which an anonymous author has chosen to ann the stiletto. If it were of any importance to the public to obtain an accurate knowledge of the private character of Mr. Paine, they could not rely on the authenticity of the information in this pamphlet.

The first work which offers itself to our notice in the next department of our literary history is the 2d. vol. of Mr. Grose's "Antiquities of Scotland." In our last year's Register, we announced the publication of the 1st. vol. of this valuable addition to the author's very curious and interesting labours on the subject of antiquities. We refer our readers to the general character which we then gave of the work, as strictly applicable to the volume before us; and we congratulate them on obtaining so rich an accession to their stores for instruction and entertainment.

The public are likewise presented with an acceptable offering in the "Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reign of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. Exhibited in a Series of Original Papers, selected from the Manuscripts of the noble Families of Howard, Talbot, Cecil, &c. by Edmund Lodge, esq. Pursuivant of Arms, and F. S. A." in three vols. 4to. Of the curious and interesting pieces which compose these volumes, those which are entitled the Talbot Papers, were extracted from fifteen volumes of manuscripts which are preserved in the College of Arms, to which they were presented by Henry the sixth, duke of Norfolk, in the line of the Howards. The Howard Papers were selected partly from the same volumes, and partly from manuscripts in the possession of the present duke of Norfolk. The Cecil Papers came into the possession of the author's father, as residuary legatee to a lady, whose connexions, it is imagined, obtained them illicitly from the Cecil family; the originals, therefore, have been restored by Mr. Lodge to the marquis of Salisbury. These several papers are arranged, as nearly as possible, in chronological order; and are illustrated by a variety of biographical anecdotes, local facts, and pertinent remarks, which the author has collected and digested with great assiduity and care, and thrown into the form of notes. The historian and the annalist may draw much important and curious information from these volumes; particularly, from the interesting documents which they contain relative to the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, and the correspondence of Elizabeth and her ministers, with George earl of Shrewsbury, during fifteen years in which he had the custody of that princess. This work is elegantly printed, according to the ortho-

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orthography of the originals, and is ornamented with plates of monuments, portraits, and autographs.

"The Antiquities of Ireland, by Edward Ledwich, LL. B. Math. and F. S. A. of London and Scotland," consist of a number of detached essays on subjects relative to the antiquities of our sister kingdom, which were written at such times as the author could spare from clerical and domestic avocations, and are ushered before the public under the patronage of the Rev. Dean Coote, "who devotes a large portion of his ample fortune to its noblest use, the encouragement of letters, arts, and industry." Our limits will not permit us to specify the numerous articles which have employed the pen of Mr. Ledwich. We can, however, assure our readers, that many of them are curious and important, and discover the author to be learned, ingenious, and indefatigable in the labours of an antiquary. He shews, likewise, on many occasions, that he is too philosophic to be influenced by the prejudices of some of his countrymen, in favour of the claims of Ireland to a very early civilization. The subjects treated of in this vol. are illustrated by thirty-seven plates.

Mr. James Carmichael's publication, entitled, "Various Facts concerning the Peerage of Scotland, collected from the public Records, original Instruments, and authentic Manuscripts; to which is added an Appendix, containing many original Papers, &c." consists of several curious and interesting extracts from the records that are still preserved in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, relative to the Scottish nobility, which will be highly prized by the antiquary, and the historian. The extracts from the manuscripts of sir James Balfour, Lyon king of arms to Charles I. are particularly valuable.

The "Archæologia Cornu-Britannica, or an Essay to preserve the ancient Cornish Language, containing the Rudiments of that Dialect, &c. by Wm. Pryce, M. D." is a work that will be principally acceptable to philologists. The object of the author is to shew, that the Cornish British, which he distinguishes very precisely from the modern Cornish dialect, is the most pure, and nearest the original language of this island, of any speech now used in Armorica, or the northern provinces of France, Great Britain, and Ireland; that it is genuine, as introduced from the Shores of Greece and Sidon. On this work Dr. Pryce has bestowed great labour and industry: with what success, we must leave for others, who have more leisure and greater knowledge for appreciating the merit of such publications. In drawing up this essay, our author hath availed himself of the researches of others who have preceded him in similar investigations, of a vocabulary found in the Cotton library, and of the communications which he received from different friends.

The "Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon, by sir William Pole, of Colcombe and Shute, Knight, &c." who died in 1635, and printed from an autograph in the possession of his lineal descendant, sir John William de la Pole, bart. To the papers of our eminent antiquary, many additions have been made by his son, which are distinguished from his father's by being printed in italics. The future historians of that county will receive considerable benefit

benefit from this publication, which the author's death prevented him from completing.

The treatise entitled "a concise History of Chester, from the most authentic and respectable Authors, &c." is the production of a person who appears to have been laborious in his researches, and accurate in his statements, when not under the guidance of fable and tradition. What he calls his descriptive and lively observations on the manners, customs, &c. of the inhabitants, are written in too quaint, and frequently in too ludicrous a style, to suit the solemn gravity of the student in antiquarian lore. The ground-plan of the city and suburbs of Chester, with which this little work is embellished, appears to be accurately drawn.

"The History of Derby, from the remote Ages of Antiquity, to the Year 1791, &c. by W. Hutton, F.A. & S." is the production of another author, who is rather desirous of being accounted a merry wag, and entertaining story-teller, than a gloomy pore over musty manuscripts, on the vestiges of his barbarous ancestors. We mean not by this observation to exclude him from the honours due to those who have exercised a laudable industry in topographical researches. His account of the situation, air, soil &c. of Derby, of the illustrious families who have inherited its honours, of its trade, amusements, remarkable occurrences, eminent men, and the adjacent seats of the gentry, will convey information to the reader, while his digressions and incidental remarks will frequently amuse him. This work is ornamented with several plates, which do credit both to the delineator and the engraver.

"The History of the Town of Taunton, in the County of Somerset, embellished with plates, by Joshua Toulmin A. M." is a judicious and pleasing piece of local history, which merits the encouragement of the numerous list of subscribers, by whom it is patronised. It is a regular and methodical work, divided it into six chapters. In the first chapter, Mr. Toulmin describes the ancient state of the town, its situation, antiquities, and other circumstances. The second chapter treats of the public buildings. The third chapter contains an account of the civil constitution of the town; the fourth, of its trade, manufactures, and navigation; the fifth, of the political transactions and revolutions in which it has been the scene of action; and the sixth, of the present state of the town, with the modern improvements and population. In this work Mr. Toulmin has equally avoided the faults of frivolous detail, and dry uninteresting narrative. His materials seem to have been drawn from authentic sources; and they present us with a number of instructive and entertaining facts, intermixed with a variety of sensible, important, and interesting observations. Mr. Toulmin proposes to publish an appendix, containing biographical memoirs of eminent persons connected with the town and neighbourhood, epitaphs, chronological tables &c. &c. which will be a very proper addition to the work before us.

"The History and Antiquities of Tewksbury, from the earliest Periods to the present Time, collected from ancient Records, and other authentic Materials," is a publication which possesses considerable merit, although it may not be entitled to a dignified rank among local histories. It contains a concise, and, we believe, an accurate account of whatever is worthy of attention in the history of Tewksbury, or deserves the notice of strangers; and

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may be recommended to those who pass through that town, as an useful and respectable directory.

"The History and Antiquities of Claybrook, in the County of Leicester, &c. by the Rev. A. Macaulay, A. M.", is likewise a pleasing and well written little treatise. It is not drawn up in the strict and formal order of history; but is, notwithstanding, sufficiently instructive with respect to the topography and antiquities of Claybrook, while the author's incidental observations render it entertaining to general readers.

Among the books of travels which have been published during the year 1791, there hath appeared a third vol. of "Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c. by W. Coxe, A. M. F. R. S. &c." The general merits of Mr. Coxe, as a writer of travels, are so well known, that it would be a needless task for us to enter into the appreciation of them. It will be sufficient, therefore, that we inform our readers what are the general contents of this volume. It contains observations made by the author, during a second tour into the northern kingdoms, which are given in addition to those formerly published by him; and an account of Jutland, Norway, Livonia, Courland, and Prussia, which he had not visited on his former journey. Among other curious particulars, we meet with an account of the execution of the counts Struensee and Brandt; a view of the present state of the Swedish government, commerce, navigation, revenues, expenditure, and bank; an enquiry into the population of Norway; anecdotes relative to Gustavus Vasa; a plan for the establishment of schools in the several governments of Russia; an account of the empress of Russia's gallery of pictures; statements of the population, revenue, expenditure, and army of Russia; and an account of the trade of the Russian dominions. To these, and other important articles, Mr. Coxe has added biographical memoirs of several eminent men, of which we have given specimens among our biographical anecdotes and characters. In an appendix, we have an accurate list of the governments, provinces, and districts of Russia, according to the new geographical division of that empire.

In our account of the literature of France, for the year 178[illegible], we laid before our readers the plan of the "Travels of Anacharsis the Younger, in Greece, during the Middle of the fourth Century, before the Christian Æra; by the Abbé Barthelemy, Keeper of the Medals in the Cabinet of the King of France, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres." We likewise, in that volume, fully expressed our idea of the great merit and utility of that important work; and it would be superfluous to repeat our former sentiments and language. What has led us to make these observations is, the appearance of an elegant and faithful translation of those travels into the English language, in seven volumes 8vo. with an eighth in 4to. containing maps, plates, views, and coins, illustrative of the geography and antiquities of ancient Greece. To young persons we particularly recommend this work, as more replete than any we have for a long time seen, both with instruction and amusement.

In our account of the domestic literature of the year 1788, we gave a general character, of "A Tour in England and Scotland, in

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1785, by an English Gentleman." This gentleman was Thomas Newte, esq. who has republished the work, during the present year, with numerous enlargements and alterations, under the title of "Prospects and Observations, or a Tour in England and Scotland, natural, œconomical, and literary." Notwithstanding that the author in his new work, has introduced a number of digressions, which are frequently too long and tedious, we can promise the reader, be he a man of business, a political œconomist, or a philosopher, that he will meet with much entertainment in the perusal of it.

Among those books of travels which deserve to be recommended, as possessing very superior merit and utility, we meet with "a Journey through Spain, in the Years 1786 and 1787, with particular Attention to the Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Population, Taxes, and Revenue of that Country, &c. by Joseph Townsend, A.M. in three Vols." In the first volume Mr. Townsend, after giving some observations which occurred to him in his passage through France, carries his reader, by different routes, through Barcelona, and Zaragoza, to Madrid; from thence to Aranjuez and Toledo, and to the Asturias, through Valladolid and Leon. In the second volume he returns to Madrid from the Asturias, through Salamanca and Segovia; in which journey he particularly examines the palaces at St. Ildefonso and the Escurial. After describing, in a particular manner, the character of the King, and courtiers, and giving what seems to be an accurate view of the debts, revenues, and population of Spain, he proceeds from the metropolis, through the Sierra Morena, to Seville and Cadiz, of which place and its manufactures, commerce, and particularly the trade of Spain with her colonies, he gives a very interesting description. In the third volume he proceeds by sea from Cadiz to Malaga; from which place he passes through Granada, Carthagena, Alicant, Valencia, and Tortosa, to Barcelona, where his journey ends. The diversified scenes which occurred in these different tracks, the manners and morals of the people, the natural history, finances, manufactures, and political œconomy of the country, are particularly and minutely described by Mr. Townsend; and not any objects appear to have escaped his notice and examination, that can interest the statesman, the philosopher, or the connoisseur. His own observations and remarks are, many of them, novel, judicious, and valuable; and could only proceed from an enlightened and liberal mind. We wish, by this imperfect account of the volumes before us, to excite the curiosity of our readers to become acquainted with them, from a conviction that they will afford much useful information and entertainment to an inquisitive mind. The style and language of Mr. Townsend are, in general, perspicuous and correct.

The "Tour through Italy, containing full Directions for travelling in that interesting Country, &c. by Thomas Martyn, B. D. F. R. S. &c." is a most complete vade mecum for inquisitive travellers. Beside all necessary information relative to the money, weights, measures, method of travelling, the rates of posts, and accurate itineraries, which are accompanied with useful œconomical observations and remarks, and pleasing descriptions, it contains ample catalogues of every thing that is curious in architecture, painting, &c.

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sculpture &c. and very particular accounts of the four principal cities, Rome, Florence, Naples, and Venice, with their environs. And it is illustrated by an elegant coloured map, pointing out the different roads in Italy. Such a work, written by a person of Mr. Martyn's acknowledged science and taste, does not stand in need of any recommendation which we can give it.

The "Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, Tarudant, and thence over Mount Atlas to Morocco &c. by W. Lempriere, Surgeon," is a valuable accession to our stock of intelligent and amusing books of travels. The object of Mr. Lempriere's journey was, to render medical assistance to the favourite son of the late emperor of Morocco, in consequence of an application from that prince to the governor of Gibraltar. While passing through the country, and during his residence at the emperor's court, he appears to have paid great attention to the state of that empire, the customs and manners of the inhabitants, the court, and the royal harem, to which he was admitted in his professional capacity. The narrative which he has written is an evidence how well he employed his time: it is drawn up in a plain, unaffected manner, and contains various particulars, which serve to throw a light on the present state of that barbarous and inhospitable country. The author's own adventures, which occupy a considerable part of the work, and the remarks with which they are interspersed, are interesting and entertaining.

"The Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, describing the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians, &c. by J. Long," appear to have been written by a man of veracity, and a sensible, judicious observer. His description of the Indian customs and manners, with which he had opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted in his numerous trading voyages, and relations of his own adventures, are curious and entertaining; and will be found of considerable use to those who may engage in the Indian commerce. To such persons, likewise, his account of the posts situated on the river St. Lawrence, lake Ontario, &c. and his vocabulary of the Chipeway language, &c. &c. will be an acceptable present. These travels are accompanied with a map of the country, and stations which Mr. Long visited, or of which he received accurate accounts from other travellers.

"The Route to India, through France, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, Natolia, Syria, and the Desart of Arabia, &c. with the Distances, Time, Mode, and Expence of travelling, by Captain Matthew Jenour, &c." will principally be of service to those who, on a political or commercial emergency, or from motives of curiosity, may be desirous of reaching our oriental possessions by land. It seems to contain every necessary information for the traveller; and is written with plainness and perspicuity.

The "Observations and Remarks made during a Voyage to the Island of Teneriffe, Amsterdam, the Marian Islands near Van Diemen's Land, Otaheite, &c. and from thence to Canton, in the Brig Mercury, commanded by John Henry Cox, esq. by Lieut. George Mortimer, of the Marines," do not offer many important additions to the geographical or historical knowledge, which has been supplied by other voyagers who have traversed

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he ſame ſeas. They are written, owever, in a modeſt and ſenſible anner, and contain ſome facts and ircumſtances which are curious and orthy attention.

" The Diſcoveries of the French 1768, and 1769, to the South aſt of New Guinea, with the ſub-equent Viſits to the ſame Iſlands, y Engliſh Navigators, &c." tranſ-ted from the French, will not af-ord much entertainment to thoſe ho are converſant with the voy-ges of Cook, Bougainville, and ore recent navigators. But it oes not ſeem to be ſo much the de-gn of the author, to convey new nformation reſpecting thoſe coun-ies, as to ſupport the claims of the rench in the preſent, and of the ortugueſe and Spaniards in former nturies, to geographical diſcove-es, the merit of which has been ared by different Engliſh naviga-rs. Whether the author be ſuc-ſsful, or otherwiſe, we leave to oſe who are better acquainted ith ſcientific details, without a nowledge of which it is impoſſible draw a fair concluſion. What is oſt new and intereſting in this ork, the author has extracted from e original journal of M. de Sur-ſe, and of the officers who com-anded under him. The charts hich illuſtrate this volume are nu-erous and uſeful.

The " Journal kept in the Iſle of an, &c. by Richard Townley Eſq. 2 vols," contains a variety of bſervations on the ſoil, climate, d natural productions of that and; as alſo on its antiquities, e manners and cuſtoms peculiar to e inhabitants, and numerous other pics, from which we have received th inſtruction and amuſement. t what is valuable in theſe vo-mes, is ſo intermixed with what is volous, unintereſting, and foreign to the hiſtory of the Iſle of Man, and the whole is ſo wretchedly ar-ranged, that we found the entire pe-ruſal of it a very unpleaſant taſk.

The " Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Paleſtine, with a general Hiſtory of the Levant, by the Abbe Mariti, tranſlated from the Italian, in 2 vols," we have read with much pleaſure and ſatisfaction. The firſt volume is entirely employed in de-ſcribing the iſland of Cyprus, where the Abbè reſided ſome time. It in-cludes an accurate and particular ac-count of the face of the country, its natural produce, the towns which it contains, its antiquities, hiſtory, the manners, cuſtoms, and religion of the inhabitants, their government and commerce, and the office, power, and privileges of the different European conſuls reſiding in the iſland. The ſecond volume opens with an account of the diffe-rent people who inhabit Syria and Paleſtine; and afterwards gives the reſult of our author's obſervations and enquiries in his excurſions to Acre, Mount Carmel, Nazareth, Tiberias, Tyre, Cæſarea, Jeruſa-lem, Jericho, the river Jordan, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem, and the en-virons of thoſe reſpective places. An account of travels through countries which have made ſuch a conſpicuous figure in ſacred and profane hiſtory, and which have un-dergone the moſt extraordinary re-volutions recorded in the annals of mankind, cannot but greatly excite the curioſity of the public. And when undertaken by an intelligent obſerver, of unſuſpected fidelity, they muſt prove highly gratifying. The Abbè Mariti appears to have been well qualified for ſuch a taſk; and the honorary rewards which have been conferred on him by ſe-veral learned academies, for the able manner in which he hath perform-

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ed it, are very flattering to the author, and to his work. In our opinion, he richly merited ſuch rewards. His travels abound in curious and uſeful information, lively and intereſting deſcription, and in obſervations and remarks which prove the author, notwithſtanding that he is an Italian Abbè, to have a mind truly liberal and philoſophical. The original work is in five volumes, two of which only are here tranſlated. We doubt not, however, but that it will meet with ſuch a reception from the Engliſh reader, as ſhall encourage the ſpeedy appearance of the remaining volumes.

The "Lettres ſur divers Endroits, &c. i. e. Letters concerning ſeveral Parts of Europe, Aſia, Africa, &c. which were viſited in 1788, and 1789, by Alexander Biſani," are written in eaſy, unaffected language, and contain the remarks of an intelligent and lively traveller, in paſſing over many claſſic and intereſting ſcenes, from which we have received much pleaſure and entertainment. The principal places which he deſcribes are, Palermo, Agrigentum, Malta, Salonica, Athens, Smyrna, Conſtantinople, Tripoli, Tunis, Carthage, Gibraltar, Toulon, Leghorn, and Sardinia.

From the "Travels round the World, in the Years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, by M. de Pagès, Captain in the French Navy, &c. in 2 Vols," we have received much inſtruction as well as amuſement. The firſt volume gives a very intereſting account of the author's travels from New Orleans, acroſs the vaſt North American continent, by Mexico, to Acapulco; at which place he embarked for the Phillipine Iſlands. Theſe ſcenes, ſeldom if ever viſited by any Europeans, excepting the Spaniards, who are not communicative of information, preſented M. de Pagès with many ſingular and ſtriking objects, which he deſcribes in a manner that cannot fail to gratify the moſt ardent curioſity, while his judicious and ſenſible obſervations contribute to the extenſion of natural and philoſophical knowledge. His account of the Spaniſh Indies is particularly valuable. In the ſecond volume, M. de Pagès conducts his readers from Manilla to Batavia, Bombay, Surat, the country of the Mahrattas, Baſſorah, and through the deſarts of Arabia to Syria; many parts of which he viſited before his return to France. Notwithſtanding that theſe routes have been followed by many other travellers, there is a degree of novelty in our author's manner of deſcription, and in ſome of the circumſtances which he met with, that will amply repay the reader for peruſing theſe volumes. On the whole, we think this work a valuable addition to thoſe publications, which tend to increaſe our knowledge of the globe we inhabit, and to enlarge our acquaintance with the human character.

The "Picture of Italy, tranſlated from the original German of W. de Archenholtz, &c. by Joſeph Trapp, A. M. in 2 Vols." contains an outline of that celebrated country, ſo often viſited by inquiſitive and ſcientific travellers, which appears to be accurately drawn, and has afforded us conſiderable pleaſure in the examination of it. It preſents us, likewiſe, with ſome intereſting circumſtances, and curious information, which we do not remember to have met with in preceding writers.

In our account of the literature of France, for the year 1789, we announced the publication of "Travels in Barbary, &c. in 2 Vols. by the

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the abbé Poiret." Of this work, that part which is descriptive and relates to the customs and manners of the inhabitants, has been published in an English dress, in a small volume, which appears to have been translated with attention and fidelity.

The marquis de Langle's "Picturesque Description of Switzerland, translated from the French," consists of remarks written, sometimes under the shade of a tree, and at other times at the side of a rivulet, in different rambles which the author made on foot through that country. It was his object "briefly to narrate every thing that occurred to his fugitive ideas, and vagrant perambulations." Order and method, therefore, will not be expected in such a performance; and it will be natural to imagine that it will often be found very unequal, if not sometimes very desultory. It is, however, but justice to add, that it is frequently interesting and amusing. Many of the author's observations are original and instructive; and his turns of wit, with which they are intermixed, will afford entertainment to the reader.

The Political publications of the year 1791 have been very numerous, owing, partly to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and partly to that growing fondness for discussion, which in a free country it is desirable to encourage rather than controul. But, from the nature of our work, we are precluded from entering into the merits of the different questions which agitated the public mind.

Even on the subject of the French Revolution, great and important as that event is likely to prove in the history of mankind, such is the accumulation of materials with which our catalogue might be enlarged since the last year only, that we are obliged to restrict ourselves to the notice of a very few of the principal treatises which have interested the attention of the public.

Among these, the first in chronological order, are the "Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France, &c. by Joseph Priestley, LL. D, F. R. S. &c." These letters are thirteen in number. The first five contain animadversions on those passages in Mr. Burke's book which relate to the revolution of France, and some circumstances attending it, the rights of men and of kings, the revolution in England in 1688, the revolution society, and Dr. Price. In these letters the author very satisfactorily exposes the incongruities which abound in Mr. Burke's Reflections, together with the illiberality and injustice with which he treats the friends to improvement and reform; and by a series of acute persuasive arguments, supports the whig side of the question relative to the origin and principles of civil government. But what Dr. Priestley more particularly discusses is, the ecclesiastical part of Mr. Burke's Reflections, and what he has written on the subject of the civil establishment of religion. On these discussions he is employed in the sixth letter, and the following ones, to the twelfth inclusive. The various topics connected with this part of his subject, our author treats with his accustomed shrewdness and freedom; and assails his adversary, not only with the weapons of forcible reasoning, but of keen and pointed irony. The last letter, in which Dr. Priestley delineates the prospect of the general enlargement of liberty, civil and religious, opened by the revolu-

tions in America and France, is an animated and pleaſing compoſition, and will warm the heart of every benevolent perſon, even of thoſe who may not be equally ſanguine with the doctor in the hopes which he indulges. On the whole, we conceive that the author has given a fatal blow to the renowned champion of paradox and prejudice.

The next publication which we have to mention is "Rights of Man; being an Anſwer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution, by Thomas Paine, Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Congreſs in the American War, &c." This work is partly narrative, and partly argumentative. In the narrative part, the author developes the ſprings and ſources of the French revolution, and details the progreſs of events by which it was marked, with equal acuteneſs and perſpicuity. For this part of his work Mr. Paine was peculiarly qualified, by his reſidence at Paris, and his intimate connexion with the leading characters in the grand political drama, particularly M. de la Fayette. In the argumentative part, the author ſteps forward as a bold and intrepid defender of the principles which Mr. Burke endeavoured to conſign to deteſtation and contempt; and delivers a number of juſt and important political truths, in a ſtyle and language which though not elegant or correct, are peculiarly forcible and intereſting. His defence of religion, liberty, and of the right which God and nature have given to every man, to worſhip his creator in his own mode, without incurring any political diſability, or forfeiting any advantages of a citizen, is original and incontrovertible. With his arguments, likewiſe, Mr. Paine intermixes a ſufficient quantity of ſarcaſm and ridicule, which are very properly oppoſed to abſurdity and ſophiſtry. Many of his readers, however, who approve, in general, of the great principles for which he contends, will ſometimes think with us, that theſe ingredients are too highly ſeaſoned, or too coarſe; and applied in a manner that is not warranted by the ſtrict rules of propriety and decorum.

The "Letters on the Revolution of France, and on the new Conſtitution eſtabliſhed by the National Aſſembly, occaſioned by the Publications of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, and Alexander de Calonne, late Miniſter of State, &c. by Thomas Chriſtie," Part I. are written with great temper and moderation, by an author of ſtrong manly ſenſe, who poſſeſſed the beſt opportunities for acquiring information on the ſubjects which he diſcuſſes; and who is as liberal and diſpaſſionate, as his antagoniſts are prejudiced and intereſted. To this work is annexed a chart, exhibiting in one view all the different branches of the new conſtitution; and an Appendix, containing the moſt intereſting declarations, decrees, reſolutions, and addreſſes, of the aſſembly; the reports of ſelect committees; and ſome animated ſpeeches of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members, as well as of the king. To thoſe who would wiſh to have an accurate knowledge of the French conſtitution, and a regular ſtatement of the meaſures which were adopted by the conſtituting national aſſembly, we warmly recommend the peruſal of theſe excellent letters.

The treatiſe entitled "Vindiciæ Gallicæ; Defence of the French Revolution and its Engliſh Admirers, againſt the Accuſations of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke; including ſome Strictures on the late Production of Monſ. de Calonne, by

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by James Mackintosh," is the last publication on the subject of French politics, of which the limited nature of our work will permit us to make particular mention. This work is divided into five sections. The first treats of the general expediency and necessity of a revolution in France; the second of the composition and character of the national assembly; the third of the popular excesses which attended or followed the revolution; the fourth of the new constitution of France; and the fifth of the conduct of its English admirers. In this work, Mr. Mackintosh, notwithstanding that he has been preceded by able authors in the same controversy, appears to very considerable advantage. In political research, just discrimination, and strong argumentative powers, he has few rivals. And his reasoning is recommended by an elegance and perspicuity of style, and by an animation and energy of language, of which we cannot point out another instance in our modern political writers. The admirers of the composition, as well as the friends of the French revolution, will be highly gratified by the perusal of this performance.

On the same side of the question appeared "a Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, by sir Brooke Boothby, bart."; "Observations on the Right Hon. Edm. Burke's Pamphlet on the Subject of the French Revolution, by Benjamin Bousfield, esq."; and a variety of other pamphlets, partly original, and partly translations from the French, which are too numerous to be specified by us.

The "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in consequence of some late Discussions in Parliament relative to the Reflections on the French Revolution," has been generally attributed to Mr. Burke; and was published in order to establish the claims of that gentleman to political consistency of character, and to support several of the positions in his former work, which were contested by Mr. Paine. This performance was soon attacked in "a Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, by George Rous, esq" in "Strictures on the new Political Tenets of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, &c. by Charles Pigott, esq."; in "an Examination of an Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, &c. by W. Belsham;" and in numerous other publications, which abundantly detect the pernicious tendency of his political principles.

Mr. Burke, however, has not been left to sustain the contest alone. His principles have been avowed, and an attempt has been made to defend them, by Edw. Tatham, D. D. in his "Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, on Politics;" by Samuel Cooper, D. D. in his "First Principles of Civil and Ecclesiastical Government delineated, in two parts; in Letters to Dr. Priestley, occasioned by his to Mr. Burke;" by an anonymous author, who professes to usher into the world "a Vindication of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, in Answer to all his Opponents;" and by other light troops who have occasionally made their appearance in the field.

On the subject of toleration, and the repeal of disqualifying and penal statutes, the following were the principal publications: "Observations on the Test Laws, in reply to "a Review of the Case of the Protestant Dissenters."; "Thoughts on such Penal Statutes as affect the Protestant Dissenters, most respectfully submitted to the honourable Promoters of the Bill in favour of protesting

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Roman Catholics, by William Parry;" "a Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, from a Diſſenting Country Attorney, in Defence of his Civil Profeſſion, and Religious Diſſent;" "an Addreſs to the Public, in which an Anſwer is given to the principal Objections urged in the Houſe of Commons, by the Right Hon Lord North, and the Right Hon. W. Pitt, againſt the Repeal of the Teſt Laws, by a Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford;" "The Welch Freeholder's Vindication of his Letter to the Right Rev. Samuel Lord Biſhop of St. David's, in Reply to a Letter from a Clergyman of that Dioceſe, together with Strictures on the ſaid Letter;" "Six Letters on Intolerance; and Debates in the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, on taking into Conſideration an Overture from Jedburgh, reſpecting the Teſt Act."

The recital of the infamous tranſactions which took place at Birmingham, on the 14th of July and the following days, belongs to a different part of our work. Our province, in this place, is only to record the title of the publications, to which thoſe tranſactions gave riſe. The firſt of theſe was a ſmall tract, including "Dr. Prieſtley's Letter to the Inhabitants of Birmingham; Mr. Keir's Vindication of the Revolution Dinner, and Mr. Ruſſel's Account of the Proceedings relating to it, with the Toaſts, &c." To this ſucceeded "Thoughts on the Birmingham Riots, by a Welch Freeholder;" "Thoughts on the late Riots of Birmingham," by a Perſon who is for attributing all the Miſchief committed there to Dr. Prieſtley; and "a Letter to the Rev. Joſeph Prieſtley, occaſioned by his late Addreſs to the Inhabitants of Birmingham." To theſe muſt be added, "Remarks on a Sermon lately publiſhed, by the Rev. John Clayton, in three Letters to a Friend, by a Proteſtant Diſſenter;" and a Remonſtrance with the Rev. J. Clayton, on his "Sermon on the Duty of Chriſtians to Civil Magiſtrates, occaſioned by the Riots at Birmingham, &c."; which beſtow proper chaſtiſement on the preacher, for his injudicious, ſervile, and illiberal harangue. The laſt publication relative to this ſubject, which we have to mention is, "an Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the Riots at Birmingham; to which are added, Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts on the late Riots at Birmingham,' by Joſeph Prieſtley, LL. D. &c. This publication contains a narrative of facts, which muſt make every liberal minded Engliſhman bluſh, for the ignorance and bigotry, and perſecuting ſpirit, which have appeared in this boaſted land of knowledge and liberty, at a period when nations who have long been the ſubjects of deſpotiſm and blind zeal, are become enlightened and liberal; and for the ſavage ferocity, with which, under a defective police, they have been ſuffered to perpetrate outrages, that will for ever ſtain the annals of his country. The reflections which the doctor has added, do great credit to his philoſophy, his benevolence, and his piety.

On the ſubject of the Slave-Trade, the following treatiſes have been offered to the public notice: "a few Words on the Nature of the Slave Trade, and the Meaſures which ought to be adopted;" "Reflections on the Slave Trade, with Remarks on the Policy of its Abolition, in a Letter to a Clergyman in the County of Suffolk, by G. C. P." "Letter on the Slave Trade, and the State of the Natives in thoſe Parts of Africa which

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which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree, by T. Clarkſon;" and "Obſervations on the Evidence given before the Committee of the Privy Council, and Houſe of Commons, in ſupport of the Bill for aboliſhing the Slave Trade." All of theſe publications, excepting the laſt, plead for the immediate or gradual abolition of that inhuman traffic.

The following pamphlets relate to Indian Politics: "a Diſſertation on the Landed Property of Bengal, by C. W. B. Rous, eſq." "a ſhort Review of the Trade of the Eaſt India Company, between the Years 1785, and 1790, taken from Papers laid before the Houſe of Commons, during the two laſt Seſſions of Parliament;" "a Comparative Review of the Adminiſtrations of Mr. Haſtings, and Mr. Dundas, in War and in Peace, by Ralph Broome, eſq." "The Ship's Huſband, a Narrative, being a Statement of Facts, addreſſed to the Hon. Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, &c. by Capt. John Walſby;" and "an Addreſs to the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock, and to the Public, &c. by Mr. John Fiott, of London, Merchant."

The trial of Mr. Haſtings, gave riſe to a variety of pamphlets, by E. Chriſtian, eſq. R. Broome, eſq. Capel Lofft, eſq. G. Hardinge, eſq. major John Scott, and different anonymous authors, in which the queſtion, how far impeachments are affected by a diſſolution of parliament? was particularly diſcuſſed.

We ſhall now cloſe our account of the Political publications of the year 1791, by a Miſcellaneous liſt of ſuch pieces as are not to be referred to any of the foregoing heads. In this number we include "the Letters of Brutus to celebrated Political Characters;" "another Sketch of the Reign of George III. from the Year 1780, to 1790, being an Anſwer to a Sketch, &c." which was noticed by us in our hiſtorical department; "a Short Review of Mr. Pitt's Adminiſtration;" "Britiſh Common Senſe, or Reflections on the preſent State of the Britiſh Nation, recommending a free Uninfluenced Repreſentation of the People, &c.;" "Thoughts on the Canada Bill;" "Thoughts on the preſent Critical Situation of Europe, addreſſed to the King, and both Houſes of Parliament, by a Friend to his Country;" "Conſiderations on the Approach of War, and the Conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters;" "Serious Enquiries into the Motives and Conſequences of our preſent Armament againſt Ruſſia;" "a Seaſonable ſhort Hint, Addreſſed to the Landholders and Merchants of Great Britain, on the Alarm of a War with Ruſſia;" "Parallel between the Conduct of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Fox, in their Parliamentary Conteſt, in a Letter to the Former;" "Patriotiſm and the Love of Liberty defended, in two Dialogues, by the Hon. John Somers Cocks, M. P.;" "polical Speculations, occaſioned by the Progreſs of a Democratic Spirit in England;" "the Engliſh Freeholder;" "Political Dialogues;" "Thoughts on the Origin and Excellence of Regal Government;" and "moderate Politics devoted to Britons."

The next department of our literary hiſtory, includes in it ſuch publications as are to be referred to the head of critical, claſſical and polite literature.

In our Regiſter for the year 1789, we announced the publication of a new and beautiful impreſſion of the works of Saluſt, which was deſerving of high commendation for its correctneſs, and typographical excel-

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lences. In the following year the ſame editor preſented to the public "Caii Julii Cæſaris Opera omnia," in two volumes 8vo, according to the text of Oudendorp. This work poſſeſſes all the evidences of accuracy and care, which recommended the edition of Saluſt; and has the merit of being a ſtill more beautiful ſpecimen of the excellence to which ſome of our countrymen have carried the typographical art. The firſt volume contains the ſeven books de Bello Gallico, with the continuation of Hirtius; Nomenclator Geographicus, principally from Ortelius; Scaliger's Notitia Gallica; Clark's Index of the Nations, Towns, and Rivers in Gaul; the fragments of thoſe works of Cæſar which are loſt; and Dodwell's diſſertation on the author of the ſupplement to Cæſar's works. The ſecond volume contains the three books de Bello Civile; Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino, and de Bello Africano; the book de Bello Hiſpanienſi; and an index to the principal facts recorded in the whole of Cæſar's Commetaries. Theſe volumes are ornamented with maps of ancient Gaul, ancient Spain, and of the principal places mentioned by Cæſar; together with a beautiful head of that Roman, and a plan of his celebrated bridge over the Rhine.

"The Hiſtory of Herodotus, tranſlated from the Greek, with Notes, by W. Beloe, in four vols. 8vo," is a very valuable acquiſition to the Engliſh ſcholar. This father of hiſtory, as he is ſtyled by Cicero, wrote his celebrated work about the middle of the fifth century before the Chriſtian Æra: and from that time, when it was read publicly at the Olympic Games, it has been the ſubject of the admiration and applauſe of men of learning and taſte, for elegance and ſimplicity of ſtyle, and perſpicuity of arrangement, as well as for impartiality and extent of information. In ſome inſtances he is acknowledged to have been too credulous: but many paſſages which were too freely condemned by different ancient critics, have been ſatisfactorily illuſtrated and eſtabliſhed by later enquiries. Mr. Beloe's tranſlation is the reſult of conſiderable labour; and does great credit to his learning, abilities, and taſte. It is, in general, faithful to the ſenſe and ſpirit of the original; and as literal as was conſiſtent with perſpicuity and elegance. It is likewiſe accompanied with a a great variety of learned and entertaining notes, which, excluſive of Mr. Beloe's own, have been taken from Larcher's French tranſlation, and diligently collected in the courſe of his reading from ancient writers, and modern travellers, with a curious diſquiſition on the manners of the Athenians; a well-written life of Herodotus; and a copious index. We are given to underſtand, that our tranſlator has it in contemplation to publiſh a fifth volume, containing a tranſlation of Plutarch's Tract on Herodotus, and the abbè Geinoz's three diſſertations on that ſubject, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcription and Belles Lettres.

"Alciphron's Epiſtles, in which are deſcribed the Domeſtic Manners, the Courteſans, and Paraſites of Greece," have been now tranſlated into Engliſh for the firſt time, by two gentlemen of well known literary talents. Alciphron's Epiſtles are not eaſily to be procured; and his merit as a writer is not yet generally aſcertained in the learned world. Dr. Jortin's opinion of him was, "That as an ancient Greek writer, (probably more ancient than Lucian) Alciphron deſerves to be

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perused; but he who shall expect much entertainment from his compositions, will find himself disappointed; that they are, for the most part, uninteresting and frivolous." Our translators differ in opinion from that learned critic, declaring, that instead of meeting with disappointment, they have received the highest gratification; that some of these epistles afford the "most ancient perfect models of Attic elegance;" others discover "a spirit of gallantry, which breathes every thing that beauty can inspire," or "every tender sentiment which fondness can give birth to, and every elegant turn that it can produce." Between such discordant opinions, the public have it now in their power to decide.

"Œdipus, King of Thebes, a Tragedy, from the Greek of Sophocles; translated into prose, with Notes Critical and Explanatory, by George Somers Clarke, B. D." affords sufficient evidence of the learning and ability of the translator. But we cannot agree with the friend of Mr. Clarke, at whose suggestion it was undertaken, "that such a version of the Greek tragedies, if properly executed, would possess obvious advantages over the metrical translations, and prove of superior utility, as well to the classical student, as to the English reader." Whatever advantage the student may be supposed to derive from such a version, which "professes no more than the object of useful exposition," we think it very inadequate to convey an idea of the beauty and spirit of the original.

In our view of the Literature of the year 1789, we mentioned, in terms of warm approbation, the appearance of a small treatise by Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, entitled "a new Translation of those Parts of the New Testament which are wrongly Translated in our common Version." Towards the close of the present year, the same author published a "new Translation of the whole New Testament, in three Volumes, with a Preface and Notes." We have not, however, been able to pay that attention to this work, which is due to its importance, and the acknowledged learning and ingenuity of the author: and must necessarily defer our account of it till the publication of our next volume.

The "Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet, by Richard Payne Knight," is the production of a learned and ingenious philologist, who, beside the abilities of a profound scholar, possesses the principles of sound taste, and an acquaintance with the graces of elegant composition. After introducing an apology for his work, in which he rescues verbal critics from the situation to which they are too commonly degraded, of being "the Pioneers of Literature," he divides it into seven sections. In the first section, he considers the nature and causes of articulate sounds, and ascertains the origin, form, and power of the letters of the alphabet. In the second section, he considers in what modes and degrees particular acts of vocal utterance were lengthened or shortened, in proportion to the number and class of the letters employed in representing them. The third section treats of orthography; the fourth of pronunciation, orthography, and right reading, or the first collocation of words. In the fifth section, Mr. Knight offers a variety of reasons to shew that the Attic dialect was not the parent one in Greece, or the proper criterion of purity and correctness; and directs his readers to the works of those

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critics and grammarians, whose well directed labours "have diſpelled the clouds of grammatical jargon, that obſcured the moſt important part of the Greek tongue; i. e. the inflexion of the verbs." In the ſixth ſection, he gives at conſiderable length his reaſons for rejecting, in the whole of his enquiry, the evidence of ſome very celebrated and important monuments of antiquity, firſt publiſhed in the memoirs of the French Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, and ſince cited as authentic by every writer upon the ſubject. The ſeventh ſection is employed in ſtrictures upon the Oxford edition of the Decree of the Lacedæmonians againſt Timotheus. The whole is illuſtrated by engravings of coins and inſcriptions, to which he refers in the courſe of his work. This eſſay will afford entertainment to the hiſtorian and antiquary, as well as the philologiſt.

"Ariſtarchus, or the Principles of Compoſition; containing a Methodical Arrangement of the Impropriеties frequent in Writing and Converſation, with ſelect Rules for attaining to Purity and Elegance of Expreſſion," was the production of the late ingenious and very eccentric Dr. Withers. Notwithſtanding the promiſe in the title-page, we have met with no methodical arrangement in this work; for which the peculiar circumſtances of the author, which would not permit him to complete his deſign, may, in ſome meaſure be admitted as an apology. But although unconnected, and deſultory, and diſtinguiſhed by all the peculiarities of the author, it contains a number of ingenious and ſenſible remarks, which deſerve the notice of more methodical, and more fortunate grammarians.

The "Eſſay on the Principles of Traſlation," is the publication of an anonymous author, which is intended to ſupply the deficiences on a ſubject, to which didactic writers, either among the ancients or moderns, have not paid a ſufficient attention. His deſign is, to examine the neceſſary requiſites of a good verſion: and to take a middle path between thoſe who inſiſt that it is the duty of a tranſlator to attend only to the ſenſe and ſpirit of his original, and to communicate the ideas of his author in what he judges to be the moſt ſuitable expreſſions; and thoſe who contend that it is farther neceſſary to attend ſtrictly to the arrangement of his ſentences, and even to their order and conſtruction. A good tranſlation he defines to be, "that in which the merit of the original work is ſo completely tranſuſed into another language, as to be as diſtinctly apprehended, and as ſtrongly felt, by a native of the country, to which that language belongs, as it is by thoſe who ſpeak the language of the original work." From this definition of a good tranſlation, he lays down the following laws: that the tranſlation ſhould give a complete tranſcript of the original work; that the ſtyle and manner of writing ſhould be of the ſame character with that of the original; and that the tranſlation ſhould have all the eaſe of original compoſition. We cannot follow him in the manner in which theſe laws are diſtinctly conſidered; in the ſubordinate precepts which he lays down; and in the appoſite examples by which they are illuſtrated. It is but juſtice, however, to obſerve, that the author is diſtinguiſhed by extenſive knowledge, and juſt taſte and diſcrimination; and that he is peculiarly happy in many of the remarks and illuſtrations which accompany his work.

In our account of the Literature of the year 1791, we announced, in the

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he department assigned to works of Metaphysical nature, a publication entitled "Essays, Philosophical, Historical, and Literary," which, as we have been since given to understand, was the production of Mr. Welsham, of Bedford. During the present year, a second volume of those Essays has been published; which it would have been more regular to have noticed in the same department of our present volume. As, however, it was overlooked by us in proper time for insertion in our metaphysical list, and is, partly, of a literary complexion, we take the opportunity of mentioning it in this place. The present volume is so similar to the preceding, with respect to its general spirit and character, that its merits need not to be particularly mentioned. We think the author, however, to be more vulnerable than in his former volume, in some of his metaphysical papers; and particularly, in his Essay on ecclesiastical establishments. In the walk of history, he offers a variety of judicious and liberal reflections; and in his moral and critical papers, is often instructive and entertaining.

The treatise entitled "Curiosities of Literature," is a collection of various anecdotes, characters, sketches, and observations, literary, critical, and historical, from which we have received considerable entertainment. It is divided into three sections, under the titles of, Literature and Criticism, Anecdotes, and Miscellanea. Many of the particulars under these divisions are not new; but the greater part will be found so by most English readers, as the editor has been liberal in his extracts from the Menagiana, and other French memoirs, dictionaires d'anecdotes, &c. &c. On the whole, we think it the most judicious and pleasing selection of the kind that we have even seen. The compiler has given proof, not only of extensive and various reading, in the articles which compose his cabinet of curiosities, but of a sound judgment and correct taste, in the reflections and remarks which he frequently introduces. His style and language, likewise, are perspicuous, polished, and elegant.

The "Critical Pronouncing Dictionary, and Exposition of the English Language, &c. by John Walker, Author of Elements of Elocution, &c." contains the commendable and laborious attempt of a respectable grammarian and verbal critic, to furnish a more perfect and unexceptionable guide to the true pronunciation of the English language, than any which hath hitherto been offered to the public. Of the labours of his predecessors in orthoepy, he makes respectful mention, particularly those of Elphinstone, Kenrick, Sheridan and Nares; while he freely points out those defects, improprieties, and inconsistences in them, which he has endeavoured to avoid in his work. A general idea of Mr. Walker's object may be learned from his own words. "It not only exhibits the principles of pronunciation, as others have done, divides the words into syllables, and marks the sounds of the vowels like Dr. Kenrick, spells the words as they are pronounced like Mr. Sheridan, and directs the inspector to the rule by the word like Mr. Nares; but where words are subject to different pronunciations, it shews the reasons from analogy for each; produces authorities for one side and the other, and points out the pronunciation which is preferable. In short, I have endeavoured to unite the science of Mr. Elphinstone, the method

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thod of Mr. Nares, and the general utility of Mr. Sheridan; and to add to theſe advantages, have given critical obſervations on ſuch words as are ſubject to a diverſity of pronunciation." In reading this work, we occaſionally found reaſon to differ from Mr. Walker, in the extent to which he has carried his theoretical principles, and in his reaſonings from analogy, etymology, and cuſtom. We, likewiſe, ſometimes thought, that his directions were too arbitrary and fanciful. Yet it is but juſtice to acknowledge, that he has, in a great variety of inſtances, improved much upon the efforts of his predeceſſors; and contributed, very conſiderably, towards fixing a ſtandard of pronunciation, which is not only deſirable for foreigners, learning the Engliſh language, but even for Engliſhmen themſelves.

The "Diſcourſe delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Diſtribution of the Prizes, Dec. 10th. 1790, by the Preſident," like the former diſcourſes of ſir Joſhua Reynolds, contains intereſting and valuable advice to ſtudents in the art of painting, delivered in his peculiarly elegant and energetic language. After intimating the probability that it was the laſt time he ſhould have the honour of addreſſing them, in that place, ſir Joſhua takes a review of the ſyſtem which he had laid down in his former eſſays, gives ſome proper illuſtrations of his principles, and finiſhes, as he began, with the name of Michael Angelo. That great man he ſtyles, "the exalted founder and father of modern art, of which he was not only the inventor, but which he, by the divine energy of his own mind, carried at once to its higheſt point of poſſible perfection." And it is the principal object of this diſcourſe to perſuade young artiſts to ſtudy the works of that maſter, and to propoſe methods by which they may acquire ſomething of his ſtyle. The polite ſcholar, as well as the artiſt and connoiſſeur, will receive pleaſure and inſtruction from this effort of ſir Joſhua Reynolds pen; and will lament with us, that, as the author's mind ſeemed to forbode, it proved his laſt effort.

From the "Remarks on Foreſt Scenery, and other Woodland Views (relative chiefly to Pictureſque Beauty) illuſtrated by the Scenes of the New Foreſt in Hampſhire, by William Gilpin, A. M. in 2 Vols." we have received conſiderable entertainment. Notwithſtanding that from the nature of his ſubjects, they may not prove ſo generally intereſting as his former productions, they exhibit, nevertheleſs, numerous and ſtriking evidences of the author's taſte, judgment, and knowledge; and contain, beſide ſcientific obſervations, a variety of lively deſcriptions and amuſing anecdotes. The waſhed etchings which illuſtrate theſe volumes, are executed in a ſtyle that deſerves much commendation.

In Poetical tranſlation, the firſt work that calls for our notice is, "The Iliad and Odyſſey of Homer, tranſlated into Engliſh Blank Verſe, by W. Cowper, eſq." in 2 vols. 4to. In his preface Mr. Cowper obſerves, that, "whether a tranſlation of Homer may be beſt executed in blank verſe or in rhime, is a queſtion in the deciſion of which no man can find difficulty, who has even duly conſidered what tranſlation ought to be, or who is in any degree practically acquainted with thoſe very different kinds of verſification." With reſpect to the free and cloſe tranſlations, in-

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conveniencies belong to both. "The former can hardly be true to the original author's ſtyle and manner, and the latter is apt to be ſervile. The one looſes his peculiarities, and the other his ſpirit. Were it poſſible, therefore, to find an exact medium, a manner ſo cloſe that it ſhould let ſlip nothing of the text, nor mingle any thing extraneous along with it, and at the ſame time ſo free as to have an air of originality, this ſeems preciſely the mode in which an author might be beſt rendered." And he aſſures his readers, "that to diſcover this very delicate line is difficult, and to proceed by it when found, through the whole length of a poet voluminous as Homer, nearly impoſſible. He can only pretend to have endeavoured it." Whether it be owing to a want of juſt taſte, or not, our readers muſt determine, but we frankly acknowledge, that we have never read any tranſlations of the Greek or Roman poets, in blank verſe, with a degree of pleaſure equal to what we have received from tranſlations in rhyme. And we have alſo entertained the opinion, that, from the different idioms of a dead and living language, a cloſe and literal tranſlation, particularly in blank verſe, would not do juſtice to the ſpirit and meaning of an original: or, if ſo executed as to be, in general, a faithful verſion, that it muſt prove harſh, inharmonious, and unpleaſing. With theſe prepoſſeſſions, we took up Mr. Cowper's tranſlation: and we cannot ſay that the manner in which he has executed his laborious and difficult taſk, has tended greatly to remove them. We would by no means be conſidered as impeaching Mr. Cowper's learning, or poetical abilities: for we think him entitled to a very high commendation for the numerous evidences of both, which we have met with in theſe volumes. The ſpirit and manner of the original, in paſſages diſtinguiſhed for their poetical excellence, are frequently transfuſed into this copy, with peculiar felicity; and many of the difficulties in the Grecian bard, are very ſucceſsfully elucidated. But on the whole, the peruſal of his work left that diſatisfaction in our mind, which we before had expected from our diſapprobation of his deſign. As a poetical performance, its merits are greatly inferior to the other productions of Mr. Cowper, with which we have formerly been greatly delighted.

The "Tranſlation of all the Pythian, Nemean, and Iſthmian Odes of Pindar, excepting the fourth and fifth Pythian Odes, and thoſe Odes which have been tranſlated by the the late Gilbert Weſt, eſq. by the Rev. J. Baniſter," do great honour to the learning and poetical taſte of that gentleman. Like Mr. Weſt's incomparable performance, his work is frequently a paraphraſe, rather than a tranſlation; and is deſervedly to be commended for its ſpirit, elegance, and harmony of verſification.

"Oenone to Paris, an Epiſtle of Ovid; to which is added an Elegy of Shenſtone, tranſlated into Latin elegiac Verſe," is a performance which is not deſtitute of merit, although the author does not poſſeſs very high claims to critical approbation. Of the two verſions which he has given us, the Engliſh one is the beſt.

Among the general poetical publications of the year 1791, we meet with a volume of "Poems, by Mrs. Robinſon." Many of the pieces which compoſe this volume were publiſhed by the fair authoreſs under different ſignatures, in ſome

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of our public prints. They deſerve, however, a greater chance for perpetuity, than they were likely to receive if confined to ſuch repoſitories; and were very properly brought into this collected form. Theſe poems conſiſt, chiefly, of odes, elegies, and ſonnets: and they are diſtinguiſhed by great tenderneſs of feeling, beautiful poetic imagery, harmony of verſification, and uncommon elegance and delicacy of expreſſion. In ſome paſſages we thought them obſcure, from a too great fondneſs which ſeems to have prevailed for originality of ſentiment, and brilliancy of language. To this volume, which is beautifully printed, there is prefixed an elegant portrait of Mrs. Robinſon, from a painting by ſir Joſhua Reynolds.

"The Poetry of the World, vols. III. and IV." is a continuation of a collection noticed by us in our Regiſter for the year 1788, that is intended to preſerve a number of elegant and pleaſing poems, which had at different times been inſerted in the paper mentioned in the title-page, from the fate to which ſuch unconnected and ſingle pieces are commonly conſigned. As they are the productions of different authors, in different ſituations and circumſtances, they muſt be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs different merits. Among the name of the contributors to this collection, are thoſe of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Merry, Mrs. Cowley, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Colman, Mrs. Robinſon, captain Broome, and captain Topham.

"Salmagundi, a Miſcellaneous Combination of Original Poetry; conſiſting of Illuſions of Fancy; Amatory, Elegiac, Lyrical, Epigrammatical, and other palatable Ingredients," is a publication of very conſiderable merit. In the different ſpecies of poetical compoſition which the author has attempted, he has ſucceeded in a manner that will afford entertainment to every reader of taſte. The Illuſions of Fancy ſhew, that the author poſſeſſes great fertility of imagination; the Amatory and Elegiac Odes are elegant and harmonious; the Epigrams and Songs pointed and lively; and the pieces of wit and humour, highly entertaining. Some ſlight imperfections, in point of perſpicuity, and the harmony of the rhymes, were noticed by us, while we partook deliciouſly of this poetical treat; but they bear no proportion to its general excellence.

The "Poems by the Author of the Village Curate, and Adriano," are of a ſimilar character with his former works, of which we have already given our opinion. Many paſſages in them are highly poetical and beautiful; while others betray a feebleneſs, and negligence, that are very unbecoming the author's known abilities. The principal pieces in this collection are, Elmer and Ophelia, a ſimple and intereſting ſtory; and Panthea, a dramatic narrative, taken from the Cyropædia of Xenophon, which, though in ſome parts deſcriptive and pathetic, is not ſufficiently correct, diſcriminative, and animated, to extort any warm applauſe.

The volume of "Poems, by J. Aikin, M. D." is the production of an author who, to a vigorous imagination, and correct claſſic taſte, unites extenſive knowledge, a ſound judgment, great delicacy of feeling, and liberal and enlarged philanthropy. Of the pieces of which this volume conſiſts, too numerous to be diſtinctly mentioned by us, ſome are conſecrated to the domeſtic affections, and to friendſhip, and will be found truly pleaſing and beautiful,

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tiful. In others, when the author gives way to the illuſions of fancy, we meet with a boldneſs of imagery, and ſtrength of colouring, that are highly poetical. His tranſlations, likewiſe, and imitations, are elegant and happy. But the moſt animated of theſe poems are thoſe employed on political ſubjects, in which the author breathes the moſt generous and patriotic ſentiments. As an apology for theſe pieces (which needed no apology) Dr. Aikin obſerves, "that with a mind ſtrongly impreſſed with determined opinions on ſome of the moſt important topics which actuate mankind, he could not reſt ſatisfied without attempting to employ (as far as he poſſeſſed it) the nobleſt of arts, in the ſervice of the nobleſt of cauſes."

"Whiſt, a Poem, in twelve Cantos," is profeſſedly a Didactic poem; and on a ſubject which comes home to the buſineſs and boſoms of the major part of the faſhionable world. And it is but juſtice to ſay, that the author appears to be well acquainted with his ſubject; which he enlivens with pleaſing epiſodes and digreſſions, and a variety of humourous and ſatirical reflections. The fiction under which he deſcribes the origin and benefits of the game, is happily imagined, and well conducted; and the author's poetical talents, though not of the firſt rate, far above mediocrity.

The "Poems on various Subjects, by the Rev. W. Windle Carr," conſiſt of odes, elegies, epiſtles, a monody to the memory of Shenſtone, &c. &c. The author is a pleaſing writer; and his labours are deſerving of praiſe, on account of the zeal and liberality with which he enters the liſts in defence of piety and good morals. But he does not ſeem to poſſeſs that poetic fire and energy, that will entitle him to an exalted ſeat among the ſons of Parnaſſus.

"The Aboriginal Britons, a prize Poem, ſpoken in the Theatre at Oxford, July 8. 1791. by George Richards, B. A." does great credit to the judgment, and the poetical abilities of the author. The aboriginal Britons are conſidered with reſpect to their national and domeſtic character, their internal diſſentions, manner of fighting, behaviour after a defeat, treatment of captives after a victory, religious opinions and ceremonies, their doctrines of the tranſmigration and immortality of the ſoul, with their effects; to which is added a view of the characteriſtics of liberty in the ſavage ſtate of this iſland, contraſted with that poliſhed freedom which reſults from a civiliſed ſtate of manners. In treating theſe topics, Mr. Richards ſhews himſelf to be a man of learning, as well as genius. And his poem recommends itſelf by great ſtrength of imagery, animated deſcription, correctneſs of thought; and by a ſmoothneſs and harmony of numbers, which afford promiſing hopes of his proving a very ſucceſsful votary of the muſes.

"The Shakſpeare Gallery a Poem, by Mr. Jerningham," does not paſs any judgment upon the pictures that are now exhibited in the gallery; but attempts to point out new ſubjects for future exhibitions. Theſe are all taken from the works of our immortal bard; and offer excellent hints to thoſe artiſts who have engaged to aſſiſt in completing Mr. Boydell's grand deſign. As to the manner in which the poem is executed, we may venture to ſay, that it will do honour to the talents of Mr. Jerningham, as a veteran in the poetic art.

"Seventeen Hundred and ninety-one,

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one, a Poem, in Imitation of the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, by Arthur Murphy, esq." is the production of another veteran in literature and poetry, who by coming forwards in the manner he has done, to entertain the public, is entitled to fresh tokens of their applause and gratitude. The most successful attempts of Dr. Johnson, as a poet, were his imitations of the third and tenth satires of Juvenal, in his poems entitled, London, and the Vanity of Human Wishes. Mr. Murphy, as he informs us in his preface, frequently urged him to write an imitation of the thirteenth satire: but his answer always was, "I wish it was done." This task Mr. Murphy has executed in the piece before us, which is an happy imitation of the original; and spirited and elegant as a poetical composition. We were sorry, however, that the pleasure we received in reading it should be mixed with any disagreeable alloy. For attached as we are to the principles of civil and religious liberty, we could not avoid observing, with strong sensations of disapprobation, some very illiberal passages, in which the author unnecessarily introduces reflections on the advocates for liberty of conscience, and the rights of men.

The "Ode for the 14th of July 1791, the Day consecrated to Freedom; being the Anniversary of the Revolution in France, by Robert Merry, A. M." is a spirited composition in defence of the principles of liberty, and well adapted to the design of the meeting at the Crown and Anchor tavern, where it was recited.

The "Epistle to William Wilberforce, esq. on the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade, by Anna Letitia Barbauld," is a beautiful and highly animated poem, sacred to the cause of benevolence and humanity. In vigorous and keen satirical strains, our poetess lashes the majority of the British senate who rejected the late slave bill, and exposes the luxurious lives and depraved manners of the West India planters. We need not say that every lover of genuine poetry, whatever be his opinion on the subject which the authoress has chosen, will be highly gratified by the perusal of this epistle.

The "Farewell, for two Years, to England, a Poem, by Helen Maria Williams," is the production of another favourite of the public, and consecrated to humanity and liberty. With the prospect before her of quitting her native land, on a visit to France, miss Williams recalls to mind the innocent pleasures of early youth, which she describes in elegant and pathetic language; and afterwards indulges her muse in more ardent and energetic strains, when contemplating the renovation of Gallic liberty, and expostulating with the enemies to freedom, whether it be that of France, or that of Africa. To those whose bosoms glow with the same enlarged sentiments, this beautiful poem will afford considerable pleasure.

The "genuine poetical Compositions on various Subjects, by E. Bentley," are the productions of an uneducated muse, who, if we may judge from these efforts of her pen, is not unworthy the patronage which she has received from a great number of respectable subscribers. Her imagination is strong and lively; her language, in general, correct and elegant, and her numbers harmonious.

From Peter Pindar's pen we have received the following pieces, during the present year: "The Lousiad, Canto III;" "the Rights of Kings;" "Odes

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"Odes to Mr. Paine, author of the Rights of Man, &c.:" "The Remonſtrance, an Ode to my Aſs;" and "a commiſerating Epiſtle to the Earl of Lonſdale."

Of the following articles we can only inſert the names: "Poems, wherein it is attempted to deſcribe certain Views of Nature and Ruſtic Manners;" "Sonnets from Shakſpeare, by Albert;" "the Boſom Friend, by an Etonian;" "the Teſt of England, a Diſſertation on Human Authority in a Divine Religion;" "Poetical Eſſays, on ſeveral Theological Subjects:" Poetic Laurels, by Maria and Harriet Falconer; "the Female Geniad, by Elizabeth Ogilvie Benger;" "the Triumph of Friendſhip, by W. Golder;" "Miſcellaneous Poems, and a Tragedy, by Mrs. Weſt;" a "Monody at Matlock, by W. L. Bowles;" "an Elegy written at the Hot Wells Briſtol," by the ſame, the "Feſtival of Beauty and Enthuſiaſm of Genius;" "the Baviad, in Imitation of the firſt Satire of Perſius;" "Modern Poets, a Satire;" "Heroic Epiſtle to Dr. Prieſtley;" "Heroic Epiſtle to the right hon. Edmund Burke;" "the Ladies Aſs Race, a Poem;" "the Fruits of Faction;" "Heroic Epiſtle to the King, with a Word to the Poet Laureate;" "the Dictates of Indignation, on the Slave Trade;" "Eugenius, by Mary Locke;" "the Epitaph Writer, by J. Bowden;" "the Miller's Tale from Chaucer;" "a Serio-comic Poem, entitled the Budget;" "Reflections at the Tomb of Columbus, by a Lady;" "a Poem to the Memory of G. F. Handel; "Elegiac Verſes to the Memory of the late Dr. Stebbing;" "an Ode to Handel, by D. Pratt, A. M.;" and "Extracts, Elegant, Inſtructive, and Entertaining, in Poetry," in one large volume 8vo. The deſign of the laſt mentioned work is, to ſupply young perſons in the courſe of a ſchool education, with a greater variety of Engliſh poetry, by our moſt approved authors, than was ever before publiſhed in one volume, and at an inconſiderable expence.

The Dramatic productions of the year 1791, were the following: "The Widow of Malabar, a Trajedy, by Miſs Starke;" "Lorenzo a Trajedy, by Robert Merry, A. M;" "The Indians a Trajedy;" "Earl Goodwin, an hiſtorical Play, by Ann Yearſley;" "the Revolution, an hiſtorical Play, by lieutenant Chriſtian;" "Next Door Neighbours, a Comedy, by Mrs. Inchbald;" "the School for Arrogance, a Comedy, by Mr. Holcroft;" Lindor and Clara, a Comedy, by Mr. Fennel;" "the Fugitives, a Comedy, by W. Roberts, eſq.;" "the Kentiſh Barons, a Play in three acts, by the Hon. F. C. North;" "the Iriſhman in Spain, by C. Stuart;" and "two Strings to your Bow, a Farce by R. Jephſon."

Under our next head, that of Miſcellaneous Articles, we ſhall introduce ſuch publications as we could not with propriety include in any other department, or ſuch as were overlooked by us in their proper place.

"Petrarch's View of human Life, by Mrs. Dobſon," is intended to convey to the Engliſh reader a repreſentation of the ſentiments and peculiar manner of that author, in his treatiſe de Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ. The deſign of the original is to exhibit a picture of human life; and to bring before the reader's fancy in ſucceſſion, the numerous objects which excite the human paſſions, and contribute to our happineſs, or our miſery. This deſign is executed in the form of dialogue; in which the

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the speakers are, on the one side, joy and hope, or sorrow and fear, and on the other side reason. The effect intended to be produced is, that equanimity of mind which is the best preparation for either fortune. We cannot bestow the same praise on Mrs. Dobson, for her translation of this piece, to which she was entitled by her former literary performances. Instead of observing the plan of the original, she has thrown her work together in one unbroken form, without observing any of Petrach's divisions, or marking the transitions from one topic to another, or noticing the change of speakers in the dialogue. She has, likewise, omitted, transposed, and added to the text, with a liberty that, in our opinion, tends greatly to destroy "the solidity of the reasoning, and the true points of the satire." As a translation, this work possesses very inferior merits to the life of Petrarch, in point of accuracy and elegance.

"The Contrast; or, an Antidote against the pernicious Principles, disseminated in the Letters of the late Earl of Chesterfield, &c. by the Rev. Sir Adam Gordon, Bart. A. M. in two volumes;" consists, partly, of letters, written by a lady of elevated rank, deceased, during a correspondence of several years with the editor; and, partly, of additional addresses and letters from the manuscripts of a celebrated author, deceased. That this work was published with a pious and useful design, we entertain not the least doubt: but we do not think it adapted to make desirable impressions upon young minds. The advice contained in it is, frequently, of too severe and gloomy a complexion; and the contrast which it recommends, is only the opposite extreme to the conduct which the noble lord wished to enforce, not that happy medium which would give to piety and morals an amiable and engaging aspect.

The "Letters to a young Clergyman, from the late Rev. Mr. Job Orton," have been published by the rev. Mr. Stedman, to whom they were written by the respectable and worthy author. They contain the observations of a pious, benevolent, and well informed mind, on a variety of topics, that are highly deserving the attention of the younger clergy; and advice, relative to their private studies, and duty as parish priests, that is truly excellent.

The volume of "Original Letters by the late Rev. John Wesley, and his Friends, illustrative of his early History, with other curious Papers, &c." edited by Dr. Priestley, is an acceptable present to the public. "These letters," says Dr. Priestley, "were given to me by the late Mr. Badcock, as great curiosities of their kind, with a view to their publication after the death of Mr. John Wesley. They were given to him by the grandchildren of Mr. Samuel Wesley, the eldest brother of John, and he collected with the same view. Mr. John Wesley, as I learned from Mr. Badcock, was very desirous of getting these letters into his possession; but the daughter and granddaughters of Mr. Samuel being offended at his conduct, would never deliver them to him. It was taken for granted, that he would have suppressed them; nor should I have thought it right to publish them, if they had been merely private papers, unconnected with any public concern: But Mr. Wesley being the founder of a numerous sect of Christians, of considerable and of growing importance in this country, the public is inte-

intereſted in every thing that can throw Light upon his Character and Principles." We have received much entertainment from the peruſal of theſe letters, which will be found of conſiderable uſe, in illuſtrating the origin of methodiſm, and the peculiar turn of mind of its principal founder. The remarks and obſervations of Dr. Prieſtley, which accompany them, are ſenſible and judicious; and his addreſs to the methodiſts, prefixed to the volume, is written in a conciliating and perſuaſive ſtrain. We do not imagine, however, that it will make much impreſſion on perſons, whoſe fundamental principles are ſo diametrically oppoſite to the doctor's.

The "Letter to the Electors of Great Britain, by James Sutherland, eſq. late Judge of the Admiralty at Minorca," contains an affecting and well written narrative of the hard caſe, and great diſtreſſes of the unfortunate author, whoſe melancholy cataſtrophe is well known to the public, as well as the ſcandalous and inhuman neglect which urged him to deſpair. This publication is prefaced with an addreſs to the electors of Great Britain, in which they are ſolemnly requeſted to inſtruct their repreſentatives, to obtain an act of the legiſlature, for ſecuring "to the ſubject a remedy againſt whoever ſhall aſperſe his character, by any *falſhood* ſtated in a petition to the houſe of commons; although ſuch petition may be recommended in his majeſty's name, to the conſideration of the houſe;" and an act "to aſſure the communication of the royal will, *by his majeſty's miniſters*, to every ſubject who may, in future, preſent ſuch a petition to the king."

"The American Oracle, comprehending an Account of recent Diſcoveries in the Arts and Sciences, &c. by the Honourable Samuel Stearns, LL. D. &c. &c. &c." is a curious farrago of chronology, geography, aſtrology, botany, chemiſtry, anatomy, electricity, magnetiſm, mechanics, optics, architecture, politics, law, phyſic, divinity, hiſtory, natural hiſtory, and political œconomy; to which we may add ſimplicity and credulity; delivered, partly in proſe, and partly in genuine Sternholdian verſe. We mean not to inſinuate, that it does not contain much good matter, which, to a great multitude of readers, will convey uſeful and entertaining information. But we ſee not the neceſſity of tranſporting ſuch a ſpecies of compoſition, acroſs the Atlantic into this country, where valuable books, on every uſeful ſubject to which it refers, have been abundantly multiplied. In the leſs cultivated parts of America, where libraries are ſcarce, it may be more deſirable to encourage ſuch publications.

In our Regiſter for the year 1787, we gave an account of Mr. Bunbury's humourous and laughable publication, entitled, "An Academy for grown Horſemen, containing the completeſt Inſtructions for Walking, Trotting, Cantering, Galloping, Stumbling, and Tumbling; illuſtrated with Copper Plates, by Geoffrey Gambado, eſq." The talents of that gentleman have, during the preſent year, produced a witty ſequel to that work, entitled "Annals of Horſemanſhip; containing an Account of accidental Experiments, and experimental Accidents, both ſucceſsful and unſucceſsful; communicated by various Correſpondents to Geoffrey Gambado, eſq. together with moſt inſtructive Remarks thereon, and Anſwers thereto, by that accompliſhed Genius," illuſtrated with numerous well executed engravings. Of this publication we

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ſhall only ſay, that thoſe who can read and view it, with unmoved muſcles, do not belong to that company with which we wiſh to aſſociate.

The "Anecdotes of Archery, Ancient and Modern, by H. G. Oldfield," form a pleaſing and entertaining little work, which contains a ſhort collection of hiſtorical paſſages, tracing the practice of archery, from the earlieſt notices among almoſt all nations. At the preſent period, when this practice is revived, as the means of an elegant and ſalutary recreation; ſuch a publication is ſeaſonable, as an object of curioſity, as well as information.

The publication entitled "forty Years Correſpondence between Geniuſſes ov both Sexes, and James Elphinſtone, in ſix pocket Vollumes; four ov oridginal Letters, two ov Poetry," is intended to exemplify M. Elphinſtone's plan; for improving the orthography of the Engliſh language, which has been for ſome years before the public. For our parts, we are free to acknowledge, that we cannot perceive the comparative advantages that would attend the introduction of Mr. Elphinſtone's method. But, independently of his ſcheme, we think that theſe volumes contain a number of letters, and pieces of poetry, which deſerve to be reſcued from that oblivion to which we apprehend they will be conſigned, if ſuffered to remain in their preſent dreſs.

The "Practical Geography for the Uſe of Schools; with an Epitome of Ancient Geography, and an Introduction to the Science of the Globes, by J. Guiſeau, A. M.," is a brief, but judicious manual of the outlines of the ſcience, to an acquaintance with which the author would wiſh to introduce young perſons. It poſſeſſes this advantage over ſimilar publications, with reſpect to France, that it contains the new diviſions of that country, according to the preſent conſtitution, in connexion with the old.

The "Roman Antiquities, or an Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Romans, &c. by Alexander Adam, LL. D.," is a laborious and judicious compilement, which deſerves to be recommended as an uſeful key to the Latin claſſics. His information and his authorities, Dr. Adam appears to have ſelected with very commendable accuracy and induſtry.

The "Extracts, elegant, inſtructive, and entertaining, in Proſe; ſelected from the beſt modern Authors, and diſpoſed under proper Heads, &c. in one large Volume, 8vo.," form a very inſtructive and entertaining complement, for the uſe of young perſons, in the courſe of a ſchool education. They conſiſt of ſelections from the works of our moſt valuable and approved authors, on moral and religious, critical and claſſical ſubjects; of narratives, dialogues, and other humourous and entertaining pieces; and of ſhort introductions to geography, chronology, and natural hiſtory, together with chronological tables of remarkable events, and of the æra, the country, and the writings of learned men.

The volume of "Epiſtles, elegant, familiar, and inſtructive, ſelected from the beſt Writers, ancient as well as modern, in one large Volume, 8vo.," contains the moſt copious collection of the letters of eminent men, that we have ever met with, in a ſimilar form. And it deſerves a place, not only in the libraries of young perſons, but of thoſe who are more informed and ſelect in their choice of books.

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We ſhall now conclude our view of the Domeſtic Literature of the year 1791, by inſerting a catalogue of the novels which it produced.

In this liſt, the following have been more highly ſpoken of, than the general claſs of ſuch publications: "Celeſtina, in 4 Vols. by Charlotte Smith;" "A Simple Story, in 4 Vols. by Mrs. Inchbald;" "The Adventures of Richard Cœur de Lion, in 3 Vols. by J. White, eſq.;" "The School for Widows, in 3 Vols. by Clara Reeve;" "The Devil upon two Sticks, in England, Vols. V. and VI.;" "Wanley Penſon, or the Melancholy Man, in 3 Vols.;" and "William Wallace, in 2 Vols."

Of the ſame ſpecies of compoſition are, "Eugene and Adelaide, in 2 Vols;" "Woodley Park, in 2 Vols;" the Hiſtory of Tom Weſton, in 2 Vols. by G. Brown;" "Conſcious Duplicity, in 2 Vols; "Memoirs of Julia de M. in 2 Vols;" "The Labyrinths of Life, in 4 Vols;" "Alvarez, or the Irreſiſtible Seduction, in 2 Vols;" "Frederick and Alicia, in 2 Vols;" "Perſiana, in 3 Vols;" "the Vale of Felicity, in 2 Vols;" "the Life of Lord Montague, in 2 Vols;" "the Victim of a Vow, or the Dangers of Duplicity, in 2 Vols;" "Edward, or Sorrows from Separation, in 2 Vols;" "the French Adventurer, in 3 Vols;" "Aſpaſia, or the Dangers of Vanity, in 2 Vols;" "the Indian Cottage, from the French of St. Pierre;" "Popular Tales of the Germans, tranſlated from the German, in 2 Vols;" "the Siege of Belgrade, from the German, in 2 Vols;" "the Triumph of Reaſon, in 7 Tales, addreſſed to the Fair Sex;" "the Cypher, in 2 Vols;" "Gertrude, in 2 Vols;" "the Libertine, by J. Bacon;" "Illicit Love, in 2 Vols, by Mrs. Morris;" "Adolphus, or the Unnatural Brother, in 2 Vols;" "Errors of Education, in 3 Vols. by Mrs. Parſons;" "the Life of Miſs Priſcilla Moreton, and the faithful Cottager, in 2 Vols;" "the Lake of Windermere, in 2 Vols;" "the Hiſtory of Sir Geoffrey Reſtleſs, in 2 Vols;" "Tancred, a Tale of Ancient Times, in 2 Vols, by J. Fox;" "the Daniſh Maſſacre, in 2 Vols;" "Villeroy, or the fatal Moment, in 3 Vols;" "Memoirs of a Scots Heireſs, in 3 Vols;" "Solliman and Fatima, in 2 Vols. by T. Wright;" "Mentoria, in 2 Vols;"; "Mental Pleaſures, in 2 Vols;" "the Tales of an Evening, from the French of Marmontel;" and "Violet Hill, or Memoirs of Cordelia, by E. Miles."

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FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1791.

IN giving our view of the Foreign Literature of the year 1791, we shall, in the first place, introduce to our readers those publications in the Russian dominions, concerning which we have been able to obtain some imperfect information. And the first which we have to announce is, the "Nova Acta Academiæ Scientiarum Petropolitanæ, Vol. III." published at Petersburg. This volume contains, the history of the academy, down to the year 1785, in which we meet with nothing very interesting; a supplement to that history, consisting of such memoirs as have been presented to the academy by those who were not members of it; and the academical memoirs, which are arranged under the heads of mathematics, physico-mathematics, physics, and astronomy. The memoirs in the supplement to the history, are on subjects in natural history, and mathematics; and were delivered in by M. O. F. Muller, M. Simon L'Huilier, citizen of Geneva, M. E. Block, and M. de Lambre. The most valuable of the academical memoirs relate to the higher branches of the mathematics, and were the productions of the late M. Euler, M. Nicholas Fuss, and M. F. J. Schubert. The papers in the other classes, were contributed by M. Euler, M. James Bernoulli, M. N. L. Krafft, M. C. F. Wolff, M. J. G. Georgi, M. J. J. Ferber, M. E. Zuyew, M. Steph. Rumousky, M. Fuss, and by M. John Albert Euler, who drew up the meteorological tables for the year 1784. This volume is not so important and interesting as the preceding ones.—At the same place have appeared "Select Œconomical Papers, from the Memoirs of the free Œconomical Society at Petersburg, Vol. I." published in the German language. This volume commences with the history of the society, which was established in 1765, by prince Orlow; and contains a number of interesting œconomical papers, by M. J. G. Georgi, Mrs. Von Kelchen, chancellor Gronau, M. Lehmann, M. G. Orraus, M. Weinberg, M. Wagner, and various anonymous contributions.—At Petersburg, likewise, there hath been published "a Brief Introduction to Mathematical Geo-

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Geography, and the Knowledge of the celeſtial Globe," by M. Staniſlaus de Komar, a page of the empreſs, which is well ſpoken of by the foreign journaliſts.

At Riga, M. Hupel has publiſhed "an Eſſay on the Political State of Ruſſia, Vol. I." from materials with which he was ſupplied by the miniſters, and the ſubordinate officers of government. This work is the moſt valuable and complete one, that hath yet been offered to the public, upon this intereſting ſubject. It contains an accurate and perſpicuous account of the different ſubdiviſions of the Ruſſian empire; of the climate, population, and culture of each province; of the claſſes and diſtinctions eſtabliſhed among the inhabitants; of the public and civil law; of the imperial family; of the court, the army, the finances, the national induſtry, the commerce, and the connexion of that empire with other European powers. We ſhould wiſh to be better acquainted with this work, which has employed the attention of the author during the courſe of thirty years.—At the ſame place, M. Freibe has publiſhed "a Manual of the Hiſtory of Livonia, Eſthonia, and Courland, Vol. I;" and "Memoirs for the Hiſtory of Livonia, taken from a Manuſcript newly diſcovered, and other Materials for northern Hiſtory, collected by M. Hupel." The firſt of theſe works commences at the period when the Phœnicians opened a traffic with Livonia for amber, and extends to the year 1439. The manuſcript from which the latter is taken, was written about the year 1640, by Melchior Fuchs, burgomaſter of Riga, and relates, chiefly, to the diſputes between that city and the archbiſhop. From the labours of this induſtrious hiſtorian and antiquary, we may expect much intereſting information relative to the hiſtory of Livonia.—At the ſame place M. Hupel has publiſhed "an Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Coſſacks," and other memoirs, which will ſupply the general hiſtorian with uſeful materials.

At Peterſburg hath appeared "a Sketch of a Deſcription of Peterſburg, the reſidence of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and what is worthy notice in the Neighbourhood, by J. G. Georgi, M. D. Fellow of the Academy of Sciences, &c. in 2 Vols." This work is an important and intereſting one; and will be acceptable to travellers, who may be deſirous of viſiting that celebrated metropolis, or to others who may wiſh for as accurate a knowledge of it, as can be obtained through the medium of the preſs. In an Appendix, Dr. Georgi has added a ſketch of the natural and œconomical ſtate of the government of Peterſburg.—At the ſame place has been publiſhed a treatiſe entitled, "the Speaking Wall, or a Picture of what has been written and drawn on the Wall of the Garden of the imperial Corps of Gentlemen Cadets, illuſtrated by Plates." This work contains an account of the emblems and inſcriptions which the count of Anhalt has ordered to be painted on the wall ſurrounding the garden of the cadets, for their amuſement and inſtruction. The emblems are appropriated to the different ſubjects of their ſtudies; and the inſcriptions, which are in the Ruſſian, French, and German languages, conſiſt of thoughts, maxims, ſentences, principles, precepts, leſſons, reflections, proverbs, dialogues, queſtions, notes, miſcellanies, wiſhes, and problems, with ſcraps of hiſtory, geography, aſtronomy, natural hiſtory, tactics, &c. &c. The book is given to the cadets on their quitting the ſchool.

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When we turn our attention to Swediſh literature, the firſt work which demands our notice is, "the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Vol. XI. for the year 1790," publiſhed at Stockholm. This work, as uſual, is divided into four parts, relative to the different quarters of the year; and contains many curious and intereſting papers on ſubjects in natural hiſtory, political œconomy, chemiſtry, meteorology, aſtronomy, phyſiology, and medicine; to which is added, a hiſtory of the academy for the year 1790, with deſcriptions of the medals ſtruck in the courſe of the year. Of the papers in this collection, thoſe which belong to natural hiſtory and medicine are by far the moſt numerous. Among the reſpectable names prefixed to the different articles, we meet with thoſe of M. S. Fahlberg, M. O. Swartz, M. C. P. Thunberg, M. A. Modeer, M. P. J. Hielm, M. J. Gadolin, M. F. Von Paula Schrank, M. D. Lundmark, M. C. L. Nordmark, M. CL. Bjerkander, M. J. L. Oehelius, and M. C. L. Hellenius.—At Stockholm alſo have been publiſhed "the Tranſactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Hiſtory, and Antiquities, Vol. II." The principal pieces which compoſe this volume, diſplay conſiderable knowledge and taſte, and appear with the following titles: hiſtorical remarks on ſome ancient gold coins found in the iſland of Oeland, by M. Engeſtroem; remarks on the ſcience of emblems, ſo far as it concerns medals, by M. Adlerbeth; a view of the connexions of commerce and policy between Sweden and the Hanſe towns, and the effects of thoſe connexions, by M. Flintenbeg; an enquiry how far the ancients ought to be conſidered as models for modern hiſtorians, by M. J. Hallenberg; and propoſals and ſketches for medals of great men, who flouriſhed in the times of Guſtavus Adolphus, and Chriſtina, by M. Luth.—At the ſame place a valuable work is publiſhing in numbers, under the title of "Swediſh Archives," by M. Gioerwell, keeper of the royal library; who, after being diſtinguiſhed in the literary world, for more than thirty years, by the ardour of his reſearches, and the importance of ſeveral of his periodical works, has now entered on rural retirement, in which his object is to devote his application ſolely to a hiſtory of his country.

The "Thoughts on Agriculture, Mines, Manufactures, Commerce, &c. as a Memorial of Lewis, Anceſtor of the Family of De Geer, the greateſt Promoter of Manufactures in Sweden, in the preceding Century," publiſhed at Stockholm, compoſe a miſcellaneous work, relative, partly to political œconomy, and partly to biography. Under the former head, it offers to us many intereſting and entertaining obſervations on the ſtate of agriculture, arts, ſciences, and commerce in Sweden, from the reign of Guſtavus I. to the abdication of Chriſtina, and the mode of education, and manners of the times, which will be acceptable to the readers in general. The biographical part contains the life of Lewis de Geer, to whoſe activity, reputation, and wealth, the manufactures of Sweden are ſo greatly indebted, that he may almoſt be conſidered as their founder.—At the ſame place hath appeared "a Treatiſe on the Swediſh Iron Furnaces, by J. C. Garney," illuſtrated with numerous plates. This uſeful and inſtructive work, for which the author appears to have been well qualified, in point of knowledge and information,

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mation, was undertaken by him at the requeſt of the Swediſh mineralogical ſociety. A tranſlation of ſuch a work in this country, would be peculiarly ſeaſonable at this time, when immenſe new fields for the exertions of the metallurgiſt, are daily opening in different parts of the kingdom.

In our Regiſter for the years 1787 and 1788, we announced the publication of Dr. Sparmann's ſplendid work entitled "a Collection of rare Birds in the Poſſeſſion of M. Guſtavus Von Carlſon, Secretary of State." The lovers of natural hiſtory will be glad to learn, that the proprietor of that noble collection, has been contributing to the extenſion of a ſcience to which he has evinced a long and ardent attachment, by publiſhing, at Stockholm, "General Remarks on the Manners and Œconomy of Birds; being a Diſcourſe pronounced on quitting the Preſidentſhip of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, in the year 1789."—At Stralſund, in Swediſh Pomerania, a work highly intereſting to naturaliſts has been publiſhed, entitled "a New Magazine for Entomologiſts, by Dav H. Schneider, Vol. I. Part I." Of M. Schneider the foreign journals ſpeak in very high terms, as poſſeſſing every qualification for engaging in ſuch a deſign; a thorough knowledge of his ſubject, a valuable collection of inſects, and an intimate acquaintance with the principal entomologiſts throughout Europe.

At Stockholm have appeared "the Miſcellaneous Work of M. Lidner, in 2 Vols." M. Lidner is ſpoken of as a poet of a bold inventive imagination, and great ſenſibility, whoſe works would be exceedingly valuable, were he more frequently to repreſs the exuberances of his genius.—At the ſame place has been publiſhed "the School for Scandal, a Comedy, in three Acts," written in imitation of M. Sheridan's celebrated drama; which met with great ſucceſs and applauſe on its introduction to the Swediſh theatre.

The firſt article which we have to to notice in our view of Daniſh literature is, "Nature conſidered, after the Manner of Bonnet, by Tyge Rothe," publiſhed at Copenhagen. The object of the ingenious and pious author of this work is, from the contemplation of nature, both as a whole, and in its parts, to deduce clear and ſatisfactory proofs of the exiſtence of a God, who is good, wiſe, and powerful, all whoſe operations tend ultimately to the happineſs of his creatures. The introduction contains remarks on the importance of the ſtudy of natural philoſophy to man's improvement, and the foundation of a rational belief of a deity; and a ſhort account of the preſent ſtate of that ſcience in Denmark. This excellent work cannot be too ſtrongly recommended for the utility of its deſign, and the ſenſible, convincing manner in which it is written. It is a proper companion to the author's work, entitled "Philoſophical Ideas on the Knowledge of our Nature, &c." of which we took notice in our laſt year's Regiſter.—Our next article is, the "new Memoirs of the Royal Daniſh Academy of Sciences, Vol. IV. Parts I. II." publiſhed at the ſame place. Among the moſt curious papers of which this volume conſiſts, are the following: proofs that the Baltic, at the time when the principal inhabitants of Norway and Sweden came out of Aſia, did not cover the ground it now does, by M. T. Rothe; a deſcription of a micrometer, for aſcertaining the diſtance of a body of troops, by M.

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H. T. Wegener; remarks on Cato's Treatise de Re Rustica, chiefly relative to natural history, by M. C. F. Rottböl; on the Application of sinking Funds, by M. J. N. Tetens; and on the Origin and Progress of the Spanish Inquisition, by M. Moldenhawer.—At the same place have been published, "Memoirs of the Society of natural History, Vol. I. Parts I. II." This society is a private one, and was instituted in the year 1789, chiefly through the exertions of professor Abilgaard. And if we may venture to judge from what it has already done, it promises to render important service to the interests of knowledge and science. The contributors to this volume are, professor Abilgaard, M. Vahl, M. N. T. Lund, M. O. Fabricius, M. L. Spengler, M. J. C. Fabricius, M. T. W. Troyel, and M. O. F. Müller. To the memoirs is prefixed a concise account of the society and its translations, by chancellor Suhm, one of its directors.

The "Geometrical and œconomical Division of Lands, &c. by Niel Morville," published at Copenhagen, is the work of an ingenious and sensible author, which bids fair to prove of considerable and extensive utility. The object of it is, to unite geometry with agriculture; and to shew in what instances the study of geometry, and even of algebra, may prove of great advantage in rural œconomy.—The "Extracts from the Acts of a Commission of Agriculture, instituted to re-establish the rights of the Peasants, in 2 Vols." published at the same place, contain many observations and remarks on subjects connected with political œconomy, which may be serviceable to the interests of that science, particularly in the state in which it exists in Denmark. For these volumes, the country is indebted to the patriotic attention and encouragement of the prince of Denmark, who, if we are rightly informed, employs his influence and power in increasing the liberties and happiness of mankind; while most of the other princes of Europe, seem to be struggling for the honour of being the most active conspirator against them!—At Altona, J. P. Benj. Von Rohr has published "Remarks on the Cultivation of Cotton, for the Use of the Danish West India Colonies, Vol. I." which appear to be the result of long experience, and attentive observation. To the planter of that article, therefore, they may prove of considerable use.

At Copenhagen, M. P. F. Suhm, who is well known for his erudition and profound knowledge as an historian and antiquary, has published a fourth volume of his "History of Denmark." This volume, in which the history is continued down to the year 1095, contains a particular account of the Danish expeditions to England, Scotland, Ireland, the two Sicilies, and Greece, and of the discovery of America by the Icelanders. The public is much indebted to the royal historiographer, for the gratification which his laborious and judicious researches have provided them.—At the same place have been published "Memoirs of the Literary History of Denmark, from the posthumous Collection of privy councellor Luxdorph, by Erasmus Nyerup, secretary to the Royal Library, in 2 Vols." These memoirs are of great importance to the history of modern Danish literature; and will afford ample gratification to the critical and polite scholar. The illustrations which have been added by the editor, reflect honour on his learning and accurate attention to the subject of the

he volumes which he has offered before the public.—The "Account of the Island of St. Thomas, and its Governors, by G. Host," published at the same place, contains authentic and useful information, extracted from the public archives relative to that island, and the neighbouring ones subject to the crown of Denmark. To the general historian of the European colonies in the West Indies, such collections will afford essential service.—At Copenhagen, likewise, have been published "the youthful Attempts of J. Baggesen in 2 vols." consisting of a collection of poems that possess considerable merit; and "popular poems, by Claus Friman," which is a collection of fables, songs, &c. written in an easy and familiar style, and adapted to inculcate good moral principles on the minds of the lower class of people.

In the History of the literature of the United Provinces, the first work which calls for insertion is "the Holy Bible, or the Old and New Testament, with a Commentary, consisting of select Notes, taken from several English Authors, vols. VII. and VIII. containing the two Books of Chronicles, and those of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther," published at Utrecht. These volumes are the continuation of a very judicious and instructive work, that was undertaken some years before the commencement of our annual labours, by the rev. Charles Chais. That learned and venerable character lived to finish the seventh and eighth volumes, which complete the commentary on the historical books of the Old Testament excepting the preliminary dissertations in the latter, which were composed by the editor, the Rev. Dr. Maclaine, of the Hague. These dissertations are worthy the very respectable character which the author sustains in the literary world, and abound in valuable information and criticism. To the eighth volume, there is prefixed a short account of M. Chais, who was a citizen of Geneva, and for sixty years pastor of the French church at the Hague; to which are added two sketches of his character, the one taken from M. Sennebier's literary history of Geneva, and the other from the sermon on his death, by the Rev. M. de la Saussaye.

At Haarlem, Teyler's Theological Society have published their eleventh volume of "Prize Dissertations relative to Natural and Revealed Religion." The question discussed in this volume is, "whether every person has a right, and, in proportion to his ability, is under an obligation, to judge for himself in matters of religion?" This important question has been the frequent subject of discussion, with very able writers in our own country, and has been decided in the affirmative by the most weighty and irrefragable arguments. And we are glad to find that a principle which lies at the foundation of genuine Protestantism, and of Christianity itself, has met with several zealous and judicious advocates among our Belgic neighbours. The candidate who obtained Teyler's golden medal, was the rev. Paulus Van Hemert, professor of oriental languages and moral philosophy in the congregation of remonstrants in Amsterdam. This ingenious author, after a judicious explanation of the proposition, shews, that the reformers assumed it as a principle upon which they vindicated their secession from the church of Rome; that the states of Holland maintained it in their edicts, in the time of Philip II; and that even the synod of Dordt has expressly asserted it in

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some of the articles of its confession of faith. He then proceeds to prove, that the right of every individual to judge for himself, is founded in the nature of man as a rational being; that no society can justly require any individual to resign it, as its full and free exercise is perfectly compatible with the purposes for which society was instituted; and that the resignation of that right, is, in fact, highly injurious to society, as it tends to produce slavery and persecution, and to destroy every thing that is valuable in religion itself. After having established the right, our author proceeds to shew the obligation which lies upon every man to judge for himself in matters of religion, and to communicate to others the results of his free enquiries, whenever he is of opinion that they may promote the happiness of his fellow Christians. These positions he establishes by a series of close and convincing reasoning; and enumerates, and answers, most satisfactorily, the different objections which have been urged against freedom of enquiry, and the right of individuals to communicate to others what they judge to be religious truth. To the following gentlemen silver medals were awarded: the rev. Jacob Kuiper, minister of the Baptist congregation in Deventer; the rev. Wiltetus Bernardus Jelgersma, A. M. minister of the established church at Weidum, in Friezland; the Rev. Willem de Vos, minister of the Baptist congregation in Amsterdam; and the Rev. Petrus Weiland, minister of the Remonstrant's church in Rotterdam. These writers support the same side of the question with professer Van Hemert, in a very able and ingenious train of reasoning. In the dissertation of M. Jelgersma, however, there are some concessions made, which are inconsistent with the perfect liberty for which he contends in the other parts of his work; and which, if admitted, and carried to their proper extent, would destroy the whole proposition. Into these concessions he seems to have been seduced by his connection with an established church, for which he would wish to offer some plea, while contending for a principle which reprobates the power and authority which such societies have assumed.—"The Consistent Orthodox Protestant," published at Amsterdam, is a dissertation on the same subject with those in the foregoing article; and is the production of an ingenious writer, who, on the whole, appears to be a friend to freedom of enquiry. He, however, allows of some concessions, on the subject of ecclesiastical toleration, and the terms on which christian churches are established, that are ruinous to the cause of which he professes himself an advocate.

At Amsterdam a work hath appeared entitled "the Composition of Water demonstrated by various Experiments; and the many Benefits to Society, derived from it, carefully traced; in two Dissertations read before the Society of the Felix Meritis, by William Van Barneveld." The very commendable object of this publication is, to render the principles of philosophy easy and familiar to those, whose stations and employments in life will not permit them to make it their immediate study. The author is a disciple of the Lavoisierian school; and the design of the first dissertation is, to convey a general idea of the system of Lavoisier, concerning the composition of water. After acknowledging that to Dr. Priestley's experiments and discoveries

ries relative to fixed air, we are indebted for all the ſubſequent diſcoveries of the different kinds of aerial ſubſtances; he proceeds to refute the ancient doctrine concerning elements, and to ſubſtitute that of Lavoiſier in its place. This he does by reciting a particular account of the different experiments which have been made by different kinds of air, and on which he reſts his concluſions. The ſecond diſſertation contains an account of farther experiments, tending to eſtabliſh the ſame doctrine; and the application of it to illuſtrate many phenomena, which on the old ſyſtem were attended with inſuperable difficulties. From theſe principles, and the application of them, the author endeavours to throw light on ſome of the uſeful and œconomical arts, and on the medical ſcience.—The purport of a "Letter from Dr. Van Marum, to Dr. John Ingenhouſe, containing a Deſcription of an Electrical Machine on a new Conſtruction," is ſufficiently underſtood from the title page. All that we have to obſerve is, that the contrivances which Dr. Van Marum has introduced, for a part of which he acknowledges himſelf indebted to our ingenious countryman Mr. Nicholſon, are attended with ſome improvements of importance. By means of them, every precaution ſeems to be taken, to prevent the diſſipation of the electric fluid; and the power of the machine rendered very conſiderable, with relation to the ſurface excited. For the particulars of his new conſtruction, we muſt refer to Dr. Van Marum's letter.

At Haarlem have been publiſhed "Memoirs relative to Naples and Sicily, collected during a Journey in the Years 1785, and 1786, by F. Munter, profeſſor of Divinity at Copenhagen, tranſlated from the German." The original of this work was announced in our view of Daniſh Literature, for the laſt year; and we have only to add, that we ſhall be glad to ſee an Engliſh tranſlation of a piece which, from the account given of it by the German critics, is the production of a traveller of great taſte and judgment, who was fortunate in being introduced to the moſt advantageous connexions for acquiring information, and to the moſt reſpectable characters for rank and emminence, as well for learning and abilities.—The "Hiſtory of the Colony of Surinam, compiled by a Literary Society of Portugueſe Jews reſident there," although it does not come recommended by any regularity of arrangement, and charms of ſtyle, which could not be expected from perſons unaccuſtomed to literature, abounds, notwithſtanding, in much curious and entertaining information. It is divided into two parts: the firſt part is employed on an hiſtorical account of the colony, and, particularly of the foundation and extent of the privileges which the Jews have enjoyed in Surinam, ever ſince its eſtabliſhment, and of their conduct as good and uſeful citizens. The ſecond part is deſcriptive of the preſent ſtate of Surinam, the conſtitution of the colony, its population and produce, the cuſtoms, manners, religions of the inhabitants, and many other intereſting particulars, from which the reader will derive much pleaſure and information.—At Utrecht, Ary Huyſers, a ſenior merchant in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, has publiſhed "a General Deſcription of the Dutch Eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt Indies, &c." This author is ſaid to be well informed on the ſubjects of which he has given

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given a general description, but his narrative is not so full and communicative, as he might safely have rendered it, without betraying any of the important secrets which he may be supposed to have obtained from his official situation.—The "Remarks made during a Journey through Turkey, Natolia, the Crimea, and Russia, in the Years 1784—1789," said to be printed at Constantinople, have more probably issued from a press at Amsterdam, or in some of the towns of the united provinces. It is written in imitation of the style and manner of Sterne; but is very inferior in those respects to the original. It is not, however, destitute of information and entertainment, which are intermixed with much absurdity, dogmatism, and weak impertinent objections against Christianity, of the true principles of which religion, and its influence on the state of manners in the world, the author betrays the most glaring and contemptible ignorance.

"The Military Memoirs of the United Netherlands, to the beginning of the Year 1790, published at Amsterdam," is a work which was begun before the commencement of our annual labours. It is spoken of as a publication of inestimable value to the politician; while as an historical work it is deserving of a high rank among the productions in Dutch literature. During the present year, the seventh and eighth volumes have made their appearance.—At Leyden, F. W. Pestel has published, in the Latin language, "a short Account of the Dutch Republic for the Use of his Auditors." This little work is divided into two parts. The first part, which is not so full as could be wished, treats of the geography of the country. The second part gives an account of the constitution of the republic, and of the several provinces, which is concise, distinct, and satisfactory.—At Amsterdam hath been published, "a Supplemental volume to Wagenaar's description of Amsterdam," which is well spoken of. It contains a particular account of the new edifices, paintings, and works of sculpture, which have adorned that city since the publication of Wagenaar's work.—At the same place hath appeared "a View of the Manners of the Inhabitants of the United Provinces, towards the Close of the eighteenth Century, by Ysbrand Van Hamelsveld." This work is the production of a clergyman of respectable abilities, who, in consequence of his zealous attachment to the Anti Orange party, was dismissed from his preferments, at the revolution in 1787. The subjects which the author discusses are, what is worthy of praise or of blame in the law countries; the manners of the inhabitants in general; education; youth; marriage; economy; social virtues; sciences; and national taste; public worship; particularities: to which he adds, a prospect of the future, and useful advice. M. Hamelsveld appears to be a warm friend to the cause of religion and virtue; but he does not seem to possess a sufficient knowledge of the world, to qualify him for the task which he undertook. To this it is owing that his work is distinguished more for declamation, and remarks which must be attributed to prejudice or credulity, than for philosophic survey, and just discrimination.—At Haarlem a work has been published, by the society for public good, entitled "Biographical Sketches of Celebrated Men and Women of the Netherlands." This work is a brief and useful moral compilation, for the instruction of youth; and is intended

tended to be continued in future volumes.—At Dordt, an instructive and entertaining publication has begun to make its appearance, in numbers, under the title of "an historical, political, and oeconomical Atlas." This popular work contains an abridgement of what is most interesting in the history, commerce, and agriculture of different countries.

At Leyden, M. Ruhnkenius has published an accurate and elegant edition of "the Works of M. A. Muretus, with Additions and Corrections from Manuscripts, and a brief Commentary," in 4 volumes 8vo. This edition of that celebrated author is the most complete and perfect one which hath yet appeared; and contains, beside the preface of Thomasius, and that of the Padua edition of 1590, a learned and ingenious one by the present editor, which is prefixed to the fourth volume.—At Amsterdam, M. R. Van Ommeren, Master of the public school in that city, has published two dissertations entitled "Quintus Horatius Flaccus, &c." which were first read in a society at Amsterdam, pro concordia & liberate. The principal object of the author is, to defend the Roman poet from the accusations which have been brought against him by several learned men, of flattery, cowardice, and licentiousness, as a man, and as a citizen. This part of his plan M. Ommeren has executed with much ingenuity, and forcible argument. His secondary object is, to moderate the high party spirit that exists among his countrymen. We apprehend that this task will be found much more arduous and difficult, than the exculpation of his favourite, bard.—At Utrecht hath appeared "a Treatise of the late Peter Camper on the natural Difference of Features in persons of various Countries and Ages; and on Beauty as exhibited on ancient Sculpture and Engravings; followed by the Description of a new Method of delineating various sorts of Heads, with accuracy: published by his son, Adrian Gilles Camper." The character of the late professor Camper, for learning, judgment, and taste, is too well known to be particularly mentioned by us. And it will excite a strong curiosity among scientific artists, to examine a work that is founded on a succession of repeated discoveries, and minute observation. The following are the outlines of the author's object: he intends to prove that the principal rules laid down by the most celebrated painters and limners, are very defective; that they neither enable the students to delineate national characteristics in the countenance, nor to imitate the beauties of ancient sculptors and artists. He contends that the observations of the abbé Winckelman, concerning ideal beauty, are not well founded; and he professes to have discovered, in what that species of beauty really consists. He insists that it is in consequence of the imperfection of rules, that men of eminence have been so defective in their portraits of national characters. He denies the propriety of making the oval, as is the most common method, or the triangle, as some artists have proposed, the foundation of portraits to be taken in profile; and he proposes more certain principles in their place.

Among the productions of Germany, the first which attracts our attention is, "a new Greek Version of the Pentateuch, now first Published from the Manuscript in St. Mark's Library at Venice, and revised, by Ch. Fred. Ammon, Phil. D. &c. vols. I. and II." published at Erlangen. These volumes contain Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and

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and Numbers; to which is soon to be added, a third volume containing the book of Deuteronomy, critical remarks by the editor, a defence of corrections which he has made of trifling mistakes in the manuscript, and a complete index verborum. We shall probably have it in our power, on a future occasion, to lay before our readers a more particular account of the value of this publication.—At Marpurg M. C. W. Justi has published "the Song of Triumph over Babylon, Isaiah XLVII. as a specimen of Translation and Explanation." From this specimen a very favourable opinion hath been entertained of the abilities of the author, as a critic and commentator. The fifth verse he considers to allude to the custom in the east of feasting in the evening, while the shaves were allowed no light in their apartments.—The same allusion he conceives to be used, in the outer darkness of the new testament.—At Gottingen, M. Werner. C. L. Zeigler has published "a complete Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the ancient and modern Opinions respecting its authenticity, canonicalness, and original Language, are continually examined anew, and the Value of the whole Epistle more accurately determined." The principal object of M. Ziegler appears to be, the refutation of the arguments used by Dr. Storr, in his explanation of this epistle, to prove that Paul was the writer of it. These he examines singly, and closely, with great critical judgment and skill. M. Zeigler is of opinion that this epistle was written by Apollos, or some other Jew of Alexandria.—The same author has published, at the same place, "Theological Essays, vol. I." This work affords additional evidence of the extensive knowledge, and critical acuteness, which the author possesses; and has led the public to form very high expectations from his future productions in Biblical literature. Three separate tracts compose the present volume. The first is on natural religion; the second an examination of the history of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, from the earliest times of the church, to the council of Florence; and the third is a commentary on the book of Judges.—At Leipsic, M. Rosenmuller is continuing the publication of his "Scholia on the Old Testament," with increasing reputation. From the last account which we have seen of this work it appears, that he has published the first section of his third volume, which includes the first eighteen chapters of Isaiah.—The same author has likewise published, at Nuremberg, the third and last volume of "additions to his Scholia on the New Testament," which contain the substance of every thing of importance, that hath been written since that work appeared.—At Leipsic, M. F. Fred. N. More, professor of Theology, has published an epitome of Christian Theology, written for future Teachers of Religion, which is a valuable and useful work, and well deserves the attention of those for whose use it was drawn up. In his prolegomena, the professor displays much learning and information, when treating of religion in general, theology, the scriptures, and the credibility of their authors.

At Winterthur, M. J. C. Lavater has published "Reflections on the most important Passages in the Gospels; a book for the Edification of unlearned thinking Christians, adapted to the Wants of the Times, vol. II." With M. Lavater's manner of writing practical works, few, if any, of our readers are unacquainted.

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quainted. This volume is written in his peculiar ſtyle, and is well adapted to the claſs of readers for whoſe uſe it was intended. What farther tends to recommend it is, the care with which the author has, in general, avoided introducing any reference to opinions of a dubious and ſpeculative nature; or which cannot promote the improvement of chriſtians.—At Erfort, M. J. J. Bellerman has publiſhed a "Manual of Biblical Literature, vol. II." a work that reflects great honour on on the author's talents, and from which the theological ſtudent may derive conſiderable aſſiſtance. This volume is devoted to ſacred geography.—At Ulm hath appeared a publication entitled, "the true and only ſufficient Mode of reforming the Catholic Prieſthood in general, according to the original Idea of its Divine Founder; by an active Friend of Pure Truth, and the general Good." This work is a ſingular and curious one; eſpecially when it is conſidered that it is the production of a catholic, and one who is held in high eſtimation by the catholic clergy in general, and by the court of Munich, at which he reſides. For he claims the ſame rights for his ſovereign over the clergy, and all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, as have been exerciſed under the revolution in France. He contends, alſo, that there ſhould be but one claſs of prieſts, though of different ranks, who ſhould be ſolely occupied in the cure of ſouls, and inſtruction of youth, and whoſe authority ſhould be purely ſpiritual. The German epiſcopalians will not highly reliſh ſuch a bold and ſpirited performance.—At Hamburg an uſeful treatiſe has been publiſhed, entitled "the Road to Happineſs pointed out to Youth, by one of their beſt Friends." This work is drawn up in a manner that will prove unexceptionable to perſons of very diſcordant theological opinions, but who agree in a common belief in chriſtianity. It is divided into ſeven ſections, under the following heads: What is the nature of man? In what conſiſts the happineſs at which he aims? Is there a God? Can this God render us happy? He has called us to happineſs by the diſpenſations of his providence: and he has given us a full aſſurance of it, by ſending his ſon Jeſus.—At Nuremberg and Altdorf, Dr. J. C. Döderlein has publiſhed "Inſtructions in the Chriſtian Religion, adapted to the Neceſſities of the Times, vol. V." The former volumes of theſe diſcourſes were publiſhed ſome years ago; and have ſecured to the author a high and diſtinguiſhed rank among German divines. This volume, completes the doctrines relative to the attributes of God, and treats of his moral perfections.—At Gottingen, M. J. C. Marezoll has publiſhed a volume of "Sermons, principally relating to the Spirit and Wants of the Times, preached at the Univerſity Church," which are on intereſting and uſeful ſubjects, and ſaid to be recommended by great excellence of ſtyle.—At Leipſic, M. R. G. Baur, has publiſhed "Sermons on faſt and feaſt Days, and on various Subjects of practical Chriſtianity," which have been very favourably received; and are conſidered as poſſeſſing much of that ſpecies of merit which diſtinguiſhes the excellent ſermons of Zollikofer.—At Magdeburgh, M. J. David Müller has publiſhed "Sermons for Youth at School, in two volumes." Mr. Müller, who has been for ſome years a teacher of young perſons, has been accuſtomed to aſſemble his ſcholars on holidays, and to deliver diſcourſes to them on the firſt principles of religion. Theſe diſcourſes compoſe the

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the preſent volumes, and are recommended by their ſubjects, their brevity, and the eaſy familiar ſtyle in which they are written.—At Berlin have appeared two volumes of poſthumous "Sermons, on various Texts of Scripture, by M. Reclam." It appears, however, that theſe diſcourſes were intended by the author for the preſs; and that they poſſeſs very conſiderable merit, as pulpit compoſitions. The ſubjects of them are, chiefly, the chriſtian virtues.

Among the German publications in ſpeculative and moral philoſophy, for the year 1791, we meet with, "J. G. C. Kieſewetter, on the firſt Principles of moral Philoſophy, &c. in 2 Vols." publiſhed at Berlin. The firſt volume of this work contains an examination of former ſyſtems of morals; and an Eſſay on Free-will, by profeſſor Jacob, a new edition reviſed throughout. The ſecond volume contains an Expoſition and Explanation of Kant's Moral Principle; which is ſo much enlarged in its form, that it may be conſidered as a new work.—At Leipſic, M. Fred. Victor Leberecht Pleſſing has publiſhed "Attempts to elucidate the Philoſophy of the remoteſt Antiquity, Vol. II." This volume is divided into two parts. The firſt contains an attempt to prove, that the ancient Eleates, the Pythagoreans, and Ariſtotle, entertained the ſame opinions in their doctrine of God, the ſoul of the world, and of ideas. The ſecond part is principally employed in refuting different objections to the author's opinions. This work is diſtinguiſhed by thoſe marks of induſtry and ingenuity, which muſt extort the commendation of thoſe readers of Mr. Pleſſing, who may not think that he has ſatisfactorily eſtabliſhed his poſitions.—At Berlin, M. J. Aſcher has publiſhed a treatiſe entitled "Scholia, or Fragments of Philoſophy and Criticiſm, Vol. I." The chief object of the author is, to inveſtigate the ground of the pleaſure which ariſes from the ſublime, the great, the noble, and the beautiful. In diſcuſſing his ſubjects, M. Aſcher gives abundant proof of the attention which he has paid to them, and of his extenſive acquaintance with ſcientific writers, and works of art; whatever may be thought of the truth and reaſonableneſs of his theory.—At Leipſic have appeared "Letters on Kant's Philoſophy, by C. Leon. Reinhold, Vol. I"; which contain an intelligible and pleaſing illuſtration of the reſults of Kant's reaſoning, with reſpect to our rights and duties in this life, and the grounds of our hope in a future, without examining the premiſes from which thoſe reſults are drawn. The firſt letters, which contain an account of the preſent ſtate of philoſophy, are highly inſtructive.—At the ſame place, M. C. H. Heydenreich has publiſhed a ſecond volume of his ſenſible and well-written "Thoughts on the Philoſophy of Natural Religion."—At the ſame place, Mr. Villaume has publiſhed a volume of "Eſſays on ſome Pſychological Queſtions," which he has treated with his accuſtomed good ſenſe, and ingenuity. The ſubjects of theſe eſſays are dreams; whether in a future ſtate we ſhall have a remembrance of this; the laws by which man is guided in his judgment concerning truth and falſhood; whether pleaſure can ſerve inſtead of pain to unfold man's faculties; Bonnet's ſyſtem of the organization of the brain; and ſelf-knowledge.—At Medlenburg, M. Wilhelm Klewiz has publiſhed a treatiſe "on Duration and Pre-exiſtence" which, among ſome

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ing and probable conjectures, contains a variety of the most wild and extravagant ideas that a creative fancy ever formed. There is nothing, however, in his scheme, but what is perfectly innocent, in a moral and religious point of view.—At Jena, M. C. Christian Erhard Schmid has published "an experimental Essay on Mind," which affords satisfactory evidence of the author's possessing very extensive talents, an intimate knowledge of the subject he has undertaken to discuss, patient and unwearied industry, and an accurate discriminating judgment. This work is divided into five parts. The first examines the idea of the mind, its various faculties and powers, their relation to each other, and the general laws by which they act, as far as is necessary to the subsequent investigations. The second part treats of the faculty of perception; the third of sensation; the fourth, of the faculty and power of desire in general; and the fifth, of the relation of the soul and body to each other. In an Introduction, Mr. Schmid considers the knowledge of man in general, and its indispensable aids to the attainment of the end of his existence or happiness by means of moral conduct.—At Tubingen, professor Bardili has republished the "Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, by P. Pomponius of Mantua," which was become exceedingly scarce; and has enhanced its value, by adding whatever is worthy notice relative to the philosophers who have flourished in Italy since the age of the scholastics, the life of the author, and the argument of the book.—At the same place, professor Jac. Fred. Abel has published "Explanations of important Objects of Philosophical and Christian Morality"; in which he endeavours to shew the importance of an acquaintance with psychology to young divines, and how its principles should be applied to cases which will frequently occur to them. The design of this publication is more highly commended than the manner in which it is executed.

Under the head of Government, Law, and Political Œconomy, Germany during the present year has produced only a few publications which we have heard of, and of which our plan requires that we should take any notice. In this number is the "Essay on the Revolutions of States, External, Internal and Religious, read at the public Meeting of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, Oct. 6. 1791, &c. by Count Hertzberg." This publication is distinguished by numerous evidences of that extensive information, and comprehensive mind, which the ingenious author is well known to possess. We cannot, however, accede to all his political ideas; and have by no means been convinced by the arguments with which he endeavours to support the utility of standing armies, and to illustrate the freedom which is enjoyed under the Prussian government.—At Liege, M. Lemaire has published a French translation, from the German, of "a Plan of a new Constitution, for the Free and Imperial City of Aix-la-Chapelle, proposed to the Citizens by M. De Dohm, Privy Councellor to the King of Prussia." This publication is highly honourable to the author, for the rational and manly sentiments of liberty which he endeavours to inculcate. It points out the proper correction of these

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abuses in the old constitution, under which the magistrates had for a long time exercised an intolerable oppression, that led to consequences which called for the interposition of the imperial chamber at Werzlaer. And it proposes a new form of government, which seems calculated, as the author says, "to make the City truly free, and the Citizens Freemen, subordinate only to the Laws, and possessing not only the Right, but the Opportunity and Power, of exerting themselves at all times, in promoting the general Happiness."—At Berlin hath been published "a Trial at Law between M. Unger, Printer, and M. Zællner, Councellor of the grand Consistory, as Censor of a prohibited Book," which reflects much honour on the court before which it was held, and leads us to hope that their decision will prove encouraging to freedom of enquiry in the Prussian monarchy. The following are the circumstances of the case: M. Unger having published a catechism, for the instruction of the lower classes of people, in which all the abstruse parts of that published by authority were omitted, he was forbidden by the minister Von Wollner to sell the work, under the pretence that it was a libel on the established catechism. At the same time that minister informed him, that he might recover his expences from M. Zællner, the censor, who had permitted him to publish it. Having brought his action against M. Zællner, the court decreed against him; observing, "that the office of censor was intended merely to suppress personal invective, and private malice, and not to lay the least restraint on the candid examination of truth, against whomsoever it might militate."—At Gottingen, M. Ph. P. Gudeil has published a treatise "on the Laws of Enchange, and the Roman Law relative to written Obligations, and their Influence on the Wellfare of a People;" which contains many just ideas, worthy the attention of writers on jurisprudence. M. Guden considers the Roman law as too favourable to the debtor; and that of exchange as too favourable to the creditor.—At Hamburgh has been published "an Attempt at a complete Enquiry into Usury and its Laws, and the Means of preventing Usury without Penal Statutes, by J. A. Gunther, vol. I;" which contains many just and sensible observations on the theory of the laws of usury: and at Nordlingen, a treatise entitled "a Vote on Usury, by a Man without a Vote," which to much humour unites valuable and important remarks on the same subject.—At Manheim have been published the "Memoirs of the Electoral Physico-economical Society of Heidelberg. Vol. V. Part I." The papers in this volume are, on the best means of preventing a want of firewood, by F. C. Medicus; on the commercial rank of the Turks, by Dr. Gatterer; and observations on the diseases of horses, by C. baron von Zyllenhardt.

At Mentz and Leipsic have appeared "Letters on the various Branches of political Œconomy, Vol. I." which have been written by a person of considerable experience, knowledge, and judgment; and at Bamberg and Wirtzburg, a dissertation "on the Advantages of Hospitals to a State," which was pronounced at the establishment of the general hospital at Bamberg, and is chiefly employed in a panegyric on the reigning prince bishop, Francis

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Francis Lewis.—At Berlin a periodical work has begun to make its appearance, entitled "Frederic Herzberg's Magazine for the Geography and political Œconomy of the Prussian Dominions, Part I." which, from its plan, and the manner in which the present Number is conducted, promises to be useful and entertaining.—At Hamburg, Dr. J. A. H. Reimarus has published a well written treatise entitled, "the Freedom of the Corn-Trade examined on Natural and Historical Principles;" in which he offers a variety of arguments, from reason and experience, to prove that the most effectual means of securing a country against want of corn are, to allow a free importation and exportation of that article.—At Weissenfels and Leipsic, a country clergyman has published "Short Instructions, taken from Experience, on the best Method of cultivating Fruit Trees," containing much valuable and useful information.

In giving our account of publications in Mathematics and Philosophy, it has been usual with us to pay our first attention to the memoirs of royal academies, or public societies. We have not, however, since the appearance of our last volume, met with any work of this description: if we except the "Annals of the Academy of Mechanic Arts and Sciences, at Berlin, by C. Ph. Moritz, Part I." which are of a mathematical nature. These Annals are intended to contain not only all the discoveries made by the academy, or its members, but all the information that can be collected concerning the history of the arts, and the degree of perfection to which each has been carried by the ancients. The number before us contains the following articles: monuments of the history of the arts in Prussia; speech on the introduction of the new regulations of the academy, by baron Heinitz, minister of state; an answer in the name of the academy, by professor Moritz; on two buildings made each of a single stone, taken from quarries in Egypt, and transported on the Nile, one to Sais, the other to Butos; on the ancient porcelain of Egypt; description of Brandenburg gate, now erecting at Berlin; institution of the academy of arts at Petersburg; a letter to M. L. Meinon, concerning professor Herz's Essay on Taste; an answer by M. Meinon; a plan for executing geographical maps in a less expensive manner than the present, which chiefly consists in the use of wood instead of copper; and extracts of letters by the vice-director Chodoneiecky.—Among the mathematical works which individuals have contributed to the general stock, we meet with "Institutes of Mathematical Analysis, and the Science of Machines, Vol. I; containing Algebra, or the Analysis of finite Quantities; published from the posthumous Papers of M. Jos. Mitterpacher of Mitternburg, by J. Pasquich, Phil. D. Professor of the higher Mathematics at Pest," printed at Leipsic. The foreign journalists in speaking of this work, are profuse in their commendations on the author, and the editor.—At Berlin, professor Abel Burja has published "Elements of Dynamics, or that Part of Mechanics which treats of solid Bodies in a State of Motion;" the design of which is to afford those who wish to make some progress in the science, a work calculated to prepare

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them for the more abſtruſe parts of mathematics, for reading the labours of an Euler; or a M. de la Grange.—At Leipſic, R. Fr. Von Lindenau, lieutenant colonel, &c. in the imperial ſervice, has publiſhed a treatiſe "on the higher Pruſſian Tactics, their Defects and Inadequacy, with ſome more full and adequate Methods, in four Parts, Vol. II;" from which conſiderable improvement may be derived to military ſcience.—At Hamburg, an anonymous treatiſe has appeared "on ſuccedaneous Rudders, or Methods that may be employed for ſteering a Ship which has loſt its Rudder or Tiller, and ſupplying the Loſs as well as poſſible at Sea;" which is the work of an intelligent author, and contains uſeful inſtruction in naval tactics.—At Berlin, M. J. C. Bode has publiſhed his "aſtronomical Ephemeris for the Year 1794," which abounds with valuable aſtronomical papers.—At Gotha, Francis de Zach, Phil. et LL. D. of the univerſity of Oxford, has publiſhed "New and Correct Tables of the Sun's Motion, deduced from the Theory of Gravitation, and the lateſt Obſervations; to which is added a New Catalogue of the principal fixed Stars, from Aſtronomical Obſervations made during the Years 1787, 8, 9, 90, in the Obſervatory at Gotha, and conſtructed for the Year 1800;" which is ſaid to be a work of very great merit.—At Gottingen, M. Johann. Hieronymus Schroeter has publiſhed "Selenotopographical Memoirs, intended to promote a more accurate Knowledge of the Moon's Surface:" a work on which the author has beſtowed immenſe time and labour, and that contains a vaſt fund of information, for which every lover of ſcience is much indebted to him.

In Natural Philoſophy and Chemiſtry, the following works have been announced in the foreign journals: "New Philoſophical Eſſays, of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Vol. V." publiſhed at Munich; to which M. M. Heinricht, Arbuthnot, and Kennedy are the principal contributors; "Miſcellaneous Eſſays, Chemical, Pharmaceutical, and Philoſophical, by J. Mich. Schiller," publiſhed at Nuremberg; "a Hiſtory of the Progreſs and Diſcoveries in Chemiſtry, &c. by John Chriſtian Weigleb, in 2 Vols." publiſhed at Berlin; "Chemical Reſearches in Agriculture, Part III. by M. Reickert," publiſhed at Erlang; "An Introduction to Chemiſtry in general, by Chriſtian Ehrenfried Weigel, Parts I and II." publiſhed at Leipſic; "a general Syſtem of experimental Chemiſtry, ſketched as a Text-Book for his Lectures, by Dr. Sigiſm. Fred. Hermbſtadt, in 3 Vols." publiſhed at Berlin; "a chemical Analyſis of the Mineral Waters at Carlſbad, by profeſſor Klaproth," publiſhed at the ſame place; and "a phyſico-chemical Deſcription of the mineral Wells at Pyrmont, by John Fred. Weſtrumb," publiſhed at Leipſic.—To the articles already enumerated we muſt add the following, which are intended to aſſiſt in extending our acquaintance with the different branches of natural knowledge: "An Introduction to the Knowledge and Hiſtory of Animals and Minerals, for the Uſe of Academical Lectures, by Auguſtus J. G. C. Batſch, Vol. II." publiſhed at Jena; "Sketches of natural Hiſtory, by Blaſ. Merrem, in two Parts," publiſhed at Duiſburg and Lemgo; "Eſſay on the Animalcules of Infuſions, and different Kinds of freſh Water, with Doubts on the Irritability

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bility of Vegetables, by Noel. Joſ. De Necker," publiſhed at Manheim; "Specimen of the comparative Phyſiology of Viviparous and Oviparous warm-blooded Animals, by J. F. Blumenbach," publiſhed at Gottingen; "on the Origin of vegetable and animal Fibre, by M. J. Hedwig," publiſhed at Leipſic; "An Abridgment of the natural Hiſtory of viviparous Quadrupeds, and of Birds, by M. Hollandre, M. D. in four Vols." publiſhed at Deux Ponts; "Tables aſcertaining the Proportion and Quantity of the component Parts contained in an hundred Grains of thoſe Stones and Earths that have been accurately examined of late Years, for the convenience of Naturaliſts, Mineralogiſts, &c", and "Tables, as before, in an hundred Pounds of Ores and combuſtible Materials, &c. by J. C. W. Remler," publiſhed at Erfort; "a full and ſyſtematic Catalogue of the Collection of Minerals of M. C. Eugene Pabſt Von Ohain, late Captain of the Mines to the Elector of Saxony, by A. G. Werner, Vol. I." publiſhed at Freyberg and Annaberg; "the Elements of Metallurgy, in which are diſplayed the chief Operations in ſmelting Works, either in the ſmall way or in the large, according to ſound chemical Principles, with Delineations of ſome of the moſt eminent ſmelting Works, by J. Ant. Scopoli," publiſhed at Manheim; "a mineralogical Deſcription of the Territory of Orange-Naſſau, with a Hiſtory of the ſmelting Works and Forges at Siegen, by J. Ph. Becher," publiſhed at Marburg; "the Art of Mining, Vol. II." publiſhed at Leipſic; "the Geography of the Northweſt middle Mountain in Bohemia, a Fragment in Anſwer to the Queſtion, Is Baſaltes a volcanic Productions or not? determined in the negative, by Fr. Amb. Reuſs, M. and Phil. D." publiſhed at Dreſden; "a tabulary View of Foſſil Bodies, &c. by D. L. G. Karſten," publiſhed at Berlin; "a Diſſertation on Plants in cultivated Pruſſia, by Profeſſor C. D. Hagen," publiſhed at Koningſberg; and "a portable Herbal of Plants found in the Environs of Liege, with their Deſcription and Claſſification, according to the Syſtem of Linné, to which is prefixed a Diſcourſe on Botany, by A. Rozin M. D." publiſhed at Liege.

Among the Hiſtorical and Biographical productions of Germany, the firſt which we have to announce is a "general Collection of hiſtorical Memoirs, from the twelfth Century to the preſent Day, tranſlated by ſeveral Hands; publiſhed by Fred. Schiller, in 3 vols," at Jena. This work is an extenſive and valuable one; and is intended to include the moſt important hiſtorical pieces relating not meerly to the kingdoms of Europe, but to others in different quarters of the globe, in whoſe political tranſactions they have been intereſted. The memoirs that compoſe the preſent volume are, the Princeſs Anna Comnena's Alexias; Otto biſhop of Freiſingen's memoirs of the emperor Frederic I.; a continuation of the ſame by Radewich; and Bohadin's life of Saladin. Prefixed to the work is a ſhort ſketch of the origin of the Cruſades, and the ſtate of Europe at that time, with remarks on the different kinds of property in land, and the gradual riſe of the feudal ſyſtem.—At Hamburg, bath appeared "the Hiſtory of the Reign of Charlemagne, by D. H. Hegewich" The principal deſign of this work is to give a true idea, and faithful repreſentation of

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the ſtate and character of the different nations who were ſubject to the dominion of Charlemagne, to inveſtigate the leading principles of their civil conſtitutions, and to develope the plan and method of that monarch's government. It is a production which has employed much of the author's time and aſſiduity, in collecting and arranging materials; and among ſome opinions which may appear to us to be novel and indefenſible, it contains a variety of critical remarks on other hiſtorians, and ſenſible diſcuſſions, which do honour to the author's knowledge and judgment.—At Leipſic hath been publiſhed a "Hiſtory of the Ukrain and Saporogue Coſſacks, by C. Hammerdörfer," which contains much correct information concerning that people.—At Berlin, M. de Verdy du Vernois, Chamberlain to the king of Pruſſia, has publiſhed "a genealogical and chronological Hiſtory of the Houſe of Heſſe Hombourg, by way of Appendix to M. Mallet's Hiſtory of Heſſe, drawn up from the Title-Deeds and Manuſcripts in the Archives of that Houſe." Whatever is of importance relative to the landgravate of Heſſe Hombourg, and its connection with the other ſtates of Germany, from the death of George the Pious, in the year 1596, has been collected with great care and induſtry by our author, who is ſpoken of as poſſeſſing the requiſites of a faithful and intereſting hiſtorian.—At Koningſberg hath been publiſhed, Dr. G. Chriſt Piſanki's "Sketch of the literary Hiſtory of Pruſſia; with a Preface on the Life, Character, and literary Merit of the Author, by L. Erneſt Borowſky;" which contains an ample view of the origin and progreſs of learning in Pruſſia; its hindrances and advantages, its influence on the nation, religion, manners, taſte, &c.—At Breſlaw have been publiſhed "political and military Confeſſions of an Auſtrian Veteran, reſpecting the Conduct of Auſtria and Pruſſia towards each other, during the Reign of Frederic II. in 3 vols." This work is the only one of any value that has appeared from an Auſtrian pen, reſpecting the wars between Frederic and Maria Thereſa; and it is written by a perſon who poſſeſſed peculiar advantages for information, abilities for forming a right judgment, and an uncommon qualification for an actor in the ſcenes which he deſcribes, that of writing with impartiality.—At Berlin, F. W. C. Count Schmettau has publiſhed "Memoirs of the Campaign of the Pruſſian Army in Bohemia, in 1778, under the command of his majeſty, with remarks on ſeveral Subjects relative to the Art of War," which are ſaid to be the moſt judicious, accurate, and faithful, yet publiſhed, not excepting thoſe of the king himſelf. At Liege hath appeared "an Account of the Revolution at Liege in 1789, and of the Conduct of the King of Pruſſia in that Buſineſs, by M. de Dohm, privy Councellor to his Majeſty, &c. tranſlated from the German into French, by M. Reynier, Citizen of Liege, &c.;" which is an intereſting and important work; and details an account of tranſactions and negociations that reflect great honour on the king of Pruſſia and his miniſter. — The "Sketch of a Hiſtory of the State Inquiſition at Venice, by J. Ph. Siebenkees," publiſhed at Nuremberg, contains a particular and accurate account of the famous Venetian tribunal, drawn up by a perſon of known and reſpectable abilities, who reſided for a conſiderable time

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at Venice, and who has conſulted the moſt valuable and inconteſtible authorities.—At Gottingen, Dr. G. J. Planck, profeſſor of theology, has publiſhed "a Plan of the Hiſtory of the Conſtitution of the Church, Church Government, and Canon Law, particularly with reſpect to the German Church, as a Text-Book of Lectures, particularly for Students of Law," in which a vaſt quantity of valuable and important matter, judiciouſly digeſted and arranged, is compreſſed into the compaſs of a ſmall volume.—At Deſſau, an anonymous author has publiſhed a work entitled "Modern Hiſtory of the reformed Church in the lower Palatinate, from authentic Sources," which contains an intereſting account of the oppreſſion which the reformed church has ſuffered, ſince the year 1685, drawn up with great temper and liberality, and ſupported by unqueſtionable documents, added by the author to the body of the work.—At Altenburg, M. Herchenhahn has publiſhed "the Hiſtory of Albert de Walleſtein, in 2 vols." The hero of this work was the noted opponent of Guſtavus Adolphus: and his hiſtory is marked by a great variety of ſtriking incidents, and changes of fortune, that render it intereſting and entertaining.—At Magdeburg, an anonymous author has publiſhed "Biographical Anecdotes of John Beruh. Baſedow, taken from his own Works, and from other authentic Sources." M. Baſedow was a perſon poſſeſſed of eminent and very diſtinguiſhed talents, and an unconquerable ardour in the proſecution of truth, and ſchemes of utility. To him Germany is indebted for the moſt important changes that have of late years been made in the ſeminaries of education, and for that ſpirit of free enquiry that is pervading the Lutheran church. Like all reformers, however, he met with the moſt violent oppoſition from the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the intereſted. The hiſtory of ſuch a celebrated character, if tolerably written, cannot fail of being highly intereſting. It is but juſtice to ſay, that the anecdotes before us are drawn up in a pleaſing manner, and by a perſon who appears to have had acceſs to ſources of accurate and particular information.—At Leipſic, M. J. Ferd. Roth has publiſhed "the Life of Albert Durer, the Father of German Artiſts, with an Alphabetical Catalogue of Places in which his Performances are preſerved;" from which the author can claim the merit of having diſplayed more induſtry in collecting and examining his materials, than any of his predeceſſors who have undertaken to write the life of Durer.—At Gotha, M. Schlichtegroll has publiſhed "a Necrology for the Year 1790, containing Accounts of the Lives of the Memorable Perſons who died that Year;" which are more or leſs full, as the author was able to procure materials. Among other ſubjects of this biographical work are, Dr. Franklin, Joſeph II. Lewis of Heſſe Darmſtadt, and our countryman Mr. Howard.—After having ſwelled this article beyond the limits which we uſually allow ourſelves, in giving our account of any branch of foreign literature, we muſt content ourſelves with only inſerting the names of the following works: "the Hiſtory and Deſcription of the Imperial County of Limburg, in the Circle of Franconia, vol. II.; containing its Topography &c." publiſhed at Stutgard; "the Architectural Hiſtory of Potſdam, particularly during the Reign of Fred. II. by H L. Manger, vol. I." publiſhed at Berlin and Stettin; "a

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Brief Chronicle of the Imperial Town of Nuremberg," publiſhed at Altdorf; "a Commentary on Edriſi's African Geography, which obtained the Prize from the Royal Academy at Gottingen, June 4. 1791, by J. M. Hartmann," publiſhed at Gottingen; "J. R. Von Patkul's Diſpatches to the Cabinet of the Tzar at Moſcow, during his Embaſſy to Auguſtus II. king of Poland, with Explanations of the Letters written in Cypher, explanatory Remarks, an Account of his Life, &c." publiſhed at Berlin; "the Hiſtory of the Coinage, Money, and Mines of the Ruſſian Empire, from 1700 to 1789; chiefly taken from original Documents," publiſhed at Gottingen: "the Cabinet of Lubec Coins, and Medals, collected by Lew. H. Mulla, with explanatory Remarks, and a Hiſtory of Coins, by J. Herm. Schnobel," publiſhed at Lubec; "Letters on Switzerland, by C. Meiners, Councellor to his Britannic Majeſty, and Profeſſor of Philoſophy at Gottingen, vols. III. IV." publiſhed at Berlin; "Sketch of Part of Germany, Switzerland, and France, taken during a Tour in the Year 1790, by H. A. Von Halem, in 2 vols." publiſhed at Hamburg; "on Paris and the Pariſians, by M. Schultz," publiſhed at Berlin; "a Voyage on the Rhine, in 2 vols," publiſhed at Coblentz; "M. Waſili Szujew's Deſcription of his Journey from St. Peterſburg to Cherſon, in the Years 1781-2, vol. I." publiſhed at Dreſden and Leipſic; "the Ancient Hiſtory of Printing at Mentz, from the Invention of the Art, to the year 1499, by G. W. Zapf," publiſhed at Ulm; "the Laſt Days of Abbé Jeruſalem, by J. E. F. Emperius," publiſhed at Leipſic; "the Hiſtory and Journal of my Impriſonment, with private Documents and Illuſtrations of the German Union, by Dr. C. F Bahrdt," publiſhed at Frankfort; "Sketches of the Lives of Ladies of Gallantry, being an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Character, Manners, Devices, and Addreſs of Females of former Ages," publiſhed at Ratiſbon; "the Hiſtory of the Life and Travels of J. J. Lerche, Councellor of the Imperial Ruſſian College, &c. written by Himſelf; with Remarks and Additions by Dr. Ant. Fred. Buſching," publiſhed at Halle; and "the Life of Frederica Baldinger, written by herſelf; publiſhed, with a Preface by the widow Sophia Von la Roche," at Offenbach.

We ſhall now conclude our hiſtory of German Literature, by inſerting a catalogue of ſuch publications as are to be referred to the heads of claſſical, critical, polite, or miſcellaneous learning. At Marpurg, Profeſſor G. W. Lorſbach has begun the publication of a new periodical work under the title of "a Repoſitory for Oriental Literature." This work, if we may judge from the preſent ſpecimen, promiſes to be a valuable and important one to thoſe who wiſh to be intimately acquainted with the Oriental languages. The volume before us contains a new and excellent tranſlation of the fragment from Ebn. Chalecan's lives of celebrated men, which include the hiſtory of Hakem, the founder of the religion of the Druſes, together with hiſtorical, geographical, and critical remarks: and remarks on Bar Hebræus, under the form of reviews of Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum, Ed. Bruanſii and Kirſchii; Kirſchii Chreſtomathia Syriaca; and the Appendix ad Chronicon Georgii Abulfaragii, ſive Bar. Heb. Ed. P. J. Bruns.—At Jena, Profeſſor Paulus has begun a new periodical work entitled "Memorabilia;

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lia: a philosophico-theological Magazine, dedicated to the History and philosophy of Religion, Biblical Learning, and Oriental Literature," of which the abilities of the author lead us to form considerable expectations.—At Brunswick, a work hath been published entitled "Encyclopedia of the Latin Classics; division the first; the Roman poets. Vol. I. Select Comedies from Plautus and Seneca, by J. H. A. Schulze, with explanatory Remarks by Schulze and Heusinger Vol. II. Select Comedies from Terence, with explanatory Remarks by Schulze." This work, from the respectable names of the persons who are engaged in superintending it, bids fair to contain such selections as are best calculated to form the taste and minds of young persons, while every thing is omitted that might tend to produce an unfavourable influence upon their morals.—At Leipsic, a work hath appeared entitled "Bragur, a Magazine of ancient German and Northern Literature, by Bockh and Grater, vol. I.;" which consists of essays on the subject of northern literature, remarks on books written on it, occasional extracts from them, and translations of ancient works; and is intended to be continued.—At Ratisbon, M. Theod. Gemeiner, librarian, has published "a Brief Description of the Manuscripts in the Public Library of the Free Imperial City of Ratisbon, vol. I."—At Ulm, M. Jos. Maria Helmschrott, librarian, has published "a Catalogue of old Specimens of Printing, in the ancient Benedictine Convent of St. Mang, at Fuessen, with literary Remarks," which is a valuable addition to ancient bibliography.—At Lemgo, M. J. G. Meusel has published "a Lexicon of German Artists now living, also of Libraries, and Collections of Works of Art, Coins, and Natural History, worth seeing in Germany and Switzerland, vol. II." which will be useful to those who make the tour of those countries.—To the articles already mentioned, we add the titles of the following works: "the Correspondence of Frederick II. King of Prussia, before and after his Accession to the Throne, with M. Duhan de Jandun," published at Berlin; "Observations taken from Experience, in 3 vols. by J. G. Busch, Professor at Hamburg," printed at that place; "the Posthumous Writings of the late Professor Musœus, published by his Pupil A. Von Kotzebue," at Leipsic; "J. A Elbert's Epistles and Miscellaneous Poems," published at Hamburg; Klopstock's "Death of Hermann, a Bard's Song for the Theatre," published at the same place; "Bliomberis, an heroic Poem, in twelve books, by Axlinger," published at Leipsic; "Anne Bullen, queen of England, a Trajedy, by Julius Count Soden," published at Nuremberg; and "Leopoldine, a Romance, by M. Schultz, in 2 vols." published at Leipsic.

In turning our view to the literature of Switzerland, the first article which we meet with is a volume of "Nuptial Discourses, &c. with two miscellaneous Sermons," by M. Greg. Grob, published at St. Gall. These discourses are plain, useful, and impressive; and have deservedly met with a favourable reception from the public. The subjects of them are, the great value of a good understanding with respect to conjugal happiness; means of promoting a good understanding among married people; conjugal happiness; the happiness of devout persons; the great influence of trust in God's providence on our happiness; the festival of the Sabbath; and the chearful enjoyment of the good we find

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find in our ſituations.—At Lauſanne, M. Bonfils, of Geneva, has publiſhed a work entitled "the Citizen's Morals, in 2 vols." This is an intereſting and uſeful work. After eſtabliſhing, as fundamental principles, that to be virtuous it is neceſſary to be informed and enlightened, that they who want knowledge are liable to commit the moſt reprehenſible actions, without being in reality vicious, and that therefore it is of the higheſt importance to cultivate the intellectual faculties; the author proceeds to offer conſiderations on the people of the lower claſſes, with the means of inſtructing them and eradicating their prejudices. The various topics ſuggeſted by theſe conſiderations, occupy the firſt volume The ſecond relates to marriage, friendſhip, and beneficence; and concludes with a ſhort tract, entitled the ſick man's morals.—At Geneva, a very ingenious and ſenſible publication hath appeared, entitled "Moral Mechanics, or an Eſſay on the Art of improving, and employing our natural, acquired, and ſubjected Organs, by Ant. de la Sale, in 2 vols." This work contains many ideas that are truly original. According to the author, the art of life is as much mechanical, as any of thoſe commonly called ſo; with this difference only, that in the latter the power and the inſtrument are external to each other, in the former they are intimately united.—At Zurich hath been publiſhed "a Sketch of the Origin, Conſtitution, and Labours of the Aſcetic Society in Zurich," which gives an account of the ſucceſs attending the well meant and zealous efforts of a ſociety of worthy clergymen, to render themſelves moſt uſeful in enforcing religious inſtruction, and bringing about a reformation of manners among the lower claſſes of the community. This ſociety was founded in 1768, by the late Ja. Breitinger and Jac. Simler, and the preſent A. Ulrich, and Jac. Heſſe.—At Bern, H. Struve M. D. extraordinary profeſſor of chemiſtry, has publiſhed "a Sketch of a new Theory of Brine Springs and foſſile Salt, in which the Salt-Works at Bern, are chiefly had in view." According to our author, foſſile ſalt is found only in ſtratiform mountains. Its bed is a ſchiſtous argillaceous ſtone, ſituated below a thick ſtratum of lime ſtone, generally accompanied with gypſum. The ſame bed is found to accompany brine ſprings. If the above mentioned ſchiſt be bored through, a ſalt ſpring will burſt forth. The ſchiſt is a general depoſition of the ſea. Hence, whenever a brine ſpring is found, more may be produced by penetrating the ſtratum of ſchiſt. If, on digging, we find foſſile ſalt, the ſchiſt, which at its formation was filled with it, has remained untouched by water; if we find brine ſprings, the original foſſile ſalt has been diſſolved in water that has found its way to the ſchiſt; and if we find argillaceous ſtone only, the ſalt has been completely waſhed out, and carried away.—At Winterthur, Dr. Johan. Jac. Roemer has publiſhed "Genera Inſectorum Linnæi and Fabricii, Iconibus illuſtrata." The plan purſued in this work is to give, in thirty-ſeven plates, figures of all the genera, with their ſeveral orders, contained in the Linnæan and Fabrician writings. The plates are accompanied with eighty-ſix pages of letter preſs, explanatory of both ſyſtems, and mentioning the ſeveral ſpecies figured in the illuſtration of the work. Every entomologiſt, whether he belong to the Linnæan or Fabrician ſchool, will find himſelf much

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much indebted to Dr. Roemer, for the neatneſs and accuracy with which this work is executed.—At Zurich have appeared "Sketches of the Natural and Œconomical State of the Two Sicilies, by Charles Ulyſſes de Salis, in 2 Vols." This work is drawn up in the form of letters, by a perſon who had every favourable opportunity of informing himſelf of the ſtate of the country through which he travelled. And, notwithſtanding that the ground which he has taken, has been pre-occupied by intelligent and well informed hiſtorians, we have found him inſtructive and entertaining, abounding in intereſting facts, and ſenſible liberal obſervations. The firſt volume is divided into four parts. The firſt part contains what may be properly called the author's journey to Sicily. The ſecond is a tranſlation of Dolomieu's Diſſertation on an extinct Volcano, in the Val di Noto. The third is a tranſlation of the chevalier Joſeph Giveni's account of the eruption of mount Ætna, in July 1787. The fourth part conſiſts of extracts from various letters, on different ſubjects, relative to Sicily. The ſecond volume contains a minute deſcription of the terrible earthquake which happened in Calabria, in the year 1783, together with much miſcellaneous matter; and concludes with an account of the Iſland of Ponza, drawn up from the communications of the abbate Fortis, ſir William Hamilton, and M. Dolomieu.—At Geneva, M. Bourrit has publiſhed "a Tour of Geneva, Lauſanne, and Chamouni," which, although a ſmall work, contains much information; and is the fulleſt and compleateſt Vade Mecum which we have heard of, for thoſe who intend viſiting the places deſcribed by the author.—At Zurich, Dr. S. Heſs has publiſhed "an Account of the Life of Eraſmus of Rotterdam, in 2 Vols, with a good Head of Eraſmus, by Schellenberg" This work is little more than an uniform and improved edition of Reich's Tranſlation of Burigny's Life of Eraſmus, with notes by Henke. In addition to a better form and arrangement, it contains ſelect fragments from the writings of Eraſmus, which are judiciouſly introduced into the narrative, and ſome original letters.

In the imperfect account which we have received of the productions in Italian literature, for the year 1791, we have met with no works of a theological nature, if we except "Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis, Græco - Copto - Thebaicum, Sæculi IV. &c." publiſhed at Rome, by father Georgi, an Auguſtine monk. This work contains a fragment of St. John's goſpel, from chap. vi. verſe 28, to chap. viii. verſe 31; ſome liturgical pieces of little or no importance; and a fragment of the eighteenth homily of Chryſoſtom upon the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews; the principal value of which conſiſts in their being all written in the Thebaic dialect, which may intereſt the attention and curioſity of thoſe who are verſed in the Coptic language. The long and laborious preface of father Georgi, and his numerous explanatory notes, give ſufficient evidence of his induſtry and learning, while the proofs which they afford of his judgment and taſte, are very equivocal. —At Florence, a work in juriſprudence hath begun to make its appearance, entitled "Select Deciſions of the Rota of Florence," containing reports of the moſt important caſes which have been determined at the Rota, commencing with the beginning of the year 1785, at which time, the collection entitled

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" Teſoro Ombroſiano," finiſhes. A volume of this work is intended to be publiſhed every year, and to report, in addition to the deciſion of the capital, thoſe of the moſt important of the other Tuſcan tribunals.

In Mathematics and Philoſophy, the firſt publications which call for our attention, are thoſe which contain the tranſactions of the royal, and other public inſtitutions. Of this deſcription, are the " Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin, for the Years 1788 and 1789." Prefixed to this work is a hiſtory of the academy, which includes ſome tables of valuable lives, and a new method of projecting maps, by the chevalier Lorgna. Among the memoirs, there are ſeveral curious and intereſting ones, on ſubjects in chemiſtry, natural hiſtory, natural philoſophy, phyſiology, political œconomy, and mathematics. The principal members who have contributed to them are, count Morozzo, M. de Morveau, M. Giobert, count de Saluces, ab. Vaſco, the marquis of Breze, M. Parenotti, the chevalier de St. Real, ab. de Caluſo, Dr. Bonvoiſon, M. Brugnoni, and M. Suaſſure. Beſide theſe, the volume contains papers by ſeveral learned foreigners.—At Padua have appeared the " Scientific and Literary Eſſays of the Academy of Padua, Vol. II." This volume is divided into two parts. The firſt part conſiſts of eulogies of deceaſed members, and an account of different proceedings of the academy relative to various objects of political œconomy, finance, &c. &c. The ſecond part contains diſſertations on ſubjects in anatomy, ſurgery, political œconomy, lithology, and meterology, by M. C. Coldani, M. L. Colza, M. C. Bonioni, count Mark Carburi, P. Arduin, ab. Joſeph Toaldo, ab. Albert Fortis, the marquis Ant. C. Dondi Orologio, and M. Vinc. Chiminello. — At Palermo (for we unite Sicily with Italy in our view of foreign literature), profeſſor D. Joſ. Piazzi has publiſhed " a Diſcourſe on Aſtronomy," which was delivered at his opening the chair of aſtronomy, in the academy of that city. In this diſcourſe, the profeſſor, after reciting in a maſterly manner the hiſtory of the origin and progreſs of aſtronomy, proceeds to paſs an eloquent eulogium on the ſcience; to point out the great advantages to be derived from the cultivation of it; and to offer ſome directions with reſpect to the proper mode of ſtudying it. Our author is well known to poſſeſs eminent abilities for the ſituation in which he has been placed by his Sicilian majeſty; through whoſe munificence the obſervatory at Palermo is ſaid to be one of the beſt provided in Europe. — At Turin, the ab. Ant. Mar. Vaſſalli, has publiſhed a volume of " Phyſical Eſſays," on the following ſubjects: a ſpecies of cerambix; different auroræ boreales, obſerved in the year 1787, with a new method of improving M. Suaſſure's electrometer; effects produced by lightning on the ſteeple church of Coire; the influence of electricity in the putrefaction of bodies; and experiments relative to natural and internal electricity peculiar to different animals.—At Florence, a treatiſe hath been publiſhed, by order of government, " on Anthrax, or Pit-Coal, commonly called foſſile Coal," containing the neceſſary information for the working of coal-mines; which it was one of the objects of Leopold II. to encourage in his dominions. — At Piſa, profeſſor G. Santi has publiſhed " a Chemical Analyſis of the Waters of Piſa and Aſciano,"

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Aſciano," which appears to be more cientific and accurate, than the results of preceding experimentaliſts. To the naturaliſt, his mineralogical deſcription of the environs of Piſa will be particularly acceptable.—At Naples, D. Cyrillo has publiſhed his "Firſt Four Elementary Plates of Botany, or Delineations of the Parts deſcribed in his Fundamenta Botanica." Theſe plates are executed with great accuracy and neatneſs, and accompanied with ſhort deſcriptions.

Among the hiſtorical productions of Italy, we meet with the firſt volume of "an Univerſal Hiſtory, from the Creation to the Chriſtian Æra," publiſhed at Genoa. This volume commences with technical chronology; which is followed by a preface on the origin and progreſs of hiſtory, on its different claſſes, on the writers of univerſal hiſtory, the plan of the preſent work, &c. &c. The hiſtory is carried down to the calling of Abraham.—At Rome hath appeared "an unpubliſhed Life of Raphael, of Urbin, with Notes, by Ange Comolli." This anonymous life of Raphael, poſſeſſes all the internal marks of having been written by a contemporary of that great painter. The editor, who has enriched it with ſeveral valuable notes, conſiders it to be faithful and accurate.—At Modena hath been publiſhed "an Account of J. B. Graſeri, to which are added ſome of his Poems, by C. Vannetti." This is a pleaſing piece of biography, in which a maſterly delineation of character, and ſtriking appoſite reflections are judiciouſly intermixed.—The "Demonſtration of the Futility of the boaſted Titles of the Holy See to Sicily, by ab. Joſ. Ceſtari, Vol. I." publiſhed at Naples, is a work deſerving the attention of thoſe who are ſtudying the hiſtory of the papacy, and of the middle ages. The author has clearly proved, that the claims and aſſertions of the Holy See are wholly founded on forged documents.—At Rome hath appeared a work entitled, "a Deſcription of the Circuſes, particularly that of Caracalla, and of the Games celebrated in them." This is a poſthumous work of the councellor Bianconi, accompanied with a French verſion, by the advocate Charles Fea, and illuſtrated with plates by Uggeri, a Milaneſe architect. The author has judiciouſly adopted and abridged the beſt remarks and obſervations, in the voluminous productions of Paluinus and Boulanger on the ſame ſubject, which, by cloathing them in an eaſy lively ſtyle, he has rendered much more intereſting and entertaining than moſt publications on ſubjects in antiquities.—At Turin, M. Secondo. Guis. Pittarelli has publiſhed a treatiſe "on the celebrated Alimentary Table of Trajan, diſcovered in the Territory of Placentia, in the Year 1747; read and approved by the Royal Academy;" which is a truly learned antiquarian production, illuſtrated by a variety of geographical notes. On this table are pointed out, with great preciſion, various lands and houſes, granted to certain perſons, on condition that they ſhould pay annually a ſum of money, for the ſupport of a ſpecified number of boys and girls, of the city of Veleia.—At Viterbo hath appeared an anonymous "Critico-ſepulchral Diſſertation on a Monument diſcovered at the Place called, Il Poggio delle Fornaci," in the neighbourhood of that town, which the author ſuppoſes to be early Etruſcan. Among other curious matter in ſupport of this opinion, we meet with ſome learned diſcuſſions on the practice

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tice of the Etrurians, of placing their ſepulchres contiguous to the high-ways, or ſu remote ſpots near ſtreams, in which they were afterwards followed by the Latins and Romans.—At Leghorn, Ab. Dom. Seſtini has publiſhed "an Eſſay on ſome Armenian Coins of the Princes of the Family of Ruſſen, in the Ainſlian Collection." In this eſſay, nine coins are deſcribed by the Ab. of which he has given a plate, and another containing the Armenian alphabet. Subjoined are tables of the cities in which the kings of the four dynaſties, commencing in the year of the world 3224, and ending in the year 1375 of our æra, reſided, and a chronological one of their reigns.

The laſt articles which we have to mention in our catalogue of the productions of Italy, are to be referred, partly to the head of Antiquities, and partly to that of Claſſical and Polite literature. In this liſt is the "Collection of Arabic Works relative to the Hiſtory of Sicily, by Roſario Gregorio," publiſhed at Palermo. This is part of a grand and noble deſign, undertaken by order of the king of Naples, which, if continued with the ſame induſtry and learning as are diſplayed by the Ab. Gregorio, promiſes to throw much light on the hiſtory of all the Mediterranean iſlands of Spain, and of the incurſions of the Arabs on the coaſts of France and Italy, as well as on that of Sicily. To this collection are added an explanation of many Arabic inſcriptions found in Sicily, and remarks on the different methods of computing time, employed by the Arabs.—At Venice, Ab. Toures has publiſhed an "Eſſay on the Literature of Numidia," which is intended to ſupply the deficiency of Ab. Andres, who, in his Hiſtory of Literature touched but very ſlightly on that of Africa. The induſtry and learning diſplayed by the author of this eſſay, entitle him to a conſiderable ſhare of praiſe. The treatiſe of count Francis Riccati, "on the Conſtruction of Theatres, according to the Italian Faſhion," publiſhed at the ſame place, is a little work which contains much uſeful information for thoſe who are engaged in that department of civil architecture.—At Modena, hath appeared a treatiſe "on the Origin of Rhyme, by Giammaria Barbieri, publiſhed for the firſt time, with Notes, by Ab. Gir. Tiraboſhi." Barbieri was one of the moſt induſtrious and learned men in the ſixteenth century, and the firſt in Italy who thought of writing a complete and univerſal hiſtory of poetry. The work before us, however, is rather valuable as a repoſitory of information with reſpect to poets, than as an hiſtorico-critical publication. It is given to the world from a collation of two manuſcripts, in the hand writing of the author.—At Baſſano, M. J. Ger. de Roſſi, has publiſhed the firſt volume of his "Comedies," which have been acted with great applauſe in the theatres of Rome. They are diſtinguiſhed by ſimplicity of plot, and ſimplicity of character, and by the uniform endeavour of the author to obſerve, in his ſtyle, a juſt medium between the negligence of ſome writers, and the affectation of others. The comedies in this volume are, "the Day after Marriage;" "the Honeſt Courtier, or the Viciſſitudes of a Day;" "the Engliſh Cobler at Rome;" and "the Family of the Indolent Man."

The productions in French literature, during the year 1791, of which we have had any information, have been neither ſo numerous, nor

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nor ſo various, as during ſome preceding years. In theology and metaphyſics, we have no recollection of any publication, except the following: "Thoughts on Philoſophy and Faith; or the Syſtem of Chriſtianity conſidered, with reſpect to its Analogy to the natural Ideas of the human Underſtanding, by M. l'Abbé Lamourette." The good ſenſe and liberality which this work diſcovers, are ſpoken of in warm terms by the French journaliſts. It is a production altogether metaphyſical; and is intended to ſhew that the moſt ſublime truths of chriſtianity perfectly accord with thoſe of philoſophy.

Among the publications in French literature relative to the ſubjects of Government, Law, and Political Œconomy, we meet with "the Conſtitutions of the principal European States, and of the United States of America, by M. de la Croix, Profeſſor of Public Law at the Lyceum, in 3 Vols." This work conſiſts of a ſeries of diſcourſes, forty in number, which were compoſed while the national aſſembly were occupied in forming their new conſtitution. The object of the author was, to preſent to his legiſlative brethren the light which hiſtory and experience might furniſh, in order to enable them to form their new government in the moſt perfect poſſible manner. His method is, to take ſome diſtinguiſhed hiſtorians and political writers of different countries for his guides; to trace the circumſtances which led to the formation of their different conſtitutions; and to intermix obſervations favourable to the liberties of mankind, and encouraging or monitory to his countrymen. On the whole, we think it a valuable and important work, abounding in much good ſenſe, and intereſting obſervations. At the ſame time we think, that the author is too frequently the ſlave of national prejudice; and that againſt Great Britain, in particular, he diſcovers an inveterate enmity, which is inconſiſtent with the character of a philoſophical politician. - "The Library of a Politician, or an Analyſis of the principal Works, Foreign and Domeſtic, on Politics in general, Legiſlation, Finance, Police, Agriculture, Commerce, natural and public Law," is a large work, of which ten volumes have already appeared, conducted by M. de Condorcet, M. Chapellier, and other eminent men of letters. From the nature of this publication, as expreſſed in the title-page, our readers will perceive that it is highly important, and peculiarly ſeaſonable. We have only to add, that it is executed in a manner worthy the talents of the reſpectable characters who have undertaken it. —The deſign of M. le Hoc's "Memoir to the King, upon Miniſtry and Adminiſtration, &c." is to point out the means by which vigorous and uniform motion and life, may be at once infuſed into all parts of the French dominions. It delivers many plain and blunt truths, not very palatable to courtly politicians. The treatiſe "on the Adminiſtration of M. Necker, written by Himſelf," contains an extenſive ſurvey of his whole adminiſtration, during the ſpace of ſeven years, and of the important ſervices which he rendered to France in particular, and to ſociety at large; and alſo his opinion of ſome of the moſt eſſential parts of the new conſtitution, on which he makes a moſt ſevere attack. Much of the information which he conveys is intereſting to the politician and to the hiſtorian; and his remarks and advices are worthy attention, on account of the celebrity which he has acquired as a ſtateſman, as a moral and political writer, and as a man of unſullied integrity. We cannot, however, approve

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prove of the temper and ſpirit, under the influence of which a great part of this work was written. It diſcovers too keen an irritability on account of the perſonal ſufferings of the author, and too much declamatory complaint and cenſure of the motives and conduct of the national aſſembly.

The "Agreement of Revelation and Reaſon againſt Divorce:" "Cuſtoms and Laws of ſeveral Ancient Nations with reſpect to Divorce, by Mr. L' Abbé de Chapt. de Raſtignac, Deputy to the National Aſſembly;" and the "Obſervations on the Agreement of Revelation and Reaſon, &c. by Bouchotte," are two ſenſible and well written publications on the ſubject of divorce, in which the authors contend with much calmneſs of argument, and the urbanity of gentlemen, for the oppoſite ſides of the queſtion which they reſpectively embrace. The French reviewers, after beſtowing a conſiderable ſhare of applauſe upon M. Raſtignac, ſubmit to the arguments and opinion of M. Bouchotte. "With the greateſt ſimplicity in his plan," ſay they, "and perſpicuity in his diviſions of his ſubject, he ſubdivides every part in ſuch a manner, that, proceeding from theorem to theorem, he arrives at demonſtration. The principles of M. Bouchotte are conformable to reaſon, advantageous to morals, and agreeable to religion."—"The Theory of the political Laws of France; the Gallican Church, or the Spirit of canonical and political Laws that have governed that Church during the firſt four Centuries of the Monarchy; a Work in which will be found, with their Authorities, the Extent and Bounds of the Eccleſiaſtical Powers, the Hierarchy and Compoſition of the inferior Clergy, and Religious Orders, &c." is a curious and important work, the reſult of twenty-five years labour, and of accurate and deep reſearch. The opinions which are laid down in it are drawn from the pureſt ſources; the citations given by ſcrupulous exactneſs; the aſſertions founded on ſufficient authority; and the author appears to be attached to no ſyſtem, but only to truth.—"The Police of Paris unveiled, by Pierre Manuel, one of the Adminiſtrators in 1789," exhibits ſuch a picture of the evils of the old government, drawn from unqueſtionable ſources of information, as muſt make every friend to humanity rejoice in its demolition. The chief chapters of this work are on the police relative to booksellers; to men of letters; to libels and newſpapers; to prieſts; to girls of the town; and to grain.—M. de Montlinot's "Eſſay on Mendicity," is an intereſting and benevolent work, which has engaged the notice of the national aſſembly, and contributed to the enacting of laws for the relief of the poorer claſſes of people, that reflect the greateſt honour on their wiſdom and humanity.—The treatiſe "on a Domeſtic Tribunal," contains a number of powerful arguments in favour of a laudable inſtitution, which deſerves a place in every well regulated government. It points out the means of conſtituting an equitable judicature, which might judge of ſeparation between huſbands and wives, of teſtaments, contracts of marriage, guardians, wards, &c. and prevent the two common indecent diſputes of near relations before courts of law.

The treatiſe "on the Ballance of Commerce, and the exterior commercial Relations of France with all Parts of the Globe, particularly at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV. and at the Time of the Revolution, &c.

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&c. in 2 vols. octavo, and a volume of Tables in 4to. by M. Arnould, Subdirector of the board for the Ballance of Commerce," is a very important and interesting work, abounding in useful information, laborious enquiries, and accurate statements of facts, which will be highly acceptable to the political œconomist. —The "Observations on Commerce in general, and on that of China in particular," will be chiefly useful in a country like France, where all monopolies and exclusive privileges are abolished —"The Agricultural Journal, for the Use of the Inhabitants of the Country, by the Abbé Tessier," is a periodical work which promises to prove of advantage to the people, now, when their exertions to cultivation and improvement are encouraged by the possession of freedom.—The "Results, extracted from a Work, entitled, of the Territorial Wealth of the Kingdom of France, delivered to the Committee of Taxation, by M. Lavoifier, published by Order of the National Assembly," contain many curious documents relative to the produce, consumption, population, and territory of the kingdom, each distinguished into its proper divisions.—The "Essay on the most important Subject of Agriculture, by M. I. Calignon, Farmer at Arc-sur Tille," points out some important advantages which he had reaped from liming his seed, during a course of long practice, and repeated experiment, which merits the attention of those engaged in agriculture. His peculiar process is too long to be detailed by us.—The "Essay on the Manner of contracting the Beds of Torrents, and Rivers, by M. Beraud, Professor of Mathematics, and Experimental Philosophy, &c. printed by Order of the Department of the Mouths of the Rhone," suggests a very useful and effectual method of gaining and securing land from the ravages of water, which has stood the test of experience, and is attended with little expence. The principal part of the scheme consists in planting several rows of aquatic trees, parallel to the current, at about two yards distance, and in two or three years bending them down towards the water, first cutting them half through, about two or three feet from the ground. By means of the earth and gravel deposited among their branches, a sufficient bank is formed.—"The Method of making Wine from Grapes, in which the Mistakes of the most celebrated Writers on Wine are corrected; and of making vinous and œconomical Liquors, with divers Substances, &c. in two Parts, by M. Jolibet," contains a number of observations, founded not only in theory, but on practice, which may furnish useful hints to those who do not inhabit wine countries, as well as to those for whose benefit it is more immediately calculated.—"The School of rural Architecture, or Lessons by which any one may learn to build substantial Houses, of several Stories, with Earth alone, or other Materials that are common and of low Price, by Francis Cointereaux," suggests useful advice to the peasantry in France, conveyed in clear and intelligible terms; by following which, they may, with little trouble, be much more comfortably and neatly accommodated than they are at present.—The two "Memoirs on the Management of the National Forests, presented to the National Assembly, by the royal Agricultural Society," are the result of measures which have been for a long time taken by that society, to procure every information that could enable it to publish proper

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inſtructions reſpecting the ſowing, planting, improving, and preſerving woods and foreſts. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the principles which they diſplay are clear, preciſe, conformable to theory, and ſupported by practice.—The "Memoirs on planting waſte Lands, particularly that on the high Roads, &c. by Abbé Teſſier," ſupport the ſame principles with the above-mentioned Memoirs; and are particularly deſerving of attention in a country like France, where wood, which is their principal fuel, is becoming exceedingly ſcarce.

In Mathematics and Philoſophy, the firſt work which demands our attention is "the Hiſtory and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris, for the Year 1787." This volume contains a rich variety of intereſting information, which will be particularly acceptable to the lovers of ſcience. After detailing, as uſual, the hiſtory of the academy, it preſents us with many important memoirs, which, although not claſſically arranged, may be referred to the heads of general phyſics, chemiſtry, anatomy, natural hiſtory, aſtronomy, geography, medicine, mathematics, and political œconomy. Several of thoſe papers which belong to the claſſes of general phyſics, chemiſtry, aſtronomy, and geography, are particularly valuable. Among other contributors, M. Charles, M. Sage, M. Baumé, M. Berthollet, M. Fourcroy, M. Fougeroux de Bonderoy, M. de la Lande, M. le Gentil, and M. le Gendre, maintain a diſtinguiſhed rank.—The next article which we have to announce is, the "Account of the Trigonometrical Operations performed in France, in the Year 1787, in order to determine the Meridians of Paris and Greenwich, by M. M. Caſſini, Mechain, and le Gendre, Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences." This work is divided into eight chapters. The firſt chapter is a kind of journal of the proceedings of the commiſſioners who met general Roy, and Dr. Blagden, at Dover, in the year 1787, in order to concert their plan of operations. The three following chapters contain a very minute deſcription of the inſtrument with which the French gentlemen meaſured their angles, together with directions for uſing it. In the fifth and ſixth chapters, we have tables of the ſeveral angles meaſured, together with the reduction of them to the centres of the reſpective ſtations, and to the horizon. The ſeventh contains the calculations of the ſides of each triangle, and of the bearings of the ſeveral ſtations from Dunkirk. The eighth contains a view of the reſults of their operations, compared with thoſe of general Roy. This work, in connexion with the labours of our countryman, the progreſs of which has been regularly detailed in our Philoſophical Tranſactions, may prove of eſſential ſervice to the intereſts of ſcience.—The "Elementary Treatiſe, or Principles of Natural Philoſophy, founded on the moſt certain Diſcoveries, ancient or modern, and confirmed by Experience, by M. Briſſon, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Teacher of Phyſics and Natural Hiſtory to the Children of France," in 3 vols, is the production of a perſon well known as a philoſophical writer; which from the copiouſneſs of its matter, and the plainneſs of its ſtyle, will be of great ſervice to beginners. M. Briſſon is a diſciple of the Lavoiſierian ſchool.—To the treatiſes already mentioned, we have to add the titles of the following: "Report made to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, Sept. 7th 1790, of the Hydraulic Expedients preſented by M. De-

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M. Detrouville, published by the Commissaries of the Academy;" "Military Ideas on the Composition of Regiments of Infantry, and the Formation of Batallions, by M. Froment, late Lieut. Col. of the Regiment of Rohan, deputy to the National Assembly;" "a Practical Treatise on the Rigging of Ships, and other Sailing Vessels, published by Order of the King, for the Instruction of those who are intended for the Sea Service, by M. Lescallier, Commissary General of the Colonies, &c. in two Vols;" "History of the principal Experiments relative to the chemical Analysis of atmospheric Air, and the Use of its Principles in the Composition of various natural Bodies, by Fred. Schurer, M. D." of Strasburg; "a Memoir on the Constitution of Hydrogenous Gas, in close Vessels, read at the Royal Academy of Sciences, May 21st, 1791, by M. M. Fourcroy, Vauquelin, and Seguin;" "Essay on the Theory of the Volcanoes of Auvergne, by the Chevalier de Reynaud de Montlosier;" and "a Table of Plants of the Order of Fungi, by J. James Paulet, M. D. &c. with Plates," which is the herald of a grand work, which the doctor is about to publish in three volumes.

Among the Historical productions of France, we meet with the third and fourth volumes of the Abbé Gerard's "Lectures on History, or Letters from a Father to a Son, on the interesting Facts of Universal History." The former volumes of this work met with so favourable a reception from the public, that the author was encouraged to continue his plan, which promises to be an useful and valuable abridgement of universal history. The present volumes reach from 1209 to 536 before Christ.—The "Memoirs relative to the History of the Revolution of the United Provinces, in the Year 1787, by M. Mandrillon, Member of several Academies, &c." contain an account of the well meant, but unsuccessful endeavours of the author, to bring about a reconciliation between the patriotic party, and the stadtholder, at the court of Berlin. M. Mandrillon appears to have higher ideas of his own importance and abilities as a political negotiator, than were entertained by either of the contending parties.—The "Letters from an Inhabitant of Paris to his Friends in Switzerland and England, on the Events of the Years 1789, 1790, and to the 4th of April 1791," as far as they are historical, agree, in the main, with the most accurate and impartial accounts of the period which he undertakes to describe. But as a politician and philosopher, the author possesses but small claims to merit. A great part of his work consists of false reasoning, and vague declamation against the declaration of rights, the application of philosophical principles to government and religion, and the abolition of nobility.—M. Dulaure's "Critical History of Nobility, from the Commencement of the French Monarchy, to our own Times, &c." contains a chronological recital of events from the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, not very honourable to the class of men whose history he writes; and which go a great way in establishing what he meant to prove, that they have been "the scourge of liberty, of reason, and of knowledge, and consequently the enemies of the people, and of the kings."—M. Brizard, in his "Historical Discourse on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and on the Influence of Strangers in France, during the League, in 2

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Vols." endeavours to vindicate his country from the guilt of having planned and perpetrated that infamous and horrid maſſacre. His deſign is laudable, and muſt have ariſen from a thorough deteſtation of the principles which could ſanction the proceedings of that black day. And notwithſtanding that it is impoſſible, in our opinion, entirely to wipe off the ſtain from France, and the Frenchmen of that period, he has ſucceeded in fixing the greateſt part of the criminality on the Italian councils of Catherine de Medicis, compoſed of the chancellor Birague, a Milaneſe, Albert de Gondi Marſhal Retz, a Florentine, the duke of Vevers Gonzague, and other Italians; and the greateſt part of the ſubaltern infamy on Italians, Lorrainers, Spaniards, Piedmonteſe, &c. who were their creatures. "The Hiſtory of the Holy Chapel Royal of the Palace, by M. Morand, Canon of that Church," adorned with ſeventeen copper plates, will be found more intereſting to the antiquary, than to the hiſtorian. It is divided into four books. The firſt contains a brief hiſtory of St. Louis, the founder of the chapel, with an account of the reliques and other things which conſtitute what is called the Treaſure. The ſecond and third give an account of the foundation of the eccleſiaſtical body, eſtabliſhed to guard the precious depoſits, and to pray for the proſperity of France, the king and royal family; and the fourth deſcribes the ancient ſtatues, with an hiſtorical liſt of perſons belonging to the chapel, who have any way diſtinguiſhed themſelves. — The nature of the work entitled "a Collection of the moſt intereſting Narratives of Shipwrecks, Winterings, Derelictions, Fires, Famines, and other fatal Events at Sea, that have been publiſhed from the 15th Century to the preſent Time, by M. D. in 2 Vols." is ſufficiently expreſſed in the title-page. — M. de St. Mihiel has publiſhed the "Real Perſon called the Man with the Iron Maſk, a work in which it is ſhewn, from inconteſtible proofs, to whom that celebrated unfortunate owed his birth, and when, and where he was born." Theſe inconteſtible proofs do not, in our opinion, outweigh the evidence which we have ſeen in favour of very different hypotheſes from that of M. Mihiel. According to his account, Anne of Auſtria, after the death of Louis XIII. married Cardinal Mazarine, by whom ſhe had a ſon, born towards the end of 1644, whoſe exiſtence was concealed, leſt the queen dowager ſhould be deprived of the regency. This ſon, he contends, was the famous man with the iron maſk.

In Biography, "the Lives of the Superintendants of the Finances, and Comptrollers General of France, from Enguerrand de Marigny, to the preſent Time, in 3 Vols." contain an authentic hiſtory of the moſt infamous peculations and oppreſſions, which were committed under a ſucceſſion of weak and wretched monarchs: which exhibit human nature in ſome of its worſt colours, and deſpotiſm in its genuine tendencies. Jaques Coeur, Sully, Colbert, and a few others, are properly diſtinguiſhed by the author from the general maſs of wretches, whoſe actions have condemned them to eternal infamy. The hiſtorical and biographical anecdotes connected with their hiſtory, are intereſting and entertaining. — "The Life of Captain Thurot," contains a genuine account of the birth, education, and incidents which marked the career of that diſtinguiſhed ſeaman, who was deſervedly the idol of

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of his countrymen, and highly respected by his enemies. This book is published for the benefit of his daughter, who was left by him in indigent circumstances.—The "Abridgment of the Life and Labours of M. de Mirabeau, &c. by M. Pithon," consist of a slight and very imperfect sketch of the character of that celebrated politician, and orator, to whose talents, intrepidity, and eloquence, the revolution in France is so highly indebted. Most, however, of the leading circumstances of his life are detailed by our author, in a pleasing and interesting manner; with which are connected several specimens of his forcible and brilliant orations in the national assembly. We wish to see a more ample and complete biography of the French patriot.—The "Eulogy of Cook, by P. L. Member of several Academies;" the "Eulogy of Marshal de Vauban, which obtained the Prize from the French Academy, by Fr. Jos. Noël;" and the "Eulogy of M. de Fourcroy, read at the public meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences, May 14, 1791, by M. de Condorcet," are interesting and elegant pieces of biography, which are honourable to deceased merit, and to the masterly hands by which they have been drawn.

Among the books of travels of the year, we meet with a "Voyage to Madagascar, and to the East Indies, by the Abbe Rochon, Member of the Academies of Sciences of Paris and Petersburg, Marine Astronomer, &c." The principal part of this valuable and interesting work is occupied in a description of Madagascar; which leads us to a better acquaintance with that island, its history, productions, inhabitants, their character, customs, and manners, than we have been able to obtain from any preceding writers. In a preliminary discourse, the author has given an account of the establishments made by his countrymen in the neighbourhood of Madagascar, at the island of Bourbon, and at the isle of France, which contains some excellent remarks on the settlement and cultivation of those islands; and a number of nautical observations, which seem important to navigators who may pursue the same track. A description of the natural productions, religion, literature, &c. of Cochin China, closes the work. The Abbé Rochon is a scientific, and philosophic traveller; and his work abounds in just, liberal, and humane reflections, which do him the greatest honour.—The "Travels through the United States of America, in the Years 1788, by J. P. Brissot, Citizen of France, in 3 Vols." were undertaken by the author, in consequence of a plan that was formed, previously to the French revolution by a number of respectable persons, to forsake a country which was so truly despotic, to purchase lands, and to establish a colony under the mild and equal government of the United States. From the introductory part of the work it appears, that M. Brissot was commissioned to collect every necessary information, prior to the execution of so important a plan. And from the manner in which these volumes are written, it seems that he was well qualified to accomplish such an undertaking. His work contains much judicious information with respect to the state, manners, and population of the towns; the political, civil, and military situation of the provinces; soils, products, emigrations, and forming of colonies; the government of the federal states, and of each

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each province, civil, political, and criminal laws; climate, commerce, revenues, expenditures, &c. &c. which are interspersed with philosophical investigations, picturesque descriptions, and anecdotes of some of the most distinguished characters in the United States. But the author discovers, on every occasion, the most illiberal prejudices against the English nation, to which, not much to his credit as a man, and a zealous advocate for liberty, he bears the most blind and malignant antipathy.—The "Description of Corsica, by M. Perny de Villeneuve," gives a very complete and accurate account of the present state of that island, its population, inhabitants, manners, produce, &c. &c. In this description we have abundant proofs of the evils attendant on a confused, unsettled, and bad form of government. It is to be hoped, however, that the freedom which has been imparted to the Corsicans, under the new constitution, will occasion the rapid improvement of their country, and manners.—The "Travels in Italy, by the late M. Ducclos, Historiographer of France, and perpetual Secretary to the French Academy," although they contain little new information, are written in an agreeable and lively manner, and contain a number of excellent observations and reflections, which were suggested to the mind of the traveller, by the various moral and political objects which presented themselves to him during his journey.—The "Travels by a French Lady, in Switzerland, and Franche Comté, since the Revolution in France, in 2 Vols." appear to be written by a person who was either well acquainted with the places described, or who has borrowed freely from preceding travellers, with a small alteration in the style and words. They are drawn up in the epistolary form, by one who assumes the character of a fair royalist, who enjoyed a pension from the late court of France, and fled from her country just before the destruction of the Bastile. What is introduced into them, of a political nature, consists only of trite declamation, and stale exaggerated accounts of some of the disorders which attended the revolution, taken from the public papers.—"The Order of Malta Unveiled, or a Tour to Malta, with Observations historical, philosophical, and critical, on the present State of the Knights of Malta, their Manners, the State and Productions of the Island, and the Religion and Manners of the Inhabitants, by M. Carasi," in 2 vols. is an interesting and entertaining narrative, which seems to be drawn up with a just regard to truth and impartiality, although the result of it does not give us very favourable impressions of the utility and respectability of the order of Malta.

The last department in our history of the literature of France, we assign to miscellaneous publications. In this number we include "the Ruins: or Reflections on the Revolutions of Empires, by M. Volney, Deputy to the National Assembly in 1789." This is a very singular production, in which a great variety of topics, moral, religious, and political, are discussed; many of them in a liberal and sensible, and others in a fanciful and very exceptionable manner. The object of the author is, to trace the causes of the dissolution of empires, and to investigate the origin of the differences and disputes, which, at various periods, have agitated the minds of men, and have spread misery over every part of the globe.

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And his ſentiments are publiſhed by him, to correct and reſtrain the wanderings of error and prejudice, and by propagating what he deems to be important truth, to promote the public benefit.—"The Dreams and Viſions of a Philoſopher, by M. Mercier, Author of the Tableau de Paris, in 2 Vols." contains a great variety of remarks, written in the author's well-known ſtyle, on love, war, antiquity, monarchy, tyranny, a happy world, ſelfiſhneſs, optimiſm, heraldry, fortune and glory, Mohammed, Semiramis, covetouſneſs, opulence, &c. &c.—The "Letters on the Confeſſions of J. J. Rouſſeau, by M. Ginguené," contain an able apology for the author of the Confeſſions, which will be read with pleaſure by the friends of that philoſopher, and which does honour to the talents and judgment of the author.—The "Principles, Sentiments, and Maxims of the the Abbé Maury, Member of the National Aſſembly," conſiſt of a crude farrago of paſſages, taken from the author's ſpeeches and papers, thrown together without any order, many of which are worthy the character of the Abbé, as a conſpicuous and leading party orator, and others too trifling and unimportant to be obtruded on the public.—The volume of "Memorable Sayings, &c. collected by Gabriel Brotier, formerly Librarian at the College of Louis the Great, &c. publiſhed by his Nephew, A. C. Brotier," conſiſts of a number of apothegms, ſelected in the manner of Plutarch, commencing at the end of the fifteenth century, when genius began to revive; which will furniſh much amuſement in the hours of relaxation.—The "Report concerning general Education, made in the Committee of Conſtitution, to the National Aſſembly, on the 10th, 11th, and 19th, of September 1791, by M. de Talleyrand-Perigord, late Biſhop of Autun, printed by Order of the Aſſembly," after enumerating the differences which are ſo conſpicuous in the preſent ſyſtems of education, propoſes a plan for public education for the kingdom at large, in which inſtruction ſhall be extended to man's phyſical, intellectual, and moral faculties; the particulars of which are too numerous to be recited by us. This work abounds in judicious remarks, ſtriking obſervations, and excellent ſentiments, intermixed with others that appear to us to be more brilliant than ſolid; and to reſult from a fondneſs for ſyſtem, rather than from the deciſions of analogy and experience.—The "New Eſſays on Education, or a Selection of the moſt beautiful Paſſages in ancient or modern Hiſtory, interſperſed with Dialogues, Anecdotes, Fables, Tales, &c. by M. Freville, in 3 Vols." is a pleaſing work, which deſerves to be recommended to thoſe who are engaged in the courſe of a ſchool education.—The "Leſſons from a Governeſs to her Pupils, &c. by Madame de Sillery-Brulart," formerly the counteſs Genlis, in 2 vols. is a work which the inſtructors of youth may read with much pleaſure and improvement. In it the celebrated authoreſs deſcends from theory to practice, and preſents us with a journal of the real incidents which occurred in her education of the children of the houſe of Orleans, three boys and a girl.—"The Education of Henry IV. by M. D. of Bearn, in 2 Vols." is a work written in imitation of Xenophon's Cyropædia, which is not deſtitute of merit, notwithſtanding that it will bear no kind of compariſon with that moſt excellent model. The narrative part is compiled from various

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rious memoirs and hiſtories of the period to which it refers. That part which relates to the education of Henry, conſiſts of converſations between him and his inſtructors, which turn, chiefly, on well-known hiſtorical anecdotes, and abound in juſt and uſeful reflections.

"Nicodemus in the Moon, or the Political Revolution, a Trifle in in Proſe, in 3 acts, interſperſed with Songs," is a dramatic piece which has been uncommonly ſucceſsful on the French ſtage. It alludes to the circumſtances of the nation previouſly to the revolution, and the important objects intended to be ſecured by that event.—"Paul, and Virginia," is another comedy, in acts, in proſe, interſperſed with ſongs, which has been very favourably received.—"Gonſalvo de Cordova, or the Conqueſt of Grenada, by M. Florian," in 2 vols. is a pleaſing and intereſting hiſtorical romance, written in that kind of poetical proſe, of which our neighbours the French are great admirers. Prefixed to the work, the author has given an hiſtorical view of the Moors in Spain; which contains a conciſe account of the revolutions in their empire, compoſed in a lively elegant ſtyle, calculated to give the reader juſt ideas of their national character and manners.

As we have recieved no account of the literary productions of Spain, or of Portugal, ſince the publication of our laſt volume, we ſhall, in this place, cloſe our view of Foreign Literature for the year 1791.

ERRATA.

In the laſt Volume of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, p. [180] Poetry, in the ſecond line of the ſecond Sonnet, for *buſy* read *breezy*.
In the ſeventh line of the ſame Sonnet, p. [181.] for *aim'd* read *arm'd*.

FINIS.

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